ÉTUDES MITHRIAQUES

ACTA IRANICA

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PREMIÈRE SÉRIE

VOLUME IV

SOUS LE HAUT PATRONAGE
DE S.M.I. LE SHAHINSHAH ARYAMEHR

ACTA IRANICA

ENCYCLOPÉDIE PERMANENTE DES ÉTUDES IRANIENNES
FONDÉE À L'OCCASION DU 2500e ANNIVERSAIRE
DE LA FONDATION DE L'EMPIRE PERSE PAR CYRUS LE GRAND

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE

ACTES DE CONGRÈS

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Actes du 2e Congrès International
Téhéran, du 1er au 8 septembre 1975

1978

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ISBN 9004 03902 3
9004 05689 0

PRINTED IN BELGIUM

SOUS LE HAUT PATRONAGE DE S. M. I. LA SHAHBANOU FARAH PAHLAVI

Le 2e Congrès International d'Études mithriaques s'est tenu à Téhéran, du 1er au 8 septembre 1975.
Le président d'honneur était S. E. Shodjaeddin Shafa, Vice-Ministre de la Cour Impériale, Directeur de la Bibliothèque Pahlavi.
Le comité organisateur était composé de Sir Harold Bailey, Président, et de MM. J. Duchesne-Guillemin, D. Francis, R. Frye, R. Gordon et J. Hinnells.

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D. Francis a révisé les textes en anglais. La communication de S. Insler paraîtra dans les Mélanges Vermaseren.

CLOSCA I. BALUTA

LE MITHRIACISME DANS L'ÉPIGRAPHIE DE LA DACIE

Le culte du dieu Mithra a joui dans la Dacie romaine d'une grande faveur et a connu une diffusion remarquable notamment dans les grands centres urbains, ainsi que l'atteste le matériel archéologique aussi riche que varié mis au jour et, en général, publié [1].

En comparaison des manifestations similaires relevées dans d'autres provinces de l'Empire romain, l'abondace des matériaux épigraphiques mithriaques de Dacie (autels, plaques votives, statues, fûts de colonnes ou représentations en ronde-bosse) met en évidence la grande popularité de cette divinité iranienne sur le territoire de la province carpatique, qui n'a pourtant été soumise à la domination romaine que pendant 176 ans. Il suffit, à cet égard, de mentionner que, sur les quelques 3000 monuments épigraphiques découverts jusqu'à ce jour en Dacie, non moins de 101 sont dédiés à Mithra. Pour nous faire une image encore plus nette de leur diffusion territoriale, précisons que, sur ce chiffre, 31 pièces ont été mises au jour dans le centre militaire, économique, administratif et routier le plus important de la province de Dacie, Apulum, siège permanent de la XIIIe légion Gemina, 29 dans la capitale officielle, Sarmizegetusa, et 25 dans d'autres localités urbaines ou rurales [2]. Aux nombreuses dédicaces épigraphiques mithriaques s'ajoutent une série de représentations figuratives fort variées comme iconographie, ainsi que quelques *mithraea*. C'est sans doute cette abondance de monuments mithriaques dans une zone archéologique et aux bornes chronologiques relativement restreintes

[1] Le matériel épigraphique et figuratif concernant le mithriacisme se trouve dans le répertoire de Fr. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, Bruxelles, I-II, 1896, 1900; dans *Ephemeris Daco-Romana*, VI, p. 216-217; et chez M.J. Vermaseren, *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithriacae*, II, La Haye, 1960, p. 273-333. Pour les monuments découverts après 1960, voir la bibliographie dans le texte.

[2] Potaissa-6, Micia-5, Napoca, Romula et Dostat-3, Bolosești-Pass, Sumbești, Brucla, Caransebeș, Celei, Ciomiul Nou, Dierna, Decea Mureșului, Drobeta, Germisara, Oarda de Sus, Ozd-Mureș, Păuleni, Sfinteşti, Săcădate, Sucidava et Vinţul de Jos-1.

qui a déterminé Wüst, parlant de Mithra (*RE*, XV, 2148), à situer la Dacie parmi „seiner wichtigsten Domänen".

Répandu de bonne heure parmi les provinciaux, notamment parmi ceux des provinces orientales, le culte de Mithra a été apporté et diffusé en Dacie par les éléments populaires les plus variés. Une analyse minutieuse des plus de 90 anthroponymes figurant sur les monuments mithriaques de Dacie atteste l'existence de nombreux adorateurs d'origine grecque, sémite ou en général orientale, mais aussi d'un nombre important d'adeptes aux noms romains, dont l'origine ethnico-territoriale précise demeure inconnue. Quant aux auteurs de dédicaces portant des noms à résonance persane, ils ne semblent pas être venus en Dacie de l'Iran même, mais plutôt de contrées plus proches de la Dacie — Asie Mineure, Paphlagonie, Pont, voire l'Arménie — peuplées d'Iraniens. Du reste ils n'érigent pas en Dacie que des monuments dédiés à Mithra, mais plutôt à des divinités du panthéon gréco – romain[3].

Dans l'épigraphie mithriaque de la Dacie, les formules dédicatoires sont nombreuses et variées. Les plus fréquentes, invoquant Mithra ou Mithra et Sol, sont en même temps les plus communes : *Soli invicto Mithrae* et *Invicto Mithrae*. La formule *Invicto Mithrae*, l'une des premières attestées dans la province nord-danubienne, pouvant être assignée aux dernières décennies du IIe siècle, figure en Dacie sur 10 monuments — à peu près autant qu'en Italie — répartis dans 4 localités[4]. Les découvertes archéologiques de Dacie attestent le synchronisme des formules *Invicto Mithrae* et *Soli invicto Mithrae*; cette dernière connaît la plus large diffusion dans la province carpathique, où elle figure sur [illegible] monuments mis au jour en 10 lieux[5]. Le rapport entre les dédicaces *Soli invicto Mithrae* et *Deo Soli invicto Mithrae* ou *Deo invicto Mithrae*, qui ne couvrent qu'une aire bien

[3] Aurelius Arimo (*CIL*, III, 12565 = *Ann. Ép.*, 1912, 305), Arzaces (*Dacia*, VII-VIII, p. 302, n° 1 = *Ann. Ép.* 1944, 23 = *Studii și cercetări*, 12, *Archeologie și istorie*, Musée Brukenthal, Sibiu, 1965, p. 68, n° 28), la forme grecque du nom semble reproduire un genitif latin Arzaci, comme patronyme; G. Iulius Farnax (*CIL*, III, 986), Aurelius Farnax (*CIL*, III, 7683), le veteran venu de la zone pontique et établi avec sa famille à Râhău, mais au nom complètement romain (*CIL*, III, 791 = *Dacia*, VII-VIII, p. 317, fig. 13 = *Ann.Ép.*, 1944, 44).

[4] Ajoutons à ceux publiés par Vermaseren l'autel votif découvert dans le mur de l'église de Sfinteşti, dép. de Teleorman (*Studii Clasice*, [illegible], 1967, p. 197), mais la lecture est erronée : FIRMVS au lieu de AETERNALis), comme sur le monument.

[5] Outre celles publiées par Vermaseren, citons un autel votif à l'état fragmentaire découvert à Săcădate, dép. de Sibiu (*Sargetia*, V, p. 90).

plus réduite[6], atteste la priorité de la première formule. Etant donné que dans la plupart des cas l'apposition du terme *Deus* se situe avant l'année 180, nous avons daté les monuments respectifs entre la dernière décennie du IIe siècle et la IIIe décennie du siècle suivant.

D'autres formules, plus rares en Dacie mais communes dans l'Empire romain, sont : *Deo invicto* (3 monuments)[7], *Invicto* (2 monuments, dont l'un découvert à Ulpia Traiana) et *Invicto Deo* (1 monument).

Ce qui nous paraît toutefois particulièrement suggestif pour l'intensité de la popularité du culte de Mithra, ce sont une série de formules et d'attributs du dieu qui ne sont attestés, à notre connaissance, qu'en Dacie. Ainsi, par exemple, est l'attribut *omnipotenti* — dont le sens est le même que celui du persan *Naburzes* — dans la formule *D(eo) inv(icto) omnipotenti) M(ithrae)*[8], sur un autel découvert à Partos, élevé par Lucanus. De même la formule *Deus Mithra*, qui n'est connue dans les autres provinces de l'Empire qu'au génitif ou au datif[9], est signalée en Dacie sur un autel de Micia, dédié par Rufus.

D'autres formules spécifiques, semble-t-il, pour la Dacie sont : *D(eo) S(oli)*, sur un autel de Partos, érigé par L. Valerius Felix, *[D]eo Soli [i]nvicto* sur une dédicace de Napoca, érigée par M. Coccéius Genialis, *procurator Daciae Porolissensis*, *[Invic]to S[oli Deo ge]nitori*, sur un autel de Dostat (?) consacré par Aelius Artemidorus, *decurio sacerdos*, *Io(vi) S(oli) inv(icto) Deo genitori R(upe) N(ato)*, sur un bas-relief de Dostat élevé par L. Aelius Hylas, *vicessimae libertus*, *Mithr[ae] sa[cram]*, sur un autre bas-relief fragmentaire d'Apulum, *Nimini [in] victo*, sur un fragment d'autel qui provient aussi d'Apulum, érigé par Valens (?), *Soli*, dédié par Q. Marcius Victor Felix Maximilianus, etc., *legatus augustorum legionis XIII Geminae*, sur un autel

[6] *Deo Soli invicto Mithrae* aussi bien que *Deo invicto Mithrae* sont attestées par deux monuments chacun à Apulum et par un monument chacune à Sarmizegetusa.

[7] A ceux publiés par Vermaseren ajoutons : un autel découvert à Micia (*Acta Musei Napocensis*, V, p. 457, *Sargetia*, V, p. 89) et l'autel à l'état fragmentaire découvert à Napoca (*Annuaral institutului de studii clasice*, I, 1929-1932, 2, p. 60 = *Ann. Ép.*, 1934, 16).

[8] En Italie on rencontre les formes OMNIPOTENTI DEO MITHRAE et INVICTO DEO SOLI OMNIPOTENTI SANCTO CAELESTI. Pour la Dacie, voir également : *CIL*, III, 7779; Fr. Cumont, *op. cit.*, 306; Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, II, 1941.

[9] La formule DEO MITHRAE, en Dacie en grec (Vermaseren, II, 2002), est connue en Gaule, Italie, Germanie et Asie, la formule DEI MITHRAE l'est seulement en Dalmatie. Pour la Dacie, voir également : *Klio*, 1910, 505; *Ann. Ép.*, 1911, [illegible]; Vermaseren, *CIMRM* II, 2022.

découvert à Apulum, *Soli invicto Mithrae ara Solis*, sur un bas-relief découvert à Romula, *Soli invicto sacrum*, sur un autel de Sarmizegetusa (?), dédié par Aelius Iulius, *...sanctu(m) Solis [i]nvicti [Mi]t[h]r[ae]*, sur un autel de provenance inconnue et enfin, sur un plus grand nombre de monuments, *Soli invicto*[10].

Les deux dadophores du cycle mithriaque, *Cautes* et *Cautopates* se retrouvent plus d'une fois en Dacie. Ainsi, Cautes apparaît une fois sous la forme *Cauti*, sur un autel d'Apulum consacré par Caius Herennius, une autre fois sous celle de *Caute*, sur un bas-relief de Micia. *Cautopates* apparaît dans une inscription sous la forme bien connue de *Cautopati* au génitif sur un autre bas-relief découvert à Sarmizegetusa, élevé par Severus, *Augusti libertus* et sous la forme probablement unique de *Cautopati sa(crum)*, sur une statue acéphale découverte à Sarmizegetusa, érigée par Synetus, *adiutor tabularii*.

L'épithète *Naburze* du dieu *Mithra*[11], relativement rare dans l'épigraphie romaine, apparaît deux fois en Dacie sous des formules uniques : *Naburze Deo*, sur un fût de colonne de Sarmizegetusa, élevé par Protas, *vikarius* ■ *S(oli) I(nvicto) N(aburze) M(ithrae)* sur un autel de Caransebeş, consacré par Harmadio, *actor* de Turranius.

Ainsi qu'il est bien connu, le courant des mystères mithriaques, ■ complexes et variés, ■ pénétré en Dacie par l'intermédiaire des commerçants orientaux, par des éléments de l'armée romaine dont Mithra était ■ divinité tutélaire, par des affranchis (exerçant souvent des fonctions administratives) originaires d'Orient, etc. C'est pourquoi les dédiants ont des attributs fort variés. Ainsi, un monument mentionne un *sacerdos* de Mithra du nom P. Aelius Artemidorus ■ui, investi de cette fonction par une colonie de Palmyriens de Macédonie,

[10] Cette épithète apparaît aussi ■ Italie, mais sous des formes telles que : *Numini invicti Soli Mithrae*, *Numini sancto Solis invicti Mithrae*, *Invicto numinis Mithrae*. Pour *Soli invicto sacrum*, un autel découvert à Germisara (*Materiale şi cercetări arheologice*, I, 1953, p. 757-758, ■ 2, photo). L'épithète *Sancto* est attestée également dans les formes : *Sancto invicto Mithrae* (Italie), *Sancto Domino invicto Mithrae* (Italie), *Deo sancto invicto* (Mésie ■ Germanie), *Deo sancto invicto Mithrae* (Asie et Rome), *Deo sancto Mithrae* (Afrique et Mésie) ■ *Numini sancto Solis invicti Mithrae* (Italie). En ce qui concerne ■ formule *Soli invicto*, à celles mentionnées par Vermaseren viennent s'ajouter : ■ fragment découvert à Apulum, inédit, un autel découvert à Sîpaul, dép. de Harghita (*Anuarul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice*, Secţia pentru Transilvania, Cluj, 1929, p. 311 = *Ann. Ép.*, 1937, ■. 141); un autel découvert à Sucidava (*Studii şi cercetări de istorie veche*, XVI, 1965, p. 660 = *Ann. Ép.*, 1966, 322).

[11] *RE*, XIV (1935), 1452-1453 (Wüst).

fut accueilli à son arrivée en Dacie comme hôte du temple de Mithra à Apulum, où il érige un autel à *Invictus Sol deus Genitor*. Plusieurs monuments sont dus à des personnages exerçant d'autres fonctions religieuses : *Haruspex coloniae Apulensis et antistes*, sur un autel de Sard dédié *Soli invicto* par C. Iulius Valens, *Augur coloniae Sarmizegetusae* sur un relief de Sarmizegetusa élevé par Cassius Maximus *augustalis coloniae* et M. Ulpius Caius, sur un bas-relief découvert à Sarmizegetusa, dédié *Soli Invicto Mithrae* par Spedius Valerianus, etc. On trouve également en Dacie quelques dédicaces dues à des fonctionnaires civils, comme *conductores salinarum*, sur un monument de Sînpaul dédié *Soli invicto* par C. Iulius Valentinus etc. Pourtant, les dédiants les plus nombreux et ceux aux fonctions les plus variées sont militaires. Mentionnons ainsi un ancien *legatus* de la Ve légion Macedonia de Potaissa, M. Valerius Maximianus qui, venu en Dacie pour la seconde fois, érige un autel *Soli invicto Mithrae* en tant que *légat* de la légion XIIIe Gemina, Q. Marcius Victor Felix Maximillianus, autre *legatus Augusti legionis XIII Geminae*, dédie un autel *Soli*, puis M. Cocceius Genialis, *vir egregius Procurator Augustorum duorum nostrum provinciae Daciae Porolissensis*, élève un autel *Deo Soli invicto*, probablement sous le règne des empereurs Septime Sévère et Caracalla ; citons encore un *legatus Augusti legionis XIII Geminae* sur une dédication *Soli invicto* d'Apulum élevée par C. Caerellius Sabinus et une autre par Q. Caecilius Laetus ; *Decuriones coloniae Sarmizegetusae Metropolis* sur un fût de colonne votive de Sarmizegetusa érigée par Victorinus et Maius, fils de Marcus ; *Praefectus alae II Pannoniorum*, sur un autel de Gherla dédié à Invicto Mithrae par M. N. Lucretianus (?) ; *conductores armamentarii* sur un bas-relief d'Apulum dédié *Soli invicto Mithrae* par Turranius Marcellinus et Antonius Senecio iunior ; *tesserarius*, sur un autel de Potaissa dédié *Deo invicto* par Flavius Marcellinus ; *imaginifer legionis XIII Geminae* sur un bas-relief d'Apulum élevé par M. Ulpius Linus ; *Adiutor tabularii* sur une statue acéphale de Sarmizegetusa dédiée à *Cautopati sacrum* par Synetus ; *actarius praepositi Numeri Surorum Sagittariorum* sur un autel de Romula dédié *Soli invicto Mithrae* par Antonius Zoilus ; *beneficiarius consularis* sur un bas-relief fragmentaire d'Apulum ; *signifer legionis XIII Geminae* sur un autel dédié *Soli invicto Mithrae*, érigé à Apulum par Caius Iulius Marcianus, etc.

Sont attestés de même une série de *milites legionis V Macedonicae*, sur un bas-relief de Potaissa dédié par Aelius Maximus, sur un autel découvert dans le même lieu, dédié *Invicto* érigé par Aelius Montanus,

etc. De même, *veterani legionis XIII Geminae* sur un bas-relief d'Apulum dédié *Deo invicto Mithrae* par Titus Aurelius Marcus.

A côté de ceux-ci, on trouve aussi quelques affranchis exerçant des fonctions administratives, parmi lesquels deux comptables-caissiers (*dispensatores*), à savoir Ampliatus et son remplaçant (*vikarius*), Protas, qui ont érigé un autel à *Nabarzes* pour la santé du premier; un *Augusti libertus tabularius*, sur un autel dédié *Soli invicto Mithrae*, élevé à Sarmizegetusa par Carpion; *Augusti libertus* sur un bas-relief avec l'inscription probable *Cautopi ?)ati* érigé à Sarmizegetusa par Severus; *libertus actor*, sur un autel *Soli invicto* élevé par C. Iulius Omucio à Sinpaul, avec la même dédicace; *vicesimae libertus* sur un bas-relief de Dostat dédié *Iovi Soli invicto Deo Genitori Rupe Nato* élevé par L. Aelius Hylas, etc.

Mentionnons aussi des simples affranchis et esclaves, tels que Euthices sur deux inscriptions d'Apulum dédiées *Deo Soli invicto Mithrae*; Fortunatus sur un autel de Sâcâdate dédié *Soli (?) invicto Mithrae*, etc., et quelques dédicaces à caractère spécial, telles que *templum a solo fecit*, sur un autel dédié *Deo invicto* érigé à Micia par P. Aelius Euphorus et *qui et templum* sur un autel de Partoş dédié *Soli invicto Mithrae* par C. Nummius Amandus.

Plus que tout autre culte oriental, le mithriacisme est, en Dacie, la manifestation d'une «mode» du temps, celle de l'«orientalisation» de l'Empire romain. C'est pourquoi il est dépourvu d'une vraie base ethnico-démographique et n'est pas en mesure de fournir des indications précises sur l'origine de ses adeptes ou de ses prêtres, même si une ambiance gréco-orientale est attestée ainsi que nous l'avons déjà souligné, pour beaucoup d'entre eux. Il s'agit par conséquent d'un phénomène à signification presque exclusivement culturelle, et non pas ethnique.

PER BESKOW

THE ROUTES OF EARLY MITHRAISM

The beginnings of Mithraism are largely unknown. The earliest monuments we know about appear within the boundaries of the Roman Empire, and the common assumptions of an earlier, Iranian form of the cult has been built solely upon conjecture. The idea that the mysteries have their roots in Persia and that they were brought to the west by "hellenized magi" is today open to increasing criticism [1].

It was the great authority of Franz Cumont that made this Iranian theory unquestionable for such a long time. Stig Wikander seems to have been the first scholar to question it in a book in which he radically denied the Iranian origin of the cult [2]. The Mithras of the mysteries, according to Wikander, is not identical with the Iranian Mithra (whose name in Greek is *Mithrēs*), and the cult has arisen outside the sphere of Iranian religion; Wikander proposed the Danubian region as a likely origin of the mysteries. At that time he had to bear a great deal of criticism, but today his opinion seems to be more favourably received.

Most scholars are perhaps not likely to accept his thesis that Mithra and Mithras were — or were understood as — two distinct names, and some kind of Iranian background is generally supposed. On the other hand, there is increasing agreement that the Mithras of the mysteries and the Mithra of Iranian religion are very different, and that the one cannot immediately be derived from the other. The burden of proof rests with those scholars who believe in a direct Iranian origin.

The difference between the western mysteries and the Iranian worship of Mithra is obvious for various reasons. The cult of Mithra in Iran and in neighbouring countries was part of an inherited religious system and even had an official character; the mysteries, on the other hand, were carried out by private societies without

[1] See R. L. Gordon, "Franz Cumont and the doctrines of Mithraism", *Mithraic Studies I*, pp. 215-248.

[2] *Études sur les mystères de Mithras I*, *Vet. Soc. Årsbok*, Lund 1950.

any visible Iranian connections. The members were not Iranians, or of Iranian stock, they had no Iranian names, and even theophoric names such as Mithridates are conspicuously absent. While Egyptians and Syrians certainly did carry their gods to Rome, there is no corresponding information about the Iranians, for the Iranian population in the Empire was minimal, and there was no Iranian *diaspora*-group in Rome[3].

The same has to be said about the language. There is no evidence that the worshippers — soldiers or slaves in higher positions — should have had any knowledge of Iranian languages, and thus it is most unlikely that they also had any knowledge of Zoroastrian tradition. Words like *Nama* and *Nabarze*, *Cautes* and *Cautopates* only confirm the scarcity of Iranian reminiscences and cannot be taken as evidence for a further acquaintance with Persian in one form or another. That the average Christian is able to say *Amen* or *Hallelujah* is no proof that he has some knowledge of Hebrew.

The mythological scenes, so often represented in Mithraic art, are unknown in the east, except perhaps in the form of scattered elements, often very remotely connected with those of the mysteries. The tauroctone, the accompanying animals, the two torchbearers, the cave and so on are completely unknown as a structure. It was therefore misleading when Cumont—and after him Vermaseren—mixed the monuments of the Iranian cult with those of the mysteries, thereby blurring the obvious distinction between the two systems.

The excavation of the Dura Mithraeum gave rise to expectations that a link between Parthian religion and the western mystery cult had been established, but these expectations have by no means been fulfilled. This Mithraeum is of a fairly late origin—if we consider the history of the mysteries as a whole—and neither architecture nor iconography give the impression of representing a primitive stage. On the contrary, the mysteries as well as the iconographical motifs seem to have been brought to Dura from the west. Palmyrene troops were stationed at the Danubian frontier in the beginning of the second century, and it is likely that they had picked up the mysteries there and had later brought them home to Syria[4]. Moreover, the

[3] This is evident from G. La Piana's exhaustive work, "Foreign Groups in Rome during the First Centuries of the Empire", *Harvard Theol. Review* 20 (1927), pp. 183-403.

[4] E. D. Francis, "Mithraic graffiti from Dura-Europos," *Mithraic Studies 2*, pp. 424-445, esp. p. 430 f. I have, independently of Francis, arrived at the same conclusion and have presented it in an unprinted essay.

paintings have been influenced by Parthian art both in style and in content (cf. the hunting scene, the two magi). This does not change the general impression that Dura is just a special case of those many Mithraea built by soldiers along the frontier of the Empire.

If we want to establish the routes of Mithraist expansion, we have to start within the Roman Empire and consider those regional varieties that appear in the monuments, and which seem to reflect different stages in the history of the cult. Mithraic iconography may indeed look stereotyped, but neither the art nor the inscriptions have always been cast in the same mould.

The study of regional varieties, however, encounters several methodological problems. Our knowledge is fragmentary, and sometimes pure chance will account for the fact that a certain type of evidence survived in one region and not in another one. In other words, one is easily lead into the dangerous temptation of arguments *e silentio*. So the Mithraic word *Nama* seemed until recently to be confined to inscriptions from Italy and Syria, but is now fairly well established as appearing in a Pannonian inscription[5].

Another immediate difficulty is that the monuments offer no direct evidence for the roads along which the cult spread. The iconographical representations which are generally divided into various schools may well have arrived on the spot considerably later than the cult itself and there is no definite proof that the artist travelled by the same route as the cult. From this point of view the epigraphical evidence seems to be more reliable and in the following discussion I limit myself mainly to the inscriptions.

In some cases the local or regional spread of certain elements is so obvious that it can hardly be explained as just a matter of chance. The lion-headed figure is concentrated in Italy, is far less frequent in the provinces, and seldom appears in the Danubian region[6]. The well-known seven grades have mainly been found in inscriptions from Dura and from Rome, and in Rome especially in one Mithraeum, under S. Prisca on the Aventine. Observations of just this kind may

[5] J. Tóth, "Eine Mithrasche Akklamationsinschrift aus Aquincum," *Acta Classica* (Debrecen) 10/11 (1974-75), pp. 151-154.

[6] J.R. Hinnells, "Reflections on the lion-headed figure in Mithraism," *Acta Iranica* 9 (1975) p. 368 f., where the diagrams indicate the distribution of the figure. *CIMRM* 1705 (from Carnuntum in Pannonia) is a *fibula*, which may easily have been brought there from elsewhere.

open up the possibility of placing the mysteries within a geographical and historical context. Two areas are of a special interest in these respects, Pannonia and Syria, where distinct features are to be found in inscriptions and, to a certain extent, also in art.

Mithraic inscriptions from Pannonia are rich in otherwise unknown or rare expressions, an indication that the mysteries have here gone through a creative phase. This is especially evident in those inscriptions that mention the rock-birth of Mithras, common as a motif in art but seldom given verbal expression. *Petrae genetrici* is known in three or four instances from Pannonia and in two from elsewhere. *Naturae dei, nascentem deum*, and *genitor luminis* are only known from Pannonia. *deo genitori* has been found in the neighbouring provinces of Dalmatia and Dacia. The enigmatic expression *transitu dei* is known in six instances, five from Pannonia and one from Dalmatia, while *fonti perenni* is known from four inscriptions, all from Pannonia[7].

Some expressions have been found in Pannonian and Roman inscriptions but are unknown elsewhere, an indication that Pannonia has here been the donor. It is not uncommon that traditions have travelled from the provinces to Rome, while it is far less likely that a Roman tradition has spread to just one province but nowhere else. In its fully written form the well-known and much-debated word *Nabarze* has only been found in Rome, in Pannonia and in Dacia[8]. Apart from the obscure inscription on the York statue, the name of *Arimanius* has only been found in two dedications from Pannonia and in two from Ostia and Rome, respectively. The names

[7] *Petrae genetrici*: *CIMRM* 1490, 1652, 1674, 1743 (Pannonia), 1127 (Heddernheim), 1874 (Salona); *naturae dei*: *CIMRM* 1493; *nascentem deum*, *CIMRM* 1531; *genitor luminis*: *CIMRM* 1676; *deo genitori*: *CIMRM* 2007, 2008 (Dostati): Dr. Toth has kindly informed me that this formula also appears in an inscription from Sarmizegetusa. *transitu dei*: *CIMRM* 1495, 1497, 1722, 1738, 1811 (Pannonia), 1900 (Skelani). *fonti perenni*: *CIMRM* 1465, 1533, 1753, 1810, three other instances, recorded in *CIMRM*, are extremely dubious.

[8] *Nabarze*: *CIMRM* 1790 (Aquincum in Pannonia), 501 (Rome), 2029 (Sarmizegetusa). *CIMRM* has several inscriptions with an *N*, which might, or might not, be an abbreviation of *Nabarze*: *CIMRM* 390, 915, 2153. *CIMRM* 872 (from Birdoswald) is not an abbreviation of Nabarze. E. & J.R. Harris, *The Oriental Cults in Roman Britain*, Leiden 1965, p. 39, n. 12. For a similar *N* on an altar from Lucey in France, see V.J. Walters, *The Cult of Mithras in the Roman Provinces of Gaul*, Leiden 1974, p. 130. *EMMM* 2, p. 179 (n. 585) lists an inscription from Rome, which Cumont considered to be a forgery, but which is accepted as genuine by M. Schwartz, "Cautes and Cautopates," *Mithraic Studies* 2, p. 414, n. 32.

of *Cautes* and *Cautopates* have been found in inscriptions from various places, but have their greatest frequency in Pannonia and Italy. As we have already said, new findings may change the picture, but, at present, the total evidence gives the strong impression that Pannonia has been an important and creative centre for the mysteries of Mithras, and that some of its traditions seem to have been carried from there to Rome.

Another tradition connects Syria (Dura-Europos) with Italy (Rome and Ostia). In this case the most important element is the full seven-grade scale of initiations, the epigraphic evidence of which has only been found in the S. Prisca Mithraeum and (except for the term *heliodromus*) in Dura. Several floor mosaics in Ostia likewise indicate the importance of the grades there. From the provinces other than Syria only the names of single grades have been found. The only iconographical representation of the grades outside Italy is the relief from Konjic in Dalmatia, where representatives of different grades surround Mithras and Sol at their banquet. In the Danubian region including Pannonia included there is no evidence for the grades, except *pater* and *leo*, which are always the most common ones [10].

The names of some of the less common grades (i.e., *corax*, *nymphus*, and *heliodromus*) are of obvious Greek origin. In the S. Prisca Mithraeum they appear in a Latin form but have certainly been borrowed from a Greek-speaking community. Mithraic inscriptions in Greek are mainly limited to three regions: Italy (especially Rome), Cilicia-Syria, and the mouth of the Danube; in the last case the date of the inscriptions is uncertain and it is possible that they belong to a very late stage of Mithraic history [11]. Greek-speaking Mithraists in Rome and in Ostia have certainly played a rôle in transmitting the seven-grade system to the Latin-speaking communities, but it is more questionable if they might also have created the tradition. They seem to have adopted the Latin language very fast and do not show

[9] *Arimanius*: *CIMRM* 1773, 1775 (Aquincum in Pannonia), 222 (Ostia), 369 (Rome). For the statue and inscription from York, see J. R. Hinnells, *op. cit.*, p. 341 f., and for an opposite view, U. Bianchi, "Mithraism and Gnosticism," *Mithraic Studies*, p. 460 f.

[10] For the distribution of the inscriptions mentioning the grades, I have to refer to Dr. Gordon's forthcoming book. Floor mosaics in Ostia: *CIMRM* 239, 287 and esp. 299; the Konjic relief: *CIMRM* 1896.

[11] For the question of Greek inscriptions at the mouth of the Danube, see D. M. Pippidi, "În jurul descoperirilor mitriace din peștera Adam" (with a summary in French), *Studii Clasice* III (1971), pp. 143-148.

any other signs of having maintained a Greek identity. It is thus more likely that the seven-grade system has been created in Syria, and that in this case as well Rome has been the recipient. The common assumption that the seven grades have always and everywhere been part of the Mithraic mysteries seems unfounded, as long as no more evidence has appeared.

The regional varieties strongly indicate that Pannonia and Syria have made important contributions to the spread and internal development of the mysteries. The impression that two distinct traditions are really involved is supported by the fact that "Pannonian" and "Syrian" elements never appear mixed in any Roman Mithraeum but only in different Mithraea which might have had different traditions and a different origin[32].

From Pannonia and from Syria we may trace the roads of Mithraism back to the eastern part of the Danube, the two provinces of Moesia. It is here that the oldest known Mithraic monument has been found, which establishes the presence of the cult in this region around 100 A.C.[33]. The monuments from Moesia are very simple and lacking in those special elements that we have described as "Pannonian" and "Syrian", and may well reflect an older stratum. From here the cult seems to have radiated towards the west along the Danube, and with Palmyrene soldiers over the sea to Syria. Wikander thus seems to be right in attributing to the eastern region of the Danube an important rôle in the earliest history of the mysteries.

But do we necessary have to stop here? If we want to go further back, perhaps trying to connect the cult with Iran, we will undoubtedly end up in hypothetical statements. The problem of origin, however, is too important to be left open. There are already various explanations just which have to be reconsidered and there are also new possibilities to invistigate.

As E. D. Francis has well demonstrated, there is no evidence at all for the common idea that the Cilician pirates, mentioned by

[32] The Mithraeum in Ostia with the Arimanius dedication (*CIMRM* 222) has no trace of the seven-grade scale, nor does the S. Prisca Mithraeum, so rich in epigraphic evidence, have any formulas of the kind that I have labelled "Pannonian." More important than such arguments *e silentio* is the general impression that the two traditions have never appeared as combined.

[33] *CIMRM* 2269 (from Novae Steklen); for the date, see S.J. de Laet, *Portorium*, Brugge 1949, p. 204, n. 4, and p. 385 (for the date of P. Charagonius Philopalaestrus, mentioned in the inscription).

Plutarch, should have carried the mysteries to Rome[14]. Later evidence for the mysteries in Cilicia, such as the Anazarbus inscription and the medallion struck by Gordian III, are connected with movements of the Roman army and cannot be taken as an evidence of some indigenous mysteries in Cilicia.

Another favourite explanation, that Tiridates carried the mysteries to Rome during his visit to Nero in 66 A.C., has very little to commend it. Tiridates represented a traditional form of Iranian religion, evident from the fact that he strictly avoided travel by sea—a scruple that the pirates obviously did not share, nor Mithridates Eupator, who founded his kingdom on the Black Sea, and to whom we will return later. Mithra is never mentioned in the records of Tiridates' visit, and the Persian magi that he brought with him do not seem to belong there either. Most important of all, the mysteries as we know them, did not begin at the Emperor's court, but among soldiers and slaves. Not until Commodus did the mysteries receive the favour of the Emperor.

More likely is the explanation that the *legio XV Apollinaris* has been the transmitter of the mysteries[15]. Their campaign in the east, however, did not last very long, and the earliest evidence for the presence of Mithraists in this legion comes a too late to be relevant.

I would here like to point to another possibility. The location of the earliest Mithraic evidence not far from the mouth of the Danube is a reason to investigate communications across the Black Sea, at this time dominated by the so-called Bosporan kingdom, on both sides of the „Cimmerian Bosporus," the present sound of Kerch east of the Crimea. As far as I know, the Crimea has seldom been mentioned in this context and may also sound somewhat far-fetched, but a glance at the map will demonstrate that this region was situated within easy reach of those who sailed on the Danube and on the Black Sea along its delta.

The Bosporan kingdom had been founded by Mithridates Eupator, king of Pontus in Asia Minor when he occupied the Crimea and other parts of the Black Sea coast about 110 B.C.E. and made them a part of his kingdom. It was here, in Panticapaion, that Mithridates took refuge after having been defeated by Pompey in Asia

[14] In an appendix to F. Cumont, "The Dura Mithraeum," *Mithraic Studies 1*, pp. 207-210.

[15] This view has been widely accepted, for example, by C.M. Daniels, "The Roman army and the spread of Mithraism," *Mithraic Studies 2*, p. 251.

Minor. The Bosporan kingdom continued to exist after the downfall [illegible] Mithridates, sometimes under the same king as Pontus, and subsequently it came under Roman influence. The Romans allowed the Bosporans to keep a kind [illegible] sovereignty, and to have an army and fleet [illegible] their own. Nero was the first Roman Emperor who sent troops to the Crimea[16].

Already from the beginning the Bosporan kingdom had a mixed population. Thracians, Sarmatians, Scyths, and, [illegible] the cities, a Greek population, for these were often old Greek colonies. There was a strong Iranian element, which increased when Mithridates transferred soldiers and colonists here from the eastern parts [illegible] Asia Minor. The growing iranization is evident from personal names, clothing, and weapons[17].

There is no explicit evidence [illegible] a cult [illegible] Mithra in the Bosporan kingdom, but there are some indications that have to be considered. Some coins from Panticapaion and from Gorgippia have on the obverse the head of a male figure with a Phrygian cap, and on the reverse Dionysos with a bunch [illegible] grapes[18]. Now we know that Mithridates regarded himself as a *neos Dionysos*, and the Dionysos-figure seems to express this claim. Obverse and reverse often correspond, and thus there is some reason [illegible] believe the figure on the obverse to be Mithra whose name is part [illegible] that of the king. On his Phrygian cap he carries a crescent and [illegible] star like a badge, an old Persian symbol that appears on other coins of Mithridates and which supports the claims of the king to represent the old Persian dynasty. The figure is obviously not Men, whose crescent is invariably visible behind his shoulders[19].

Another possible piece of evidence is offered by the five terracotta plaques with [illegible] tauroctone, found in Crimea and taken into the records of Mithraic monuments by Cumont and Vermaseren[20]. If

[16] The history of the Bosporan kingdom is thoroughly treated in V.F. Gajdukevič, *Das Bosporanische Reich*, Berlin 1971.

[17] M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford 1922, p. 156

[18] E.H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge 1931, pl. VI:10; Gajdukevič, *op. cit.*, [illegible] III:50, 51. The date of these coins is uncertain, they are from the first century B.C.E., possibly from Mithridates' reign

[19] For the iconography of Men, see E. Lane, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis [illegible] Menis (CMRDM) I*, Leiden 1[illegible]

[20] *TAMM* 2, p. 191 f.; *CIMRM* 11-12. There are in fact five plaques [illegible] two different types, represented by the two instances in *CIMRM*. W. Blawatsky / G. Kochelenko, *Le culte de Mithra sur la côte septentrionale de la Mer Noire*, Leiden 1966, p. 14 ff.

they are Mithraic, they are certainly the oldest known representations of Mithras tauroctone; the somewhat varying dates given by Russian archaeologists will set the beginning of the first century A.C. as a *terminus ad quem*, which is also said to have been confirmed by the stratigraphic conditions[21].

The plaques are typical Bosporan terracottas and it seems clear that they have been made on the spot, not imported from Asia Minor as Cumont had suggested[22]. The dress of the tauroctone is of the same kind as found in other terracottas, with a Phrygian cap, loosely hanging down at the back, and *anaxyrides*[23].

At the same time it must be admitted that the plaques have some strange features, which make it debatable if this is really Mithra(s). Most striking is the fact that his genitals are visible as they are in the iconography of Attis, which is accentuated by high *anaxyrides*. Instead of the tunic and the flowing cloak he wears a kind of jacket, buttoned over the breast with only one button, perhaps the attempt of a not so skillful artist to represent a cloak. The bull is small and has a hump, and the tauroctone does not plunge his knife into the flank of the bull, but holds it lifted. The nudity gives the figure the character of a fertility god and if we want to connect it directly with the Mithraic mysteries it is indeed embarrassing that the first one of these plaques was found in a woman's tomb[24]. It is impossible, however, to disregard these figures completely in a discussion of the Mithras tauroctone, if they only represent a sideline of the tradition[25].

Another possible connection with the mysteries of Mithras is suggested by the Bosporan *thiasoi* or *synodoi*, private societies that flourished in the Bosporan cities, and which had a special character, different from that of their counterparts in other Hellenistic cities.

[21] A review of the research reports (which are all in Russian) in Blawatsky / Kochelenko, *op. cit.*, p. 21. The latest date given is that of the two authors, who attribute the plaques to the second half of the first century B.C.E. or the beginning of the first century A.C.

[22] Blawatsky / Kochelenko, *op. cit.*, p. 17 f.

[23] Compare the plaques with the terracotta figures in *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien* (1854), rééditées ... par S. Reinach, Paris 1892, pl. LXIV; Rostovtzeff, *op.cit.*, pl. XXX.

[24] Blawatsky / Kochelenko, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[25] The Nike tauroctone, from which the iconography of the bull-killing Mithras is generally derived, has been found in one instance on the Crimea, on a ring of unknown provenience, *Antiquités* ..., pl. XVIII nr. 7. The deer-killing Artemis is represented on Bosporan coins, Minns, *op. cit.*, pl. IV:16, 27.

We know these guilds mainly through inscriptions where all the members tend to be named. From these incriptions it is evident that the societies were exclusively masculine and that the members were soldiers and belonged to the aristocracy[26]. The guilds were associated with the cult of some divinity, mostly of Oriental origin. The most well-known of these gods is always referred to as *theos hypsistos*, with a term probably borrowed from the Jews[27]. Otherwise there is nothing Jewish about this god who was connected with the sun and who is always represented as riding as so many other gods in Thracia and Asia Minor, Mithra included[28].

The Bosporan guilds had a closed, esoteric character, and during the period in question, the number of members in one guild seems to have been limited to 15-20 persons. They called each other *adelfoi* and stood under the leadership of a *patēr*. There were also several other officials, sometimes with unknown functions[29]. All this comes much closer to the mysteries of Mithras than anything similar to be found during the period immediately preceding the earliest evidence for the mysteries.

It has been suggested that the special character of the Bosporan guilds may be understood against an Iranian background[30], especially as the population and its culture was so strongly iranized. It is tempting to relate these aristocratic soldierclubs with the Iranian *Männerbünde*, the societies of warriors, which Wikander and Widengren have tried to reconstruct, but I want to leave this controversial issue aside, since it is not clear what rôle these societies may have played in Roman Imperial times[31]. Among the titles of Bosporan guild officials we also find the terms *gymnasiarchês* and *neaniskarchês* with the education of the youth as their task, according to Widengren[32], this is precisely the main function of the Parthian societies of warriors.

[26] Minns, *op. cit.*, p. 625, Gajdukevič, *op. cit.*, p. 457.

[27] Minns, *op. cit.*, p. 621f., Gajdukevič, *op. cit.*, *sub voce*. Blawatsky / Kochelenko, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[28] D. Tudor, *Corpus Monumentorum Religionis Equitum Danuviorum* (*CMRED*), Leiden 1969, has a rich material.

[29] Minns, *op. cit.*, p. 623f., Gajdukevič, *op. cit.*, p. 454f.

[30] Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

[31] S. Wikander, *Det arische Männerbund*, Lund 1938. G. Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, Stuttgart, p. 23ff. Widengren has also wanted to derive the mysteries of Mithras from the Iranian societies of warriors (*ibid.*, p. 224), but without considering a possible intermediary stage.

[32] Minns, *op. cit.*, p. 624, Gajdukevič, *op. cit.*, p. 455; Widengren, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

Not until the middle of the first century A.C. did Roman troops appear in the Crimea. For a long time the Bosporans had been allowed to run their own defense forces, but at this time the Sarmatians pressed forward so hard that the Romans understood the danger for their own interests. A Roman force was sent from Moesia under the leadership of Plautius Silvanus Aelianus in order to relieve Chersonnesus, besieged by the Sarmatians[33]. It as also possible that the Crimea was used as a base during Nero's expedition against Armenia, which was, in fact, never carried out. Anyway, there were Roman troops stationed on the Crimea in the 60's. Josephus tells us (*Bell.* 2.6.14, in a speech allegedly given by king Agrippa) that there were 3000 Roman soldiers present in the Bosporus in 66 A.C.

Unfortunately we are not very well informed about the composition of the Roman troops; we only know that they were sent from Moesia. Most of the Roman inscriptions on the Crimea are from the second century or later. Some stamped tiles may date from the first century and these mention the legions *I Italica* and *XI Claudia*, also known from Moesia, and the most likely answer is that the troops consisted of *vexillationes* from these two legions[34].

Towards the end of the first century, probably during the reign of Domitian, Roman troops left the Crimea in order to strengthen the Danubian frontier. In Trajan's time we find the two legions in Moesia, *I Italica* at Novae/Steklen, and *XI Claudia* at Durostorum. In Novae, the earliest known Mithraic monument in the west has been found, and inscriptions from both Novae and Durostorum tell us that the mysteries of Mithras were practised by soldiers from these two legions[35].

It seems that it might be possible to use the evidence mentioned here in order to build a model of the early communications between Iranian culture and the mysteries among the soldiers at the Danube. Let me once again emphasize that this is merely a model, intended to be used for further research, not a finished theory.

The Bosporan situation at this time is unique because Roman and Iranian soldiers here fought together against a common enemy, the Sarmatians. I therefore suggest that the Roman soldiers have been in contact with Bosporan soldiers' guilds, that some of them may

[33] Gajdukevič, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

[34] M. Rostovtzeff (Rostowzew), "Römische Besatzungen in der Krim und das Kastell Charax," *Klio* 2 (1902), p. 93f.

[35] On Novae/Steklen, see above, n. 12. *CIMRM* 2271, 2273.

have been initiated there, and that they have formed their own societies on this model. As the divinity to be worshipped in the secret societies, they chose the Iranian Mithra, of whom they may have had very confused ideas. On their return to the Danubian frontier, the cult lost all its Iranian roots and was consolidated as a mystery cult among the soldiers. Two well-known facts may be explained in this way: that the mysteries had their adherents mainly among the soldiers—for they were soldiers' or rather officers' clubs already from their beginning—and also that the language of the mysteries was generally Latin, for Latin was the language of the legions. Not until the beginning of the second century were "barbarians" recruited to the army and organized in *numeri* with Greek language[36]. Such a *numerus Palmyrenorum* was stationed at the Danubian frontier, and, as I have suggested, it was these troops that carried the mysteries to Syria and translated their terminology into Greek. Perhaps the name of Mithras may be explained, if it existed within the mysteries in a Latin form before it appeared in Greek transcription. But this will require further investigation.

[36] H. Callies, "Die fremden Truppen im römischen Heer des Prinzipats und die sogenannten nationalen Numeri," *Röm. Komm. d. Deutschen Archäol. Inst.* 43/44, *Bericht d. röm.-germ. Komm.* 1962-63, Berlin 1964.

UGO BIANCHI

MITHRA AND THE QUESTION OF IRANIAN MONOTHEISM

In 1920 Pettazzoni wrote: "But the work of the Reformer was not exhausted in the elaboration of ancient concepts. The Reformation had also its truly new, great conception: the monotheistic conception (...). The other gods of the preexisting religion Zarathustra negated as gods—and in this Reformation was also Revolution. They were *daēvas*, and they remained *daēvas*: but the meaning of the word *daēva* (...) turned into the contrary of god. Now we understand why Indra and Nāŋha(i)θya are demons in the Avesta."[1] The picture is clear, but also schematic. According to this standard, one wonders why Mithra, who is admittedly ignored in the Gāθās, is not a *daēva* in the younger *Avesta*, but a *yazata*. This did not escape Pettazzoni who wonders whether this non-daevification of Mithra was caused by Mithra's peculiar connection with Ahura Mazda. Nevertheless he answers the question negatively, citing other deities of the "Iranian traditional religion" who enjoy the statute of *yazatas*: Vərəθrayna (*Yt.* 14), Apąm Napāt (*Y.* 19, 52) etc. One could also recall that Anahita is "enemy to the *daēvas*, true to the law of Ahura" (*Yt.* 5). The question of a connection between 'daevification' of some Proto-Aryan deities and 'monotheism' remains unanswered.

More recently the question has been touched upon, in the course of a more sophisticated treatment by Ilya Gershevitch[2]: the polytheists—he writes—are described as 'worst' in the Gathic *Y.* 32, 3-5: "But you gods all are a manifestation of evil thinking, and he who so-much worships you (is a manifestation) of falsehood and dissent...". (It is the same *Gāθā* in which the famous words about the bull and the sun are to be read)[3]. "We learn from this passage,"

[1] *La religione di Zarathustra nella storia religiosa dell'Iran*, Bologna 1920, p. 55. As for Indra, reference is made to *Vd.* 10, 9; 19, 43.

[2] *Mithraic Studies. Proceedings of the First Intern. Congress of Mithraic Studies*, Manchester 1975, vol. I, pp. 79-[illegible].

[3] According to Gershevitch, 'seeing the cow and the sun' is an idiomatic expression for 'going to Paradise' (*op. cit.* p. 79). The Gathic text would read: "For that man would indeed be a perverter of doctrines sowing unholy confusion in the minds

writes Gershevitch, "that Zoroaster viewed the gods as mere 'Hirngespinste' ..."[4], adding that "it comes as no surprise [illegible] find that this affront to traditional thinking was promptly buried with its discoverer ...." Arguing from the compound *daēvō.zuštā* [illegible] the passage quoted, and affirming that "the verses...make sense only if *daēva* has one and the same meaning throughout them," Gershevitch concludes that the meaning of *daēva* [illegible] the Gāthā [illegible] question must be 'gods' and not 'false gods.'[5] Moreover, "the Gāthās invariably speak [illegible] the gods (*daēvas*) in the plural" (a very pertinent point in Gershevitch's argumentation), and "we are cramped by our calling a 'god' also Zoroaster's sole god, Mazdā. The prophet suffered from no such disability. By referring [illegible] Mazdā as simply 'the Lord (*Ahura*), he remained free to bring to bear on the gods the full brunt of his total rejection of them all...." We leave aside one further argument of Gershevitch which we do not understand, namely, that to Zarathustra the gods were mere thoughts, conceived by erroneously thinking men, and that the gods, "existing as thoughts, had [illegible] [illegible] them to think, i.e. to choose" (according [illegible] Y. [illegible], [illegible] where [illegible] is said that the gods chose wrongly). What is interesting to us is that Gershevitch, recalling the alternative that it was not Zoroaster but Zoroaster's successors who changed the meaning of *daēva* from 'god' to 'devil,' reaches the conclusion that "when Zoroaster inveighs against the gods, invariably *in the plural*, adding '[illegible]' so as [illegible] permit no exception, he inveighs not against demons but against *poly*theism, the traditional age-old Indo-Iranian religion, *all* [illegible] the gods revered within which

of his innocent audience, who maintained that Paradise is the place where the worst of men go." No allusion is made to Mithra as a slayer of the bull and a vanquisher [illegible] the sun (as it was maintained by Lommel, "Wörter und Sachen", 1938, p. 245, as quoted by Duchesne-Guillemin, *Zoroastre*, p. 252). A criticism of the attribution to Zarathustra of a condemnation of the Haoma and the sacrifice can [illegible] found [illegible] Zaehner's *Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*, p. 351.

[4] i.e. "mere products of thought."

[5] Cf. also J. Duchesne-Guillemin, "Le dieu de Cyrus," *Acta Iranica* III, p. 13 (and "Die Religion der Achämeniden" *Acta antiqua Acad. Scientiarum Hungaricae* 19 (1971), p. 27): "Le mot *daiva* désigne chez Xerxès, selon l'interprétation la plus probable, les dieux [illegible] la Babylonie, dont le culte fut supprimé lors du châtiment de la province rebelle. Mais cet emploi présupposait le sens de 'dieu dont le culte est proscrit', qui est celui de *daēva* dans l'Avesta." (But see also our *Addendum*, n. 14). Some points of the argument of Gershevitch are anticipated by H. H. Schaeder, *ZDMG* 1941, p. 445ff (*daēvas* = verworfene 'Götter' in the Gathas, identified later with the band [illegible] demons [illegible] popular belief). See *Addendum*, p. 44 n. 14.

he had dismissed as inexisting." And he adds: "*This* is why one looks in vain for Mithra or any other pagan god's name in the Gāthās." In Gershevitch's opinion, it was only later that, under the "relentless pressure" of the resurging polytheists, "a feeble-minded Church leadership gave in, having hit on a face-saving formula that satisfied the majority of both Zoroastrians (...) and polytheists." According to this formula the gods Zoroaster had declared 'manifestations of evil thinking' were *not* the gods whom the gods-worshippers worship, i.e., Mithra, Haoma, Vayu, Vərəθrayna and the others. The condemned 'gods' were *demons*. Instead, Mithra, Vayu, Haoma, etc. "were reverend also to Zoroaster." "And so *yazata*," Gershevitch continues, "the plain gerundive of the Avestan verb *yaz-* 'to revere,' found itself suddenly raised in the Younger Avesta to the exalted position of general word for 'god'. This way, Zoroaster's absolutely monotheistic "prohibition to classify the gods and Ahura Mazdā under a single heading" was circumvened, but, on the other hand, "only through dedaivification could ancient Mithra become 'reverend' to Zoroaster's successors."

All this deserves full attention, particularly as far as the *plural* (and thus to a certain extent indiscriminate) Gathic use of *daēva* is concerned. But in our opinion the question again arises: why did Mithra benefit from this dedaivification in the *Younger Avesta*, together with Vayu, Haoma, etc., and not, say, Indra? And again: Was Mithra ever conceived of as a *daiva* in pre-Zoroastrian Iran, so as to be the object of "dedaivification" in a later period? Did perhaps Mithra, with other deities, belong—already in pre-Zoroastrian times—to a class of superhuman beings, different from the other superhuman beings which were called *daivas*? Is it here that we find the very reason — a reason to be qualified as *religionsgeschichtlich* — for the different fate of Mithra and Indra in the *Younger Avesta*? Surely all these questions are involved in the vaster question of the signification of the Zarathuštran message, and in the question of Gathic monotheism, or at least silence about those who were to be called the *yazatas* in the *Younger Avesta*. But we shall concentrate on the issue about 'Mithra and the question of Iranian monotheism.' In other words, we shall try to contribute, by a sort of inductive procedure, to the more general question about monotheism and the concept of Divinity in Zoroastrianism; this approach is all the more appropriate since the reverse procedure—the one deductive from the general concepts of monotheism and Divinity—would be contrary to historio-

graphical methodology and indulgent to arbitrary categorization, against which Gershevitch warns us, in our using the term 'god.'

Probably, something in the Indo-Iranian (Proto-Aryan) nature of the *daēvas* turned these into demons in the Iranian space; something which was also proper to Indra, in opposition to Mit(h)ra[6]. Most probably, the divarication of the destinies of Mithra and Indra in the Iranian space was caused by the personal characteristics of these two gods and their functions in the pantheon and in cosmogony, already in Indo-Iranian times. This was probably due to some kind of violence, implicit in Indra's nature, as well as in the cosmogonical deeds of this deity, very different from the nature and deeds of Mit(h)ra. As for the Vedic Mitra, we can characterise this god, as Gonda has done, as "the god who puts things right, who, while maintaining Ṛta, regulates, the contacts between men and the divine powers" ... "His [Varuṇa's] companion or complement Mitra is likewise concerned with the Ṛta—and, like him, a possessor and promoter of Ṛta, but rather as its maintainer, as the one who keeps in manifestations in the right condition, who stabilises, redresses, adjusts, restores" ... "As far as the Veda is concerned, there is a god Mitra and an appellative *mitram* which expresses the main idea the god stands for: the maintenance, without wrath or vengeance, of right, orderly relations, the actual manifestations of which were, first and foremost, alliances and active benevolence."[7]

This does not mean that 'benevolence' is the essential trait of a Mitra 'friend' as contrasted to the 'terribleness' of Varuṇa; we here have to trust in Thieme's criticism of the Dumézilian scheme[8]. As Thieme observes[9], not only Varuṇa's but also Mitra's wrath is referred to in the *Rigveda*: 7. 62. 4. (We quote from Grassmann):

Nicht mögen zürnen Varuna und Vaju
nicht Mitra uns, der liebste aller Männer...

and 7. 65. 3:

[6] But one must consider that the distinction between the *asuras* and the *devas* is not always strict (not even for which Indra is concerned): W. N. Brown, "The Creator Myth of the Rig Veda," *Journ. of the Amer. Orient. Soc.* 62 (1942), p. 85ss., see below, p. 28 and notes 21 and 56.

[7] *Mithraic Studies*, p. 51f.

[8] *Mitra and Aryaman*, *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, New Haven Conn., vol. 41, nov. 1957, pp. 9 and 18.

[9] *Mitra and Aryaman*, p. 6. "The 'Aryan' gods of the Mitanni Treaties," *Journ. of the Amer. Orient. Soc.*, 80 (1960), p. 311f.

Ihr (Varuna und Mitra) seid des Unrechts seilversehne Wehren, dem bösen Menschen nicht zu überschreiten...[10]

But, to put it in Thieme's words, "in the Ṛgveda Mitra and Varuṇa do not, in general, do their fighting themselves. The fighting is done by Indra, who is depicted as their heroic executive, so to speak";—the *amitra* "(a man) without contract" (in Thieme's translation) "is slain by Indra, for his unethical action"[11]. *RV* 10, 89, dedicated to this god, is formal in this connection: Indra, who slew Vṛtra, and liberated the waters, can be approached by these words:

st.8f. Du Indra, als der weise Schuld-Verfolger,
zerhaust das Unrecht, wie das Schwert die Glieder,
Der Menschen, die des Varuna und Mitra
Gesetz verletzen, wie den Freund die Bösen.
Die bösgesinnt den Arjaman und Mitra
und Varuna, die einigen, beleid'gen,
auf solche Feinde, starker Indra, schleudere
die starke wucht'ge Flammenkeule nieder (Thieme: "...those without contract...").

So, with all his violence, or better, in virtue of this, Indra is the supporter of the Law and of Loyalty of Varuṇa and Mitra[12] as he is also the supporter (and the lord, as the same hymn puts it) of the whole universe, a lord to be invocated in war and in peace.

However, this is far from exhausting the personality of Indra: his relations to the fidelity of contract are rather ambiguous, as may be seen—even already in the *Ṛigveda*—in the well known episode of Namuci, also quoted by Thieme[13]. Acting cunningly, Indra cuts of the head of this demon, which, in one version, can reproach him of being *mitrahan*, 'contract breaker.' In more general terms, the great god Indra is frequently the 'contradictory' hero of strange adventures. Let us here recall *RV* 10, 86, the episode with Vrishākapi,

[10] Thieme also quotes *RV* 7, 63,3: "These two (Mitra and Varuṇa) have many snares...": *Mithraic Studies*, p. 30, with a discussion about the attributing of snares both to Varuṇa and Mitra (see also "The 'Aryan' gods"..., p. 311).

[11] Cf. *Mitra and Aryaman*, ll. cc. and p. [illegible] For other RV instances of Indra slaying the *amitra*, cf. Thieme, "The 'Aryan' gods...", p. 310.

[12] Cf. *RV* 2, 12, 10: (Indra) "Der alle, die da grossen Frevel üben...mit dem Pfeile tödtet". *AV* 3, [illegible], 2 *aśvattha*, allied with Indra, Mitra and Varuṇa, is invited to crush the enemies. It is interesting to note that also the Aśvins, who are *devas*, can be 'accompanied' by Mitra, Varuṇa, Dharma, as well as by the Maruts; Thieme, "The 'Aryan' gods...." p. 305. [illegible] 45 and 56.

[13] *Mithraic Studies*, p. 26f., with references.

the 'strong Monkey,' where we find side by side the words of Indrāṇī, who magnifies her husband as a hero, and the words of Indra which underline the importance for him of the ritual drink offered by Vrishākapi [redacted] the gods (Geldner: "eine dramatische Szene im echten Volkston")[14].

Other elements also point to Indra as a popular hero, full of seeming contradictions or rather, a many-sided hero, but fundamentally *constans sibi* and unitary[15]. One would almost say, with some limitations (on which, see below), that he represents a kind of *trickster-demiurge*, in whom heroic deeds and unseemly behaviour go hand in hand. Just those characteristics which caused some scholars to interpret him euhemeristically as a *human* hero (and perhaps as an ancient historic chieftain!)[16] are the ones that point to him as a qualified mythical hero, not without resemblance in the mythologies of the world. Let us recall (chiefly from *RV* 4, 18, together with 3, 48) these characteristics, which could indicate a figure intermediate between a demiurge-trickster[17] and a Thor[18]. As for the aspects which can evoke the figure [redacted] a demiurge-trickster, Indra was born—according to his will—in an irregular manner, which was disapproved by his mother; he was deserted by her; "[redacted] seeks by himself his own way[19];"

[14] See on this text Geldner, *Der Rigveda in Auswahl*, 2. *Kommentar*, Stuttgart 1909, pp. 184-187. According to Grassmann this hymn is late.

[15] We give the reasons for this in the following pages, which in our opinion are an answer to the contrary position of Thieme, "The 'Aryan' gods . .," p. 313f.

[16] Benveniste and Renou, *Vrtra et Vṛθragna*, see also J. Charpentier, "Indra", *Le monde oriental*, 25, 1931, p. [redacted], and Barnett, quoted by Charpentier, see also n. 34.

[17] As for the figure [redacted] the demiurge-trickster: U. Bianchi, [redacted] *dualismo religioso*, Roma 1958, pp. 57-146 and 194-197, id., "Der demiurgische Trickster und die Religionsethnologie," *Paideuma. Mitteilungen zur Kulturkunde*, 7(1961), pp. 335-344; id., "Le dualisme en [redacted]storie des religions", *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 159 (1961), pp. 1-44, esp. p. 8ff. For a comparison of Indra with the type of the demiurge-trickster: U. Bianchi, *Teogonie e cosmogonie*, Roma 1960 (*Series Universale Studium*, *no.* 69), p. 57f.

[18] As for Thor, see Charpentier, *op. cit.*, p. 16. (On Mithras' putative similarity to Germanic deities, especially Wodan, see H.E. Ellis Davidson's contribution to these *Proceedings*, pp. 99ff., *Ed.*).

[19] These characteristics recall to us the demiurge trickster of Polynesia, Maui (see below, [redacted] 26). Prematurely born, he is exposed by his mother in the sea, as an embryo, and is contemned by his brothers, who will later on have to acknowledge his qualities. Cf. also the Melanesian Qat (D.M. MacKenzie, *Myths from Melanesia and Indonesia*, [redacted] 135f.), who is born from a *petra genitrix* (on this

he stole the *soma* in the house of Tvaṣṭr, or overwhelmed this deity, perhaps for the same purpose[20] (to get that *soma* which is so necessary to him); he "caused his mother to be a widow," [illegible] slew his father[21]; he knew times of misery; he was deserted by the gods perhaps just before his battle against the monster; he caused some cosmic utilities to exist (light, fire, water, milk[22]); he freed the waters, killed a monster, he perhaps separated the heaven from the earth (see below); he seems to assume different figures (but in the context of his heroic greatness). Prajāpati did not create him spontaneously[23], but only upon the insistence of the gods; [illegible] was proverbial in erotic adven-adventures[24]; he was the protagonist [illegible] some unseemly episodes; he arouses comic impulses or mockery; he is irrational, sometimes amoral and treacherous, and, [illegible] this respect, he is so different from Mithra. On the other hand, as for his similarity with the German Thor: "les poètes...dépeignent en images vives ses lèvres, sa barbe flottante, la longueur de ses bras, la capacité de son ventre,... gros

motif in South-East Asia, Indonesia, Melanesia and Polynesia, cf. W. Münsterberger, *Ethnologische Studien an indonesischen Schöpfungsmythen*, Haag 1939, pp. 29, [illegible], 431f.), on the road, and has no father. He gives himself his name. As for the peculiarity of his birth, connected with incidents among the primordial beings, cf. also Ku'urkil, Raven, a figure of Chukchee mythology, connected with the type of the demiurge-trickster. The Creator and his wife 'forgot' to create him, during the night he originated from a garment belonging to the primordial couple, so [illegible] can (partially erroneously) boast of being "autocreated", a boasting proper also to other more or less analogous figures (cf. [illegible] *dualismo religioso*, cit., p. 59). That the Creator forgot [illegible] create the Raven, who came to light anyway, is symptomatic of the Raven's precarious, but necessary presence in a *Weltanschauung*. In another Palaeo-Siberian myth Raven is analogously born from the file-dust of the knife of the Creator.

[20] Geldner: "Tvaṣṭr widersetzt sich der Geburt Indras."

[21] As for the motif of the slaying of Indra's father and the connected particulars, see W. Norman Brown, "The Creation Myth of the Rig Veda", *Journ. of the Amer. Orient. Soc.* 62 (1942), p. 85ff. He interprets the myth (perhaps he is a little too concordistic) as a myth of separation of Heaven and Earth; see below. According to Grassmann the [illegible] 12 and 13 of [illegible] 4, 18, concerning Indra's mother as a widow and the slaying of the father are later. As to the question of the father of Indra see n. 37.

[22] Thieme, "The 'Aryan' gods...," p. 314.

[23] As we have recalled, the Raven of Chukchee mythology was not created by the Creator, who forgot to create him, but from a garment belonging to him; for the meaning of this 'forgetting', cf. n. [illegible], were other instances of 'casual' birth of analogous personages are quoted. But see also n. 18, and below, as to the theme of the divarication between the old gods and the divine hero.

[24] Cfr. e.g. AV 3, 4, 6, quoted in n. 45.

mangeur, buveur insatiable de soma, souvent ivre et déchaîné, paillard, il a des parties de Gargantua"[25]. And above all, "on le plaisante parfois tout en le célébrant"[26].

As a trickster-demiurge Indra seems to show some similarities with another famous character of this type, Maui, the versatile and energetic hero of the South Seas[27]. This personage, cunning, ambiguous, sometimes violent, particularly in his relations with his relatives, was prematurely born and was abandoned by his mother in the sea, as an embryo (the waters are benevolent also to the newborn Indra — in the context, it is true, of the ignominy contracted by him against her mother or his parents: *RV* 4, 18, 8, [illegible] 6). Maui was neglected and condemned by his brothers who will later have to acknowledge his qualities. Among other cosmogonical deeds, Maui raises with progressive effort the sky up to its actual position[28] and in making this, he and his father, who helps him, reach to a gigantic size (one would say, an Indra in face of the "two worlds," sky and earth: see below). He also discovered the fire in the Underworld, spying upon and following his mother (cf. Indra in [illegible] 4, [illegible], who follows his mother, perhaps in the house of Tvaṣṭr, where he drinks the soma (?)). Maui—as Indra—gives the general impression of a demiurge—trickster who dwells on a more heroic level than the tricksters of 'lower' mythologies (the North-American 'Algonkin' figure of Manapus-Manabozho-Wisaka[29] could also be quoted in this context: to both, Maui and Wisaka, as also somehow to Indra, the gods have conferred the charge of guardian of the earth).

Another characteristic which is proper to these three personages is the euhemeristic interpretation to which they were submitted by ethnologists (or, respectively, philologists) not taking into due consideration their religious phenomenology[30] (another shortcoming being the inter-

[25] Benveniste and Renou, *Vṛtra et Vṛthragna*, p. 190. They consider wrongly these characteristics as pointing only to a human hero. They share this hermeneutical tendency with Charpentier (see below). As we shall see, the alleged 'divinisation' of Indra, the newcomer and young god, is to be interpreted otherwise, as well as his elevation to (divine) kingship, to which Charpentier points.

[26] *Op. cit.*, p. 149.

[27] W.D. Westerwelt, *Hawaiian Historical Legends*, New York 1923, p. 13ff (by the same: *Maui, The Demi-God of Polynesia*); Tregear, *The Maori Race*, Manganui, N.Z., 1926, p. 437. U. Bianchi, *Il dualismo religioso*, pp. 139-146.

[28] According to a version of the myth, as a reward for having received a drink from a woman, Westerwelt, *op. cit.*, p. 25; [illegible] and Th.-W. Danzel, *Sagen und Legenden der Südsee Insulaner (Polynesien)*, Hagen i.W.-Darmstadt 1923, p. 31.

[29] For these figures see U. Bianchi, *Il dualismo religioso*, p. 115ff.

[30] See below, p. 27. It is surprising that Qat, another similar personage in the mythology of New Hebrides (see n. 19), was interpreted in the opposite way, as a debased god (Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 143).

pretation of them as naturalistic entities, solar heroes etc.[31]). Maui—not less than Indra—is a unitary figure, which Tregear does not fully understand when he writes that Maui "seems to possess the powers of exalted deity at times, and then again is a mere mortal full of fun and frolic, cunning and mischief[32]." The fact is that Maui (who sometimes shows his superhuman powers when accomplishing deeds of a trivial nature) is not a god (nor a 'man') like the others, he is just a demiurge-trickster, but still a 'god' in the complex mythological pantheon of the Polynesians, note also that Manabozho rises to a divine size when fighting the chthonic manitus, the old gods of the Algonkian pantheon.

Certainly, all is far from coinciding in the types of Maui and Indra. *Inter alia*, the former fails when seeking immortality for man; a motif (the connexion with the problems of death and life, or revivification) which is canonical with many demiurge-tricksters[33]. Now, Indra is too deeply embedded in the Indian pantheon to share this human existential aspect, as will be seen from the following discussion.

In other texts Indra is endowed with characteristics which rather recall those of the young divine hero — the young god and future demiurge — who fights against a monster that is menacing or harming the family of the gods. As a divine hero, on this occasion the gods endow him with full divinity. Let us recall *RV* 6, 20, 2:

Dir, wie dem Himmel, räumten alle Götter,
o Indra, ein die ganze Gottheitsfülle (*tasura* power).
Als du dem Vritra...

and *RV* 7, 21, 7:

Der alten Götter Kraft sogar muss weichen
der Herrschermacht und Geisteskraft, die dein ist...
Nach seinem Sieg verteilt die Schätze Indra... (See also *RV* 3, 49, 1: the gods generate Indra in order to destroy Vrtra. The Ādityas had not been successful against the monster).

These texts remind us of the episode in the Babylonian Enûma Eliš, where the gods endow the young god and divine hero Marduk with a (great) destiny, a destiny higher than that of the other deities, i.e., the quality of a king, before he starts fighting with Tiâmat and her monstrous host, for the safety of the gods themselves (*E.E.* III 138;

[31] As for Maui as an alleged solar hero, see L. Frobenius, *Das Zeitalter des Sonnengottes*, I, Berlin 1904, p. 41. For other naturistic explanations, see below, nn. 37 and 50.

[32] *Op. cit.*, p. 436.

[33] *Il dualismo religioso*, part II.

IV, 21, 28)[34]: Marduk is also endowed with '*double divinity*' (cf. above: 'die ganze Gottheitsfülle'). It is interesting in this context to note that Indra, who is "the supreme or sole *deva*"[35] (cf. *RV*, I, 32, 12: 'du, der allein du Gott bist...'), is also called *asura*, and is endowed with the 'full' quality of *asura* on the occasion of his fight with Vṛtra. As we shall see, this points to a functional integration of the Vedic gods.

But this is not all. The eviction of Tiâmat and Vṛtra also had cosmogonic consequences. These are in connection with the attribution of higher destinies to both Indra and Marduk. This means that also in the cosmogonic realm there are similarities between the young god of Babylonia and the Indian hero; both are credited with the eviction of old, primordial elemental entities, who share something of the obstructive power of the primordial 'gods' typical of this kind of cosmogonies (as it also happens with Kronos and Zeus of the Greek myth of the Ouranids, and with Tane, the demiurgic hero of the Maori myth of the violent separation of the cosmic parents, Rangi and Papa, Heaven and rocky Earth)[36]. This is more so, if we are to trust the interpretation of Rigvedic texts, proposed by W. Norman Brown, according to which the father of Indra was Dyaus 'Heaven' whom Indra caused to be separated from Earth: reference is made to *RV* 4, [illegible]; 4, 17, 4; 3, 54, 7; 4, 17, 12[37]. Other

[34] Another coincidence between the heroic deeds of Marduk and those of Indra is the momentary crisis and confusion of the Babylonian god when affronted with the raging Tiâmat (IV, 67ff.); on the dread of Indra: Benveniste and Renou, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

[35] W.N. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

[36] As for Tiâmat, its corpse is finally severed into two parts, from which Marduk makes the sky and the earth. As to the motif of the separation of Sky and Earth as personified entities, see U. Bianchi, ΔΙΟΣ ΑΙΣΑ, Roma 1953, p. 137, ff. 174ff.; id., *Teogonie e cosmogonie*, Staudacher, *Die Trennung von Himmel und Erde*, 1942; Numazawa, *Die Weltanfänge in der japanischen Mythologie*, 1946.

[37] According to Geldner, *ad RV* 4, 18, where the irregular birth and the first adventures of Indra are narrated (see above, p. 24f.), hints to a jealousy against Indra on the part of his father, motivated by the future great deeds of his son. (See also Geldner's interpretation of *RV* 3, 48, 4 where the boy Indra vanquishes Tvaṣṭṛ). This could point to a motif typical of the Ouranid-myth, and the selfish attitude both of Ouranos and Kronos against the young gods, who were their potential successors in the divine kingship. Kronos knew from Earth and the starry Heaven that it would fall to him to be supplanted by one of his sons (Hesiod, *Theogony*, vv. 464f., cf. 475). Another point of the same hymn could point to a situation analogous to that of the myth of the Ouranids:

texts, like *RV* 2, 12, 1, according to which the 'two worlds,' Earth and Sky, were afraid (Brown: 'flew apart') before the vigour of Indra, are better interpreted as a (hyperbolic) expression of the greatness of the deeds of the hero, in a cosmic scenario, this being more so as the same hymn, st.13, adds that Heaven and Earth submitted to him. Cf. also *RV* 7, 21, 6 ("der Weltenraum umfasst nicht deine Grösse"), 4, 18, 5 ("erfüllte beide Welten, der geborne") and 5, 32 ("these two goddesses (Heaven and Earth?) for dread yield precedence to the rush and the vigour of Indra").

All in all Indra is a polyvalent hero, from the point of view of religious typology. This does not mean that he is not a fundamentally unitary character. By polyvalence we do not mean accidental concretion, not even that inherent ambivalence between vigour and less noble aspects which is perfectly at home in the undertakings of a trickster. We mean instead the coexistence in Indra, of traits recalling these two separate types, the demiurge-trickster and the divine hero *à la Marduk*. The first type seems well represented in him, but the second (the 'promoted' divine hero) endows Indra with the typical fully equipped figure of a polytheistic deity, with a great place in the

st. 12: Wer machte einst zur Witwe deine Mutter?
Wer wollte dich im Ruh'n, im Wandern tödten?
Und welcher Gott erbarmte da sich deiner
als du am Fuss den Vater griffst und todt schlugst
zerschmettertest?

One could also think of the myth of the 'Hurrian Kronos,' Kumarbi, and the mutilation he inflicts on his father Anu: see H. Güterbock, *Kumarbi*, Zürich-New York 1946, *id.*, "The Hittite Version of the Hurrian Kumarbi myths. Oriental Forerunners of Hesiod," *Amer. Journ. of archaeol.*, 52 (1948); H. Otten, *Mythen vom Gotte Kumarbi, neue Fragmente*, *Deutschr. Akad. d. Wiss., Inst. f. Orientforsch. Veröff. 3*, 1950 (also ap. Pritchard, *ANET*). As to the pride of Indra, *RV* 4, 18, 2 ("noch ungetunes muss ich viel vorbringen") could refer equally to a trickster-demiurge or a divine hero.

Further to the question of the father of Indra (who, according to some scholars, was Dyaus, or Tvastr—whilst others deny he is attested as a god), see also J. Charpentier, "Indra", *Le monde oriental* 25 (1931), pp. 16-20. (As for Indra's mother, some identify her with Earth, an identification contradicted by others).

Finally, the 'Sky and Earth'-interpretation of the birth and the deed of Indra are not necessarily identical with the naturistic interpretation of this motif by Reichelt, "Der steinerne Himmel," *Indogermanische Forschungen* 32 (1913), pp. 23-57. In any case, our interpretation of Indra does not necessarily imply that he was the son of a god, or of Heaven and Earth, or the son of Earth.

actual cult, i.e. an aspect, usually absent in the demiurge-trickster but absolutely essential in Indra, at least in the Vedic Indra (see below, p. 34). We could say that the historical-phenomenological problem about Indra lies in how to understand the relation of these two types in him.

Polyvalent, but not less specific in comparison with the other Vedic gods and demiurges, are also Indra's warlike undertakings. As it has been remarked he fights against great gods (Bṛhaspati, Tvaṣṭṛ?[38], Sky?) as well as against demons[39] or other inauspicious beings. This versatility, as well as his above-mentioned connection with *ṛta*, are to be seen in the vaster context of a demiurge and hero, whose deeds are specific both of his very essence and of the different nature of the beings (primordial or demonic, or both) who are involved with him in demiurgic or heroic action. These two aspects—the nature of the demiurgic hero and of his counterparts—are functionally correlated, and this could explain that otherwise strange 'complicity' that, according to Benveniste and Renou[40], links Indra and Vṛtra together. This sharply differentiates Indra from those other gods to which some other kind of demiurgic efficacity and cosmic function is attributed, as a Varuṇa or a Mitra- -the Ādityas--not to mention a creator god such as Ahura Mazda. In other words, Indra is a demiurge who acts by effort, with the aid of *soma* (and of Viṣṇu), and, so to speak, by 'material' means, contrary to Varuṇa who, in Thieme's words[41], "by the magic power of spoken truth (*ṛtá*) ... has created the universe...", contrary also to Mitra, who 'unites' men and 'establishes' or 'strengthens' the heaven and the earth (*RV* 3, 59, 1)[42].

[38] Cf. *RV* 3, 48, 4, perhaps also *RV* 4, 18, cited above (p. 24).

[39] See Benveniste and Renou, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

[40] *Op. cit.*, p. 192.

[41] *Mitra and Aryaman*, p. 64.

[42] But see Thieme, "The 'Aryan' gods...." p. 307 (below, in this note) and Gonda, *Mithraic Studies*, p. 46. Cf. Thieme, *Mitra and Aryaman*, p. 43, quoting Vedic texts on the cosmic function of Contract and True-Speech (as he interprets Mitra and Varuṇa). Güntert, *Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland*, p. 39 (as quoted by Thieme, p. 34), observes that (the fighting) Mithra is (partly, Thieme adds) painted with the same colours as the Vedic Indra: which Thieme proposes to interpret in the sense that both deities, "on certain occasions," are "painted with the colors of the ancient God Victory." Leaving aside for the moment the question of the connection of these gods with Vṛthragna (see below), we could conceive that Mithras' bellicose connotation could have been strengthened by the elimination of Indra as a god in the Zoroastrian sphere. But one must remember, with Thieme (*Mitra and Aryaman*,

An interesting particular: Indra seems to have been contaminated by some of his deeds, for example, against his parents(?), which brought shame on him[43], as well as against other characters[44]. This also can be typical of his function both as a demiurgic trickster and as a divine hero, whilst completely extraneous to both Varuṇa and Mitra.

p. 28, see *Yt.* 10, 43), that the motivations of the raging Mithra are ethical, which is not necessarily the case with Indra, who is often characteristically selfish and adventurous. Thieme rightly underlines "the general affinity of the Rigvedic Ādítya terminology and that of Zarathustra and the younger Avesta." "The 'Aryan' gods ...," p. 308.

The other stanzas of *RV* 3,59 ("the only hymn that is dedicated to Mitra in its entirety." Thieme, *l.c.*) are interesting:

Der hoch den Himmel übertrugt
an Grösse Mitra umfangreich,
an Herrlichkeit die Erde auch,
Dem hülfestarken Mitra sind
die fünf Geschlechter untertan.
Er trägt die Götter allesamt. ..
Den Göttern und den Menschen lieb,
Verleiht er Kraft, so viel man wünscht.
Dem Manne, der die Streu geschüttet

An occasional 'identification' of Varuṇa and Mitra is conceivable as they are 'causing ... agreements', cf. *RV* 1, 136, 3f. ..., quoted by Thieme, "The 'Aryan' gods. ..," p. 307. As to the occasional 'identifications' of Indra with Mitra, "when he is expected to give wealth and 'Lebenstraum' (*RV* 10, 147, 5 (... 6)." see Gonda, *op. cit.*, p. [illegible]. As for the Kuṣāṇa Mitra being a *deva*, see now Humbach, *Mithras Studies*, p. 138 n. 12: "it is evident that *deva* does not attest a pre-Zoroastrian tradition, but rather a syncretism of Graeco-Iranian and Indian concepts." See Addendum, n. 14, below.

[43] It is interesting that in this text the mother of Indra asks the waters whether they are willing to take on themselves the ignominy of Indra: in the same hymn (v.6) these waters are observers of Order.

[44] Charpentier, *op. cit.*, p. 16ff. against Vṛtra and, particularly, against Viśvarūpa. The same author quotes Konow's contention that "if we bear in mind that the Iranian demon Indra seems to be different from the Vedic Indra we must necessarily draw the conclusion that the Vedic Aryans knew a superhuman being called Indra before they entered India, but that he did not develop into the mighty god of the Vedic hymns before India had been invaded." But Charpentier adds a remark to the effect that Indra is also a criminal (through the slaying of Vṛtra and particularly of Viśvarūpa; he quotes the lists of the infractions of Indra in the Yajurvedas and the Brāhmaṇas and the examples of the humiliations of Indra, p. 20f.). What is important to us is that Charpentier affirms the polyvalent nature of the Indian Indra (with the existence of an Iranian, Pre-Zoroastrian Indra). In our opinion it is a shortcoming of Charpentier to combine this observation with the hypothesis that Indra could have been "ein Indo-iranischer Stammeshäuptling" or (with Barnett)

This lack of homogeneity between Indra and Varuṇa, could be expressed also in a dynamic manner: Charpentier remarked traces of a 'rivalry' between Indra and Varuṇa—a rivalry, we add, that does not abolish, but on the contrary, emphasizes the difference between the two gods, a difference which, in our opinion, is functional:

RV 4, 42, 3ff. Ich bin der König,...
Ich bin, o Indra, Varuna und mein ist
das tiefe, weite, segenreiche Weltpaar.
Als weisen Künstler schuf ich alle Wesen,
den Himmel und die Erde, ich erhielt sie.
Ich liess die triefenden Gewässer schwellen,
befestigte im heil'gen Sitz den Himmel,
Der heilige Aditya hat gebreitet
durch heil'ges Werk den dreigeteilten Weltraum.

Indra's answer:
Mich rufen an die rossbegabten Männer,
...Ich mächtiger errege Schlacht, ich Indra...
Das alles tat ich, und der Götter Kraft selbst
sie hemmet nimmer mich, den unbezwungen;
Wenn Tränke mich erfreuten und die Sprüche,
so beben beide unbegrenzte Räume.

The conclusion is a confirmation of the greatness of Indra:
Dass dies du tatest, wissen alle Wesen,
das kündest du dem Varuna, o Ordner;
Dich Indra, rühmt man als den Feindetödter;
du liessest rinnen die umschlossenen Ströme...

"a chieftain on earth" (this does not mean that he was then a *Naturgott*). We have seen how his parricide and his "usurpation" can be understood, i.e., with the *topos* of the young, violent, demiurgic successor to a primordial god or with the *topos* of the unseemly demiurge-trickster: there is no need to think of him as a mere human usurper or a divinized human hero. Nor, for the same reasons, can Indra be reduced—as Charpentier puts it—to the figure of the "höchste Representant des adeligen Kriegerstandes im Gegensatz zum Stande der Brahmanen," a position shared also by Benveniste and Renou: see below, with n. 49. As to the other "euhemeristic elements" of Indra (Charpentier, p. 23, hunger, thirst, longing for fighting, adventurous egotism), they have nothing specifically euhemeristic and they can be explained with the pattern above illustrated. As for his promotion to kingship, this could be euhemeristic, were it not to be understood in the context of the young hero who saved the gods in the context of a battle against primordial entities (see above, p. 27ff.).

In our opinion this text confirms the functional equilibrium of the Rigvedic pantheon, an equilibrium which is also a tension, both in the moment of the establishment of a new situation through a fighting demiurge—the complex relations between Indra and the gods during the fighting with Vṛtra—and, at the moment (or better in the duration of an ordered universe) when the functions of Varuṇa as a universal ruler and upholder (the 'creator' in the Varunian sense), of Mitra as a guarantor of order, and of Indra, as the vanquisher and the demiurge, do coexist and are co-ordinated[45].

In the context of this coexistence we also have all the reasons to differentiate Mitra and Indra from the point of view of divine typology, a differentiation which, once more, makes their coexistence understandable in the Vedic context, but which also favours fruitful hypotheses as to the more radical divarication of the two characters, Indra and Mithra, in the *Younger Avesta*. We shall return to this point. Let us now come to two other aspects of Indra's nature that confirm his nature of the demiurgic 'newcomer', but a newcomer in the mythological, not in the historical, diachrony. We shall point briefly to Indra in Brahmanic literature and to his connection with the epithet *vṛtrahan* and with the god Vərəθraγna.

As for the first question, let us recall the words of Benveniste and Renou who, as we have seen[46], used this argument among others to interpret euhemeristically the figure of Indra: "Au regard de l'orthodoxie brahmanique, [Indra] prend figure d'usurpateur. Une sourde réprobation semble l'accompagner: on ne craint pas d'énumérer ses méfaits et de souligner qu'il a été exclu de l'offrande du soma." In our opinion, this tendency of the Brahmanic interpretation is fully understandable in the context of Indra as a *drastic*[47] demiurge and a *mythological* newcomer and, as such, different from Varuṇa, the owner of innate, cosmic power). There is no need to

[45] See below, with nn. 12 and 56. Cf. the above-quoted passage of 10, 89: "Du Indra...zerhaust das Unrecht ...der Menschen, die des Varuna und Mitra Gesetz verletzen." Cf. also 4.17.3, 4, is (as quoted by Thieme, "The 'Aryan' Gods ..." p. 304): "O Indra, Indra, go away from the human woman, for you have made a pact ('given a promise') coming together with the Varunas," which seems to hint at a composition between the two realms, the drastic or egotic one, of Indra, and that of the lawfullness, of Varuna. To prevent an objection: I am not willing to submit the Vedic material to an unhistorical functionalistic treatment; it remains subject to historical analysis.

[46] See nn. 44, with nn. 49, 50.

[47] See nn. 43 and 44, as to the 'contamination' of Indra.

reduce this tendency, as these scholars do, to an opposition between warriors, devoted to Indra, and brahmans[48], no more than [redacted] interpret Indra euhemeristically. In our opinion, the 'scepticism'[49] with which the brahmans seem to consider the divine nature of Indra likewise does not require primarily sociological explanation, but is simply related to the figure of the mythological, as opposed to historical newcomer. We could perhaps find in Greece a parallel to this in the figure of Dionysos, whose divinity is doubted and contested, for example, by king Pentheus in Euripides *Bacchae*. Dionysos is just a newcomer and an 'usurper,' although not being of the same type as Indra. True, the historical motivation is not excluded, if we consider the shift from the Vedic to the Brahmanic times, which could have implied an eclipse [redacted] Indra,—an eclipse connected with the character and the general pattern proper to this god. But as far as the *Veda* are concerned, we must remember that [redacted] *RV* 2, 12 Indra is said [redacted] encourage the weak and the brahman.

We now come to another question, the connection of Indra with *Vṛthragna. Here we must avoid two extreme, opposite positions: the one, represented by Widengren, according to which the Iranian Vərəθrayna is but a continuation [redacted] Indra *vṛtrahan*; and the other, represented by Thieme, on the path [redacted] Benveniste and Renou, according [redacted] which Vərəθrayna, who accompanies the fighting Mithra [redacted] the *Mihr Yasht* (st. 67), in the shape of a wild boar (st. 70), was replaced by Indra, in the *Rigveda*, where he has left "rather faint traces". So a *Vṛtraghna "was amalgamated with Indra" [redacted] the Rigveda. To quote Thieme again: "The role [redacted] Indra, who is a *daeva*, as the fighting helper of the Âdityas cannot [redacted] Proto-Aryan". He has taken the place held by *Vṛtraghna [redacted] Aryan times as the heroic companion [redacted] Mitra in his fight against deceit, and has even enhanced this role: he is no longer only the helper [redacted] the battling Mitra; "he has usurped the fighting completely, or almost completely...".

Now, objections could be raised against this position [redacted] Thieme, if we are to consider the polyvalent, but fully integrated, nature

[48] A hypothesis formulated also by Barnett and Charpentier: see n. 44.

[49] Charpentier, op. cit., p. 20. That in a passage of the Brāhmaṇas (Hillebrandt, *Ved. Mythol.*[2] II p. 151, quoted [redacted] Charpentier, and Benveniste and Renou) Indra is excluded from the *soma* does not influence too much our interpretation of the situation in the Rigveda. Here Indra has the *soma* [redacted] his complete disposition. In the progress of the Brahmanic speculation another ethos could prevail as to the Weltanschauung and cosmogony.

of the deeds of Indra, as a type of drastic demiurge (see above pp. 27 ff.). Once again, the truth about Vərəθraγna seems to lie between the two extreme, opposite positions: that is to say, the opinion voiced by Widengren that the slaying of a monster, Vṛtra, is an essential element of the personality of that god, and the opinion shared by Benveniste and Renou, that Vṛtra is but a figure of a merely artificial nature. In our opinion, the Iranian Vərəθraγna, as a god of Victory, is too deeply embedded in the Avestan ideology, characterized by the concept of the victorious fight against the forces of destruction, to be particularized and specified by a single mythical motif alone (the slaughter of a dragon). This explains why the god Victory, and the obstacle over which he triumphs, had an habitually generic connotation in the Iranian sources (*Yt.* 14)[50], which, on the other hand, does not prevent Vərəθraγna from becoming occasionally the hero of specific performances, which manifest and exemplify his very essence, expressed by his belluine metamorphoses. In India a *Vṛthragna deity is conspicuously absent[51], and the attribute *vṛtrahan* is not proper to Indra alone[52]. In our opinion, these facts—the peculiar function of a deity Vərəθraγna in the peculiar context of Avestic ideology, and the absence, in India, of a deity so named—lead to the conclusion that a Proto-Aryan deity called *Vṛtraghna never existed, and that this deity is original in Iran; corollaries of this conclusion are that Vərəthraghna cannot be considered as an epigone of Indra *vṛtrahan*, and that Indra *vṛtrahan* and Indra fighting in favour

[50] Already Benveniste and Renou remarked, p. 189, that—unlike a hero—a warrior-god *Vṛtrahan-Vṛthragna is not bound "à un exploit singulier que la légende déforme." This we do accept for the Iranian Vərəθraγna; as for the 'hero' (Indra), he is characterized—according to these authors—by his 'condition humaine' and his 'exploit singulier' ("Il dénote une capacité exceptionnelle, qui s'exerce toujours dans le même sens et se réalise souvent en un acte unique. Tandis que le dieu a pour domaine un élément ou une énergie.") This leads these authors to a euhemeristic interpretation that we do not accept (see above, n. 44). Moreover, their interpretation of "le dieu" is prone to a 'naturistic' conception, not surprisingly since they are Indo-europeanists. We may add that the attitude of the gods before Indra, best explained by the structure of Vedic cosmogony and the concept of the divine hero (see above), is not simply a matter of the dread of the ancestors before the audacity of a newcomer, as Benveniste and Renou put it (*op. cit.*, p. 191).

[51] As well as a demon *Vṛθra is absent in Iran: Benveniste and Renou, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

[52] But also to Agni, Soma, the Aśvins, apart from the appellative use (Benveniste and Renou, p. 183), with a comparison with the av. *vrθragan-*.

of *ṛta* and of Mitra are not substitutes for *Vṛtraghna. But even if one were to admit the possibility that more substantial links existed between the two mythological spheres, with a god "victorieux par l'offensive"[53], vanquishing the obstruction, one has no right to force this connection in the sense of a substitution of Indra in the roles which would hypothetically be proper to a supposed Proto-Aryan *Vṛtraghna. On the other hand, the conclusion of Benveniste and Renou about the alleged artificial origin of the monster Vṛtra[54] is far from convincing: the fight with a monster obstructing the waters (be these the earthly waters, as with Vṛtra, as underlined by Benveniste and Renou and by Charpentier, or the cosmic waters impeded by the Avestan Apaosha or by Ahriman himself) is too characteristically Indo-Aryan to be deprived of substance on the Indian side[55].

As we have seen, the reason Thieme gives for affirming that in Proto-Aryan times the helper of Mitra was *Vṛtraghna and not Indra, is that "the role of Indra, who is a *daēva*, as the fighting helper of the Ādityas cannot be Proto-Aryan". But apart from the fact that Indra himself could be occasionally named an *asura* (see above, p. 28), this would mean forgetting the complex, but well-integrated, function of a drastic demiurge in a mythological context like that of Vedic India: a context in which the calm, or in any case rational protection of *ṛta* by Mitra (p. 22) is not in opposition, but, on the contrary, in perfect agreement with the energetic intervention of Indra against the *amitra* and the offender of Ṛta. *Devas* and *asuras* are mutually integrating categories in that whole—and in that order—which the world and the pantheon of the Vedas constitute[56]: this is true to the extent that one could see in Indra the avenger of *ṛta* and the slayer of the *amitra* (p. 23), or even we call Indra an *asura* (or endowed

[53] Benveniste and Renou, p. 183.

[54] Benveniste and Renou, p. 178.

[55] As for Vṛtra and Vṛtraghna cf. also our observations in *Zurvân i Ohrmazd. Lo zoroastrismo nella sua origine e nella sua essenza*, Turin 1958, pp. 32-35, and 35-39.

[56] See above, with nn. 12 and 45. Though in the famous hymn (*RV* 4, 18) the gods are said to have deserted Indra, as it seems, before his fight with Vṛtra (but this is a *topos* of the motif of the young hero fighting the monster: see above, p. 26), other texts are significant: Cf. W. N. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 89: "The fact that Indra, who is the supreme or sole *deva* (cf. 10, 12 du, der allein du Gott bist.../), is also called *asura*, is of the greatest interest, because more than once it is stated that the gods gave the *asura*-power to Indra for slaying Vṛtra." He quotes *RV* 8, 20, 2 and 7, 21, 7.

with *asura*-quality)[57], or [redacted] 'identify' Indra with Mitra (which is certainly attested and must be understood[58]), or to let Indra [redacted] allied with *aśvatthā*, as is the case with Mithra and Varuṇa, or [redacted] let the Aśvins be 'accompanied' by Mitra, Varuṇa, Dharma, and the Maruts[59].

With the *Avesta* (and the subsequent Pahlavi tradition, down to the Bundahišn), things are different: here we have the affirmation of the universal creative power [redacted] Ahura Mazda, while the protecting and life-asserting function is attributed to the system [redacted] the Aməša Spəntas and the *yazatas*. Moreover, [redacted] connection with the condemnation (the 'daivification') of violence, that violence which is not founded on the nature of the Ahura, a violence which is consequently daevic, the destiny [redacted] a *deva* of the size of Indra could not be doubtful. He was to be eliminated, to be debased to the lowest position, if not explicitly so in the *Gāθās*, which are silent about individual former deities, but certainly in the *Younger Avesta* and in the Pahlavi treatises[60].

But what about Mithra and the silence of the *Gāθās*, as well as of the first Achaemenids, about him? What about the warlike Mithra of *Yasht* 10?

In our opinion, it is not compulsory to see in the fighting and somewhat cruel Mithra of *Yasht* [redacted] the mere heir to the fighting Indra, that Indra who, as we have seen, fights in favour [redacted] Ṛta, and of Contract, especially since, in the *Vedas*, Mitra himself is conceived as one susceptible of wrath and as a punisher [redacted] this same context (p. 22f.). But [redacted] is likely that the Avestan Mithra could have more and more incorporated the function of a warlike upholder and avenger of *ṛta* and of contract when, [redacted] the *Younger Avesta*, the Aməša Spəntas became linked with the ancient and the new deities—but not with the daevic Indra—and the warlike *ethos* of the Zoroastrian gods in their fighting against evil was exalted and [redacted]neralized (see above, *à propos* [redacted] Vərəθrayna, pp. 34ff.).

[57] See above and n. 56

[58] See n. 42.

[59] See [redacted] 12.

[60] We quote a remark of Charpentier (*op. cit.*, p. 23f.). He writes that "Indra an einigen Stellen des RV als *Kavi-* bezeichnet wird, was (...) unzweifelhaftig auf Beziehungen zu Iran verweist, dann *Kavi-* heissen im älteren Avesta 'die Fürsten bei den der Zarathustrischen Religion feindlichen iranischen Stämmen, die noch zur alten daevischen Religion halten' (*Ap.* H' 442f.)".

As far as the *Gâthâs* are concerned, in our opinion, the absence of Mithra as well as of other deities from their texts—apart from Indra, who was too antipodal to Zarathustrian spirit—is not so much a matter of a monotheistic refusal of the *daēvas* as gods—and Mit(h)ra was not a *daivo*—but rather a matter of systematic pertinence. The system of the *Gâthâs*, with its hypostatic, semi-personal emanations of Ahura Mazda, the Ameša Spentas, is a consistent and exhaustive whole, as far as its general structure, its literary *genre*, and the nature of the beings comprised in it are concerned[61]. A fully personal deity such as Mit(h)ra, with his long history as an independent god, though coordinate to the Asura who had the *ṛtá* in his charge, was not fit to be inserted in that system, especially so since the Supreme God himself had undergone the necessity of being equipped with a new name, well fitted to the nature of the system. This was no longer the situation in the *Younger Avesta*, where Mithra could again be coupled in *dvandva* with Ahura (if sometimes in the second place), or be called *ahura*.

But we can develop our reasoning further in order to draw more positive conclusions as to Mithra's position in the history of Zarathuštrian and, more generally, Iranian religion. The issue becomes complicated when we consider the question whether the first Achaemenids were Zoroastrian or not, and the presence, in the Achaemenian inscriptions as well as in the *Avesta*, of the term *baga* "god, apportioner, giver of (good) portion, of prosperity." The first Achaemenids do not mention Mithra (nor any other deities apart from Aurumazda) and they condemn the *daivas*. In Duchesne-Guillemin's opinion, the negative meaning of the Iranian word *daēva* is in accordance with the exaltation of the *ahuras*[62] and the greatest of these. Now, Mithra and Apąm Napāt, together with Airyaman, are *ahuras* in

[61] There is a truth, in our opinion, in the explication given by Mary Boyce ("On Mithra's part in Zoroastrianism," *BSOAS*, 32 1969, p. 14), according to which the Gathic silence about Mithra is due to the fact that the Gathic hymns are directed to Ahura Mazda (as the Vedic hymns are to specific gods). Duchesne-Guillemin's objection to this is that one could not understand the dissociation of the old couple Mithra-Ahura, attested in the non-Gathic Avesta and corresponding to the Indian couple Mitra-Varuṇa. "La religion des Achéménides," *Historia, Einzelschriften, Heft* [illegible], p. 69. "Le dieu de Cyrus," *Acta Iranica* III, p. 16).

[62] Duchesne-Guillemin, *opp. cit.* above, n. 5, resp., p. 13 and pp. 27, 34. He recalls the Gathic expression "Mazda and the (other) ahuras," and in the Haptanhaiti the Ahurānīs.

non-Gathic Avesta (as for Mithra: Yt. 10. 25. 69...) and Vərəθrayna is *ahurašāta*. But Mithra is also a *baγa*[63], a term which on the other hand can occasionally refer to Ahura Mazda in the Avesta[64]. According to Duchesne-Guillemin, an exaltation of the Ahura *par excellence* could always explain a silence about Mithra; though, as an alternative to that exaltation, the exaltation of the nature of *baga*, and consequently of Mithra, took place in another (Western) zone of the Iranian territory, here also in opposition to the *daēvas*. In both alternatives, Duchesne-Guillemin maintains, the two gods, Ahura and Mithra who had previously been coupled in *dvandva*, incorporated respectively the quality of the other: "Dans leur position d'excellence, Ahura et Mithra s'excluaient mutuellement"; this did not prevent the Achaemenids from opting for Ahura and introducing this deity as an 'usurper' in the 'bagaistic' space[65].

Now, a 'bagaistic' and Mithraic 'monotheism' (the word is ours) is far from attested in Iran. In our opinion, another solution is at hand: though being both anti-daevic in nature—that is, *inter alia*, contrary to 'demiurgic', 'drastic' or 'polyvalent' violence Ahura Mazda and Mithra differed from each other in that only the first is basically a creator. In *Yasht* 10 Mithra is 'created' by Ahura Mazda, st. 1, or by the 'creator' (= A.M.; cf. [illegible], as interpreted by Gershevitch). Now, both the *Gāθās* and the Achaemenian inscriptions are strongly interested in creation (See *Addendum*). So, what *contributed* to condemn the *daēvas* with Indra and to differentiate the destiny of Mithra—a god not mentioned in the *Gāθās* and in the first Achaemenian inscriptions—was probably not necessarily monotheism (particularly in the case of the inscriptions), but a concept frequently linked with monotheism, namely, the idea of creation. That idea of creation was incompatible with the myth of a violent demiurgic activity (as attributed to Indra in the *Rig Veda*) and was extraneous as an attribute to the god of contract and of the maintenance of right and lawful stability. This is at least true of the

[63] As for Indo-Iranian **bhaga-*, "god" (from **bhag-*, 'to apportion') see A. Kammenhuber, *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient*, p. 53, according to which "erst im jüngeren Iranischen, im 1. Jt. v.Chr., entwickelte sich (vermutlich bedingt durch die Religion Zarathustras... — altpersisch *baga-* m. "Gott" (seit Dareios bezeugt, gebraucht für Ahura Mazdā) und jungaw. *baγa-* m. "Gott", das ausserdem z.B. im Mihr-Yašt (neben der alten Bezeichnung *ahura* Yt. 10, 25; 69) für Mitra gebraucht wird."

[64] Duchesne-Guillemin: "in a late passage."

[65] *Opp. cit.* above, n. 5, resp., p. 15 and p. 34.

idea of creation monopolized in the Achaemenid inscriptions by Ahuramazda, and in the *Avesta* by Ahura Mazda and his system (or at least series) of emanating hypostases. Only in Roman Mithraism, in a context extraneous to creationistic conceptions (that is to the main tenet of Zoroastrianism), could Mithra(s) become a demiurge (if indeed he was so at all, as we are still inclined to believe)[65bis].

To sum up, both the wholly integrated and self-sufficient Gathic system of Ahura Mazda and the related entities (a), and the insistence on the concept of creation (b), can explain the absence of Mithra in the *Gāthās* and—as far as (b) is concerned—in the inscriptions of the first Achaemenids[66]. Perhaps, in the case of the *Gāthās*, this also implied monotheism, a term which, in any case, should not to be used in this difficult research without a full investigation of the philological and historical problems involved. The same methodological attitude holds for the difficult religious characterization of the Younger Avestan *yazata*-system. It would seem dangerous for historical research to drive it into an insufficiently analyzed religious phenomenology.

ADDENDUM

We discuss in this *Addendum* some texts and issues which, in our opinion, corroborate our final thesis.

As for creation in the *Gāthās* compare, for example, (in the translation of J. Duchesne-Guillemin):

Y. 50, 11: "Que le créateur de l'existence (Humbach: der Schöpfer der Lebenskraft) incite celle-ci, par la Bonne Pensée, à la réalisation de ce qui est le plus rénovateur... (Humbach: was im Wunsche gar glänzt)".

Y. 29, 2: "... le façonneur du Bœuf interrogea la Justice" (see also 6 and 10).

Y. 33, [illegible]: "Tous les biens de la vie qui par toi ont été, sont ou seront, accorde-les, O Sage, selon ton plaisir. Par la Bonne Pensée, l'Empire et la Justice, accrois ma personne à souhait" (cf. 11: otherwise Humbach).

[65bis] As for 'creation' in Roman Mithraism, see now the *Prolegomena* to the Seminar on Mithraism Rome 1978.

[66] As for the name of Mithra before Artaxerxes II (theophoric names), in the Achaemenian milieu, cf. Duchesne-Guillemin, *opp. cit.* n. 5.

Now, this connexion between Ahura Mazda and creation, as well as the mention of the 'goods of life' (*Y.* 33, 10 D.-G.) and the mention of the rulers in *Y.* 48, 5 ("que de bons souverains règnent ... sur nous") recall to us the Achaemenian inscriptions, where these topics are made explicit by the connexion between Ahuramazda as a universal creator (and the greatest of the gods) and the king as a ruler of an extended Empire ("one king of many, one lord of many": *DNa* p. 138 Kent, cf. *A*[1]*Pa* and Aeschylus, *Persae* 762f.: ἐξ οὗτε τιμὴν Ζεὺς ἄναξ τῆνδ' ἅπασαν, | ὃν' ἄνδρ' ἁπάσης Ἀσίδος μηλοτρόφου τυγεῖν, a king who cares for them, in connexion with right).

According to these texts Ahuramazda's universal creative faculty —as well as his will— seem to provide the ground of both the legitimacy and the power and actual deeds of the dynast and his successors:

"A great god is Ahuramazda, who created this earth, who created yonder sky, who created man, who created happiness for man [cf. *Y.* 33, 10 and 48, 5f. quoted above], who made Darius king, one king of many..." (*DNa*, p. 138 Kent, cf. *DNb* p. 140 Kent for the mention of the right and of Lie; also DSf p. 143 Kent: Ahuramazda created Darius and made him king).

The connexion between the two realms, divine and royal, is underlined by these words of Meillet: *adā* exprime la création divine réalisée, une fois pour toutes, et *akunauš* signifie qu'un roi a été institué "pour un temps indéterminé"[1]. Of course, this kind of continuity between universal creationism and monarchy cannot allow sociological reductions (the Gāthās —on their side— are far from royal hymnology). But Ahuramazda being not only 'the greatest of the gods' but the creator of the universe (which is the proper reason of his being the greatest of all) could be seen as one (not necessarily utilitarian) motivation of his exclusive mention in the first Achaemenid inscriptions[2].

[1] *Grammaire du vieux-perse*, p. 126 s.Vr. maintenant Cl. Herrenschmidt, "Les créations d'Ahuramazda," *Studia Iranica* 6 (1977), pp. 17-58.

[2] The remark of P. Filippani-Ronconi, "La conception sacrée de la royauté iranienne," *Acta Iranica* I, p. 96 ("L'essence de la royauté iranienne se résume en un pouvoir surnaturel, à savoir, celui de porter l'ordre dans le monde, poursuivant en cela l'œuvre de création d'Ahura Mazdā...") could have been more convincing had this author not founded it on a too globalistic interpretation of the Iranian materials.

It is interesting to compare here the famous Babylonian inscription of Cyrus. According to J. Harmatta[3] the solemn inscriptions in Old Persian can be divided in two categories: those beginning with the exaltation of Ahuramazda, as a premise to the royal protocol, and those beginning with the royal protocol itself. Now the Babylonian Cyrus inscription should be classified, according to Harmatta, with the first of these two categories. In this case[4] the remark cannot be avoided that Darius' and Xerxes' mention of Ahuramazda is peculiar. In fact, Cyrus does not glorify the Babylonian god as a creator[5]. The same applies for those Neo-Babylonian and Assyrian royal inscriptions to which Harmatta traces the Babylonian Cyrus inscription: Nabopolassar No. 1[6]: "An Marduk, den grossen Herrn, den Herrn der Götter, den übergewaltigen, gnadebringenden unter den Igigi, den Bedränger der Anunnaki, das Licht der Götter seiner Väter, der da wohnt in Esagila, den Herrn von Babylon, meinen Herrn". The god is not said to be a creator, not even in the demiurgic sense of *Enūma eliš*. The same holds for the royal protocol of Assurbanipal, where Harmatta finds the origins of the formula of Cyrus' inscription.

Always in connexion with the argument of our paper we add here some words on the 'other gods' of the Achaemenian inscriptions and the *daivas* of the Xerxes inscription(s)[7]. As for the first, we remark that DPd p. 135f. Kent, beginning with "great Ahuramazda, the greatest of the gods", mentions Ahuramazda with "the gods of the royal house".—who are hardly foreign gods, whose invocation at

[3] "Les modèles littéraires de l'édit babylonien de Cyrus," *Acta Iranica* I, p. 30.

[4] There are some structural differences between the Cyrus proclamation and the Old Persian inscriptions with exaltation of Ahuramazda. In this respect the Persian text is not only more compendious, but also more essential.

[5] *ANET*², p. 315. Marduk, who is addressed as the lord of the gods, is said by Cyrus to be the 'king of the world;' Marduk has been 'searching for a righteous ruler willing to lead him' in the *akitu* procession. Accordingly, the situation is different. Marduk is a foreign god to Cyrus. In *DSf*, p. 143 Kent, Ahuramazda is said to have created Darius and to have 'chosen' him. This peculiarity of Ahuramazda as a creator in the Achaemenian inscriptions is even more evident if we are to admit with Gh. Gnoli (*Acta Iranica* II, p. 122) a profound Mesopotamian influence on the religion and the royal ritual of the Achaemenids. The reference made by Gnoli (p. 131) to the 'Semitic creator god' is not pertinent here. A 'partial assimilation' (Gnoli) of Ahuramazda with other supreme gods of the Near East is not excluded (the 'god of heaven,' iconography, divine titles), but this does not mean 'syncretism'.

[6] S. Langdon, *Die neubabyl. Königsinschriften*, Leipzig 1912, p. 61.

[7] Cf. Stronach, *Iran* 3, 1965, p. 19, as quoted by Mayrhofer, *Acta Iranica* I, p. 110 n. 9.

Persepolis would have been *mauvais goût*[8]. As for the *daivas* of XPh p. 151 Kent (Xerxes' '*daiva*-inscription'), their forbidden cult is clearly contrasted not only with the true cult of Ahuramazda (whatever the expression *artācā brazmaniy* may signify)[9], but also with the respect of "that law which Ahuramazda has established" and that, with the right cult of the same god, makes "happy while living and blessed when dead"[10]. All this points to 'domestic' piety of the king and, respectively, 'domestic' impiety of the *daiva*-worshippers[11]. In fact, it would be too much to expect Xerxes to be concerned with the 'blessed' afterlife of the Babylonian followers of Marduk. Of course, this speaks also in favour of a Zoroastrian interpretation of the Achaemenian inscriptions, if we are to concede that the anti-daevic attitude is predominantly Avestan. Moreover, if we consider DNb p. 140 Kent, where Darius proclaims himself "not a friend to the man who is a Lie-follower"[12] and at the same time DBV p. 134

[8] It would be hard to deny that Mithra and Anāhitā of the inscriptions of Artaxerxes II belong to these domestic gods of the king. As for the introduction of Anāhitā in the royal inscriptions under that king, it seems clear to us that it is in connexion with the intensification of the cult of Anāhitā promoted by Artaxerxes in the different regions of the Empire (cf. Berossos *ap.* Clem. Al., *Protr.* V, 65, 4; Gh. Gnoli, *Acta Iranica* II, p. 126ff).

[9] Bibl. *ap.* Mayrhofer, *Acta Iranica* I, p. 110 n. 10.

[10] It should be remarked that this expression recurs thrice in this inscription, in connexion at first with the prohibition of the cult of the *daivas* and then with the mention of the law of Ahuramazda.

[11] Bibl. *ap.* Mayrhofer, *op. cit.*, p. 111 n. 12. Kent's position is not explicitly in favour of the interpretation of the *daivas* as foreign gods (cf. *JAOS* 1936, p. 215). Widengren's statement (*Die Religionen Irans*, p. 138, with Nyberg), that "nicht arische Götter konnten ja nicht wohl *ahura* oder *baga* genannt werden, so blieb es nur übrig, sie *daiva* zu nennen" seems to us a circular argument, or a reduction of the religiously negative import of the term *daiva*. Otherwise, the Persians would have not been in a position to speak about foreign gods at all without equating them to demons or at least condemning them. What then about the 'tolerance' of Cyrus and other kings down to Xerxes? Or was Xerxes the promoter of a radical change in the religious international relations in the empire? M. Dandamaiev, *Acta Iranica* IIe série, I, p. 195, does not think so, while recalling *DB* V (the Elamites) "were faithless and by them Ahuramazda was not worshipped" (transl. Kent, p. 134). But even in this case the choice of the very term *daiva* for the foreign gods or false gods would have been due not to the exclusion of the two other terms, but caused by the already existing pejorative sense of *daiva*. (See also J. Duchesne-Guillemin, "Le dieu de Cyrus," *Acta Iranica* III, p. 13).

[12] Cf. also the new Xerxes inscription *XDNb*. Hinz, *Altiran. Funde und Forschungen*, Berlin 1969, p. 45, which duplicates the Darius phraseology of *DNb*.

Kent, where (as in the *daiva-* inscription) "whoso shall worship Ahuramazda, divine blessing will be upon him, both (while) living and (when) dead", we can conclude that Xerxes' *daivas* are connected with Lie and opposed to blessed life and afterlife (as well to the *artāvan*, who is the pious man in his afterlife blessing)[13]. Anyway, even if the *daivas* would have been foreign gods, the bad meaning of the word should be explained in the context of a vocabulary grounded on available Indo-Iranian experience, i.e., practically, with reference to Gathic or Late Avestan meaning[14].

[13] The distinction in meaning commonly drawn between Av. *aṯravan* and old Pers. *artāvan* is surely overrated. The *Ideenkomplex* is fundamentally the same, notwithstanding an inversion of the perspective. Cf. also H. Hartmann, *OLZ* 1937 col. 150ff., citing *Vd.* 5, 61: "Im Leben wird er nicht der *aṯa* teilhaftig und in Tode bekommt er keinen Anteil am besten Dasein". An eschatological meaning of the word *artāvan* is quite understandable: Hartmann, citing Hesych. 'Αρτάβου· ἥρως παρὰ Πέρσαις, writes: "der Mensch nach dem Tode einem Gericht unterworfen wird" (so also H.H. Schaeder, *ZDMG* 1941, p. 449: "der Mensch erst dadurch 'wahrhaft,' *artāvan* wird, dass er vor dem Gericht besteht;" in our opinion one could also recall, *mutatis mutandis*, the Christian concept of *justificatio*, not in its theological premises, which are different, but merely in the connexion between justice, righteousness and soteriology-eschatology). This connexion is in existence, according to Hartmann, for the Phl. derivation *ahrav* 'gerecht,' 'frommen,' and 'gerechtfertigt,' 'selig' (Men. Xr. 44, 30 in this last sense, whilst *arāstīk* is *apud* Kartir, the future blessing: cf. Schaeder, p. 449). All this, it seems to us, speaks in favour of the Zoroastrianism of Darius; cf. also the other considerations of Hartmann in this sense (col. 151). In order to explain the special sense of *artāvan* (eschatological) in contradistinction to Av. *aṯravan*, there is no need to say with Hartmann (col. 153) that "eine Lehre von den letzten Dingen wird in den Gāthās bestenfalls in den ersten Anfängen und Ansätzen greifbar" (col. 153), or with Schaeder (*loc. cit.*) that the judgement of the single man is "bei Zarathuštra kaum angedeutet". See now the important article by De Menasce, "Vieux-Perse 'artāvan' et pehlevi 'ahrav'", *Mélanges Pareh*, pp. 57-62.

[14] According to Christensen, *Essai sur la démonologie iranienne*, Copenhagen 1941, the term *daiva* is nowhere attributed to foreign gods in the Iranian tradition. Cf. H.H. Schaeder, *ZDMG* 1941, p. 445: "In den Gāthās bedeutet . . . *daiva* nur die von Zarathuštra verworfenen" Götter' seiner Vorfahren und Landsleute...Das Wort hat also noch seinen ursprünglichen, aus arischer und indogermanischer Zeit herrührenden Sinn, nur mit verändertem Wertvorzeichen: die 'Götter' sind für Zarathuštra zu Götzen geworden. Wer das Wort schon in den Gāthās mit 'Teufel' oder 'Dämonen' übersetzt, begeht den Fehler usw." According to Schaeder, in the Yašts "bedeutet das Wort [*daēva*] ... nicht mehr die mittlerweile mit der zarathuštrischen Überlieferung in Einklang gebrachten Götter, wie Mithra, Vərəθrayna, Haoma usw., die jetzt vielmehr ihrerseits die Daēvas bekämpfen, sondern das grosse Heer der wider- und untergöttlichen Dämonen..." (so also in the Phl. literature) "die stammen offenbar aus dem Volksglauben" as well, according to Schaeder, from the monstrous creatures of the epos. Though we are not convinced that the things are so simple (or, rather,

As for Anāhitā and Mithra in A^2Sa (and A^2Sd) it is to be remarked that they are requested to protect the king "from all evil",— which is a very peculiar expression in comparison with the customary Achaemenian formulas (an allusion to 'Zoroastrian' *daivas*?); but they are also requested "not to shatter nor harm" that which was built by the king: assuredly an unusual expression if compared with those more confidently addressed to Ahuramazda. So, the style and character of the deities newly introduced are different from Ahuramazda's; they can be arbitrary, if not capricious and dangerous (but not daevic). Their function is specific [15].

complicated as far as the eclipse of Mithra in the *Gāthās* is concerned: see pp. 22 and 37ff.). Schaeder seems to us right in affirming that all post-Gathic statements Avestan or otherwise— on the *daēvas* presuppose Zoroastrian derivation or influence.

Concerning the word *daēva* in the Gāthās, J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *La religion de l'Iran ancien*, p. 189, distinguishes three meanings: (a) a meaning perhaps not pejorative (the formula *daēvāiśca mašyāiśca* of *Y.* 29, 4; 34, 5; 48, 1), (b) *daēva* as not-*ahura*; they are old gods of the second and the third Dumézilian functions. (Then the question again rises: why Mithra, accordingly not a *daēva* in any sense of the word, and not a god of the second or the third functions, is not represented in the *Gāthās*? This cannot depend on the condemnation of the *daēvas*, nor on the exclusion of the gods of the second and third functions more or less connected with the Indo-Iranian category of the *daivas*, but on the very nature of the Gathic system (on the question of the Gathic Sraoša, see below n. 15)); (c) the true demons, who are not old gods — as for *daēvāiśca mašyāiśca* of (a), it is to be noted anyway that the respective contexts do not situate the *daēvas* (and those men) in a good light: *Y.* 30, 5: "avec tous les dires de proie: faux-dieux et hommes," *Y.* 29, 4: "des plans autrefois mis en œuvre par les faux-dieux et les hommes," similarly for *Y.* 48, 1, so it would seem (see st. 2: "... avant même la venue des châtiments. ...") This is understandable if we consider that the *daēvas* made the wrong choice. See also Benveniste, *Festschr. Eilers*, pp. 144-147. Benveniste may be right tracing the Gathic formula 'daēvas and men' to an I.-E. association 'gods' and men. What matters here is that those *daēvas*, although not yet become mere devils, *are* an object of hatred to the Gathic poet in all the relevant passages.

[15] It is clear from the preceding lines that we accept some of the observations of Prof. Mary Boyce's article, "On Mithras' part in Zoroastrianism," *BSOAS* 32 (1969), 10ff., even if not in their totality. In the first place, there is the question (p. 10, cf. 13) of the validity of the testimony of contemporary Zoroastrian belief and practice which is to be tested case by case by historical research; secondly, the question of an inner-Zoroastrian continuity, a continuity with a "basic theology of the old Iranian religion, with its *yazatas*." We are, however, not able to reconcile this last concept clearly with the statement that "there is no evidence that (Zoroaster) sought to move any but *daēva*-worshippers to reject beliefs which they had previously held" (p. 14). (What were now the reasons and the object of daivification?). Apart from these considerations, however, we welcome the invitation (p. 18, cf. 21) to

consider "the nature of the *Gāthās*" as "sacred hymns where the priest addressed his worship to a single deity, mentioning in it as well usually only those other gods most closely associated with him". But why then Sraoša and not Mithra, the old *dvandva*-deity associated with Ahura Mazda? We also welcome Miss Boyce's quotation of *Gr. Bd.* 26, [illegible] (Mihr created by Ōhrmazd) and, particularly, of the "early post-Gathic text" *Y.* 42, 2: "and we worship the two, the protector and the fashioner" (this 'protector' "[illegible] regarded as the oldest allusion to Mithra in the Avesta"), [illegible] well as that of *Y.* 59, 2: "Sraoša, who worshipped the protector (and) the fashioner" (otherwise, the Phl gloss and the modern interpretations, quoted p. [illegible], n. 120).

As for the *dvandva*, we wonder whether it is really here a "testimony to a remote past (...) when Mithra was regarded as an Ahura [illegible] his own right, [illegible] equal stature with (...) Ahura Mazda" (p. 32f.).

As for the *diuo* of the Bactrian inscription of Surkh Kotal, "if [it] designates a divine being or a king, it cannot be Bactrian, but must be a loan word borrowed from the Indian *deva*," according to H. Humbach, in *Mithraic Studies* I, p. 138. So too for the *deuo Miuro* read by Humbach in two monograms [illegible] the end of the same inscription (*Ib.*, n. 12: "The analysis *deuo Miuro* (...) may be maintained, but here too, it is evident that *deuo* does not attest a pre-Zoroastrian tradition but rather a syncretism of Graeco-Iranian and Indian concepts").

G. BONFANTE

THE NAME OF MITHRA

Prof. Gonda has recently devoted a good article (*Indologica Taurinensia*, 1 [1973], Turin, pp. 71 *ff.*) to the relation between Indo-Aryan *mitráḥ* 'freund, vertragspartner', *Mitráḥ* 'name of a God', *mitrám* 'contract, covenant, friendship, friend'.

As is well known, Gershevitch (*The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, Cambridge, 1955, p. 30) denies any etymological relation between *mitráḥ* 'friend' and the name of the god: it is in his opinion a case of "accidental homonymity". Let us see how things stand.

M. Gonda carefully examines the passages of the Rigveda where the word *mitrá-* occurs, and reaches the conclusion (or so I understand) that originally it did not exactly mean 'friend' (that is why he almost always puts this meaning between two brackets). 'Friend' obviously means a relationship between two or more persons who are approximately equal: there can hardly be 'friendship' between a captain and a soldier, between an owner and a slave, etc.: or at least the owner can be the friend of the slave, but not vice-versa. In this, modern sense of 'friend' the Rigveda (and Sanskrit too) uses a different word, that is, *sákhi-*: cfr. Gonda, pp. 82f.: "The main characteristics of the relation denoted by *sákhi* are actual or virtual reciprocity and the idea of association or co-operation. In the Rigveda, in which the word is very frequent, human persons, Gods or animals can be each other's *sákhi* 'comrade, mate, associate, friend'; men and gods address their equals as *sákhi* if they for instance want them to do something together, to join them in undertaking some task or activity, or they use this word in speaking of them. [...] Returning for a moment to R.V. 6, 44, 7 I have no doubts about the difference between *mitrá* and *sákhi* occurring in the same context: those favoured are the gods *sákhis*, but the god who provided them with a highly valued quality acted as a *mitrá*, as a beneficent 'friend' or ally to whom the ideas of equality and association are no more necessarily applicable than the expectation of reciprocity". And on p. 72: "Quite naturally the various sides of this [the Vedic Mitra's] character, among them the willingness *to protect the worshipper* [Italics mine]

his friendliness [...]." It is quite obvious that while *Mitrá-*[1] can be the 'friend' of man, man cannot be the 'friend' of *Mitrá-*; the word *Mitrá-* can at best be translated, approximately, with the word 'protector'. And likewise in the Avestan hymn to Mithra, st. 54 (and often), Mithra calls himself the "beneficent protector of all creatures". Now will god Mithra, the god of order, of contract, of pact, of loyalty, of truth be the benefactor, the protector of every man, without any relation to his behavior? Obviously not: it is always understood that he will be the 'protector' of the man who respects order and truth! This idea is quite clearly expressed in the Avestan hymn to Mithra, st. 3 (transl. of Gershevitch):

"*To those who are not false to the contract* [Italics mine] grass-land magnate Mithra grants (possession of) fast horses, while Fire, (the son of) Ahura Mazdah, grants them the straightest path", etc. etc.

And in st. 18 we read:

"If the head of the house who presides over the house, or the head of the clan, or the head of the tribe who presides over the tribe, or the head of the country who presides over the country, *are false to him* [Italics mine], Mithra enraged and provoked comes forth to smash the house, the clan, the tribe, the country, the heads of the houses who preside over the houses, the heads of the clans who preside over the clans, the heads of the tribes who preside over the tribes, the heads of the countries who preside over the countries, and the councils of the premiers of the countries." And similar ideas are expressed in many of the following stanzas of the same hymn, with great detail: Mithra is ferocious against those who are false to him, who follow Falsehood, who break the contract.

The same concept we find in the Rigveda, cfr. e.g. Gershevitch, p. 5.

The situation then becomes clear. Both the Indo-Aryan and the Iranian Mithra are benevolent protectors of those who respect the contract (*mitrám*, *miθra-*). But are pitiless enemies of those who break it, who do not keep their word (we find a similar conception in regard to *Zεύς-Iuppiter* and to other gods in Greece and in Rome: cfr. *Fidês*, *mêdiusfidius* etc.). The cause of the etymological affinity, nay identity of *Mitráḥ* ('the god'), *mitráḥ* ('the friend'), *mitrám* ('the contract') becomes now clear: *mitrám* is the oldest word, which by

[1] On the original meaning of Vedic *mitrám* 'pact', 'alliance' (I would rather say 'contract') see also Renou, *Études sur le vocabulaire du Rigveda*, I, Pondichéry, 1958, pp. 50 ff. (for *mithuná-ḥ* etc. pp. 46 ff.).

personification and duplication (cfr. e.g. Apollo and Helios) later became the god *Mitráḥ*, a benevolent protector of the truthful, a ferocious enemy of the false. Since of course his adorers would – whether rightly or not does not matter – consider themselves truthful and loyal, the name of the god *Mitráḥ* (*RV*) came also to be used as a common noun: 'protector' and later even 'friend' (as we say a man is a Napoleon or a Casanova). This happened in India. In Iran the personification of the god – who was here much more important than in India – went to far as to replace the ancient neuter *mitrám* with the masculine *miθrō* which took over the meaning of *mitrám* ('covenant'): cfr. e.g. *Hymn to Mithra*, st. 2. Inversely, in the confusion that had arisen, *mitrám* in India took also the meaning of 'friend' (in the later language).

This way things can be explained well, it seems to me. The opposite direction cannot be explained in any way: why would a masculine *mitráḥ*, Av. *miθrō* 'contract' become a neuter? A masculine name for "contract" is not surprising in an i.e. language (cfr. Lat. *contractus*). Nor does the idea of Gershevitch (p. 30 "accidental homonymity") seem possible to me. Thieme moreover, in his excellent work *Mitra and Aryaman*[2], New Haven, 1957, p. 38, observes that nouns in **-tro-* (Aryan *-tra-*) are usually neutral in i.e. (p. 38); and compares Indo-Iranian *vṛtráḥ*, – originally a neuter, which became masculine, as a demon, in the Veda.

I will also recall that the same happened, as Thieme has proved (*Mithra and Aryaman*, pp. 78 ff.), to *aryamán-*, which, originally a neuter (*RV*. 5, 29, 1), became later personified as a god and therefore became masculine.

Contrary to what is the usual custom, it seems therefore that the neuter inanimate of Vedic (*mitrám*) is older than the Iranian animate masculine, which seems to represent a later personification (this corresponds to the norms of "areal linguistics": India is the isolated area). The fact is rather rare, but not unheard of. We may cite the Germanic **ghutó-m* (whence Engl. *god*, German *gott*, etc.) which was a neuter and still is in Old Icelandic (*guð*, *goð*) and to some extent in Gothic (later under Christian influence it became masculine in Gothic, German, English etc.): there is no serious reason to doubt its Indo-European etymology; and, even more characteristic, Lat. *Venus*, *Veneris*, name

[2] Dumézil, *Mitra-Varuna*[4], p. 190 connects *Aryamán-* with Old Irish *Eremon*; the matter is not quite certain. See also *ibid.* p. 86 and *Bull. Acad. Royale de Belgique*, 1960, p. 282 n.

of Venus[3] (fem., but also masculine), which is an ancient neuter like[4] *fūnus (funeris)*, *onus (oneris)*, *tempus* (cfr. *tempestas*, *tempestiuos* ecc.), *scelus (sceleris*, cfr. *scelestus)*, *honos (honestus)*, *decus*, etc., cf. Vedic *vánah* n. (*R.V.* 10, 172, 1 etc.) "lieblichkeit, lust, verlangen". *Honor* is also frequently personified as a god (Oxf. Dict.). Cfr. also the changing genus of *cupīdō* (fem., as an abstract, masc., as a personif.; cfr. Lat. *libidō*).

It seems to me that in the divinization (which includes of course sexualization)[5] of the concepts of "contract", of righteousness, of loyalty, of sincerity, of honesty, of truth, we can see the most characteristic feature of the Iranians, as attested by many ancient sources, both Iranian and non-Iranian. It is well-known that the young Persians were taught only three things (Herodotos, I, 136): horse-riding, arrow-shooting and speaking the truth. In fact Mitra, who occupies a second or third-class position in the Rigveda and practically disappears later in India, has on the contrary in Iran and in the West such a growing and enormous development as to rivalize – for a long time victoriously – with Christianity, spreading abundantly from Central Asia till Great Britain and Africa, all over the Roman Empire.

The question now arises whether we can trace the whole figure of the Indo-Iranian Mitra in Indo-European times.

It is well-known that we know only *one* god of the Indo-European pantheon, that is, *Iuppiter -Zeúς-Dyaúh*[6] (ἠώς, *uṣáh* is not a real god).

[3] On Latin *Venus* and its history see also A. Ernout, *Philologica*, II, Paris, 1957, pp. 87ff., where the reader will find also more examples. And more examples are cited in Meillet, *JAOS.*, 10 (1907), pp. 145ff.

[4] On the passage from neuter to masculine (sexualization = personification) see also Dumézil, *Mitra-Varuna*[4], 1948, p. 46. Lat. *flāmen* is an old neuter, like *agmen*, *carmen*, *certāmen*, *crimen*, *foedus*, etc. Vedic *brahman-* is neuter, *brahmán-* has become masculine. The masculine was **flāmō*, cfr. *flāmōnium*, *flāmōnius* (see the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 1971, s. *nn.*) that corresponds exactly to *brahmán-*. The ancient neuter gender of *flāmen* is also defended by Walde-Hofmann, l.c. See also Dumézil, *La religion romaine archaïque*, Paris, 1966, pp. 387ff.

[5] On "personified abstractions" see, e.g. Dumézil, *Mitra-Varuna*[4], pp. 116; 191.

[6] For India the matter is quite obvious (cfr. *Dyáuh* m., *Pṛthiví* f. also father and mother, *Agníh* m., *Vāyúh* m., *Āp-* f., *Usáh* f.), for the Avesta the question is less clear, for the monotheistic Zarathustra eliminated many gods (cfr. however, *Vāyu-* m.; *hvarə xšaēta-* n. (?), *āp-* or *ap-* f., *māh-* m.), but Herodotos, I, 131 assures us that the Persians preserved many naturalistic deities: οἱ δὲ νομίζουσι Διὶ μὲν τὸ ὑψηλότατον τῶν ὀρέων ἀναβαίνοντες θυσίας ἔρδειν, τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες,

Since however (6a) for several reasons (were it only because all I.-E. peoples are polytheistic) we know that the I.-E. were polytheistic too, it is obvious that the I.-E. possessed several gods: only we ignore their names[7]. This is not surprising, since for linguistic interdiction or other reasons gods frequently change their names, even if their functions and attributions remain the same[8]. Thus certainly Mitra has absorbed many of the functions, qualities and epithets of Varuna,

θεοισι δε ἡλιον τε και σελην, γην και πυρι και ὑδατι και ἀνεμοις. About the Scythians Herodotos writes (IV, 59): Θεοὺς μὲν μούνους τοὺς δὲ ὀλιγοστοὺς, Ἑστίην μὲν μάλιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ Δία καὶ Γῆν, νομίζοντες τὴν Γῆν τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι γυναῖκα.

Cfr. what Caesar (*De bello gallico*, VI, 21) says about the Teutons: "*Deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt et quorum apertis opibus iuuantur, Solem et Vulcanum* (fire?) *et Lunam, reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt*".

The naturalistic conception of the Gods was once familiar to the Romans (or Italics?) too, Dionysios of Halikarnassos, 2, 50, 3 writes: ἔστιν δ' Ἥλιον τε καὶ Σελήνην καὶ Κρόνον [the sky?] καὶ Ῥέαν [the earth?], ἔρως ὧν τούτοις Ἑστίαν [the domestic fire, the hearth] καὶ Ἡφαιστον [the fire of the smith] καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Ἐνυαλίῳ καὶ κτλ.; and also Varro, L.L., 5, 74: *unum Opi Floae Vediouei Saturnique Soli Lunae Volcano*...

The Greeks, with their vivid poetical imagination, endowed these old naturalistic gods with human qualities and imagined many beautiful stories about them, so that their ancient naturalistic character became obscured; they then sometimes invented new gods which were nearer to the naturalistic conception they represented: Ἥλιος instead of Apollo, Σελήνη (instead of Ἄρτεμις).

For the Thracians cfr. Σεμέλη etc. (the word is certainly Thracian, cfr. Russian *zemlja* 'earth').

[8] Even the (often mentioned) etymological connections of *Μάρς*, *Μαμορς*, *Μάμερς* with the Indian *Marut-* is generally not accepted: cfr. Walde-Hofmann, II, p. 45; Ernout-Meillet, s.v. *Mārs*: despite the efforts of Mrs. Giacalone Ramat, (*AGI*, 47 [1962], pp. 112ff.). Cfr. also G. Dumézil, *Les dieux des Indo-Européens*, Paris, 1952, pp. 51f.; Mayrhofer, *EWb. Nachträge*, p. 775.

[7] My ideas approach somehow those of Dumézil, *Mitra-Varuna*[4], e.g. p. 70: "La religion des temps védiques est riche en dieux individualisés, hérités pour une bonne part de la communauté indo-iranienne, quelques-uns de la communauté indo-européenne". Cfr. also ibid. pp. 116; 187; 200, etc.

[8] Two more excellent examples can be found in Thieme, *JAOS*, 80 (1960), p. 308: "It is certainly true that a great many ideas connected with the Vedic *Varuna* and e.g. the Avestic *Ahura Mazda* do correspond." And on p. 311: "As a victorious fighting hero, the Avestan *Miθra* resembles, in fact, the Rigvedic *Indra* so closely that, since A. Günterl, *Der arische weltkönig* (1924), p. 57, there is a widespread tendency to assume that the Avestan *Miθra*, who is an *ahura* (Yt. 10, 25, 69), has borrowed a great number of features from the Old Indra, who was a "*ahura*." It is true that Thieme in the following pages disagrees with this interpretation; but he proposes another one based on exactly the same principle.

eliminating Varuna completely from the Iranian pantheon (Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, pp. 45ff.), just as he almost completely eliminated Indra (*ibid.*, p. 33)[9]. Supposing in Greece there was (as there well may have been) a god Φοῖβος; he was first associated, and later identified with Ἀπόλλων, and quite uselessly was called Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων[10] then (as in fact happened) the Φοῖβος fell away and the god was simply called Ἀπόλλων, although he preserved some, if not all, the functions of the old god Φοῖβος[11]. Such examples are quite frequent in the history of religions. Thus Indra in India has adopted one of the most important functions of Iuppiter and Ζεύς, that is the thunderbolt, and *Thôrr* has done the same (a function which *Dyáuḥ*, strangely enough, does not have!); Indra slays his father, as Kronos castrates his father Ouranos in Greece, Hesiod, *Theog.*, 133ff. (cfr. Bianchi in the acts of this same Congress, note 36); Indra slays the dragon, as Apollo does[12] in Greece; Mithra's bird is the raven, as it is that of *Ôðinn* Wotan; the *Aśvinau*, also called *Nāsatyā*[13], obviously correspond to Kástōr and Polydéukēs,

[9] Dumézil, *Les dieux des Indo-Européens*, pp. 23ff. observes e.g. that the Scandinavian god *Ôðinn* has the same functions of Mitra, *Thôrr* of Indra, etc., but the names are obviously quite different.

[10] Typical is what Thieme writes, p. 312: "While in later Sanskrit literature *Vṛtrahan-* exists as a name of *Indra*, the *RV* itself uses *vṛtra-han-* essentially as an adjective (fem.: *vṛtra-ghnī*, qualifying *Sarasvatī*), which itself cannot take an epithet: Benveniste-Renou, *op. cit.*, p. 115. This adjective is preponderantly a qualification of *Indra*, which occasionally, especially in the vocative, may be used as a quasi-nominal designation of the god."

[11] Cfr. e.g. Dumézil, *Mitra-Varuna*², p. 193: "Les expressions doubles *Savitá Bhagaḥ* ou *Bhagaḥ Savitá* sont usuelles dans les hymnes [of the *Rigveda*], on peut certes considérer [...] le premier comme une simple épithète de l'autre."

[12] Cfr. also Thieme, p. "*Vərəθraγna* must then be a pre-Zarathustrian deity ([Benveniste-Renou], p. 49). He belongs in the vicinity of the *Ahura* (*Yt.* 10, 25; 69), whom he also resembles in being the masculine personification of a neuter abstract."

[13] These twin gods are certainly very old, for they appear in the Mitanni treaties (*Nasattiya-nna*); Mayrhofer, *Kurzg. etym. wb.*, II, p. 156, under *nāsatya-* writes: "wahrscheinlich als heilend, rettend (third function of Dumézil) zu *nasati*, vgl. auch griech. σωτῆρες als beiwort der Dioskuren (vgl. über den möglichen zusammenhang von germ. *Aleis* mit ae. *eolyan* 'schützen' Jan de Vries, *Altgerm. religionesch.*, II², 1957, 251, mit lit.)." Dumézil, *Bull. de l'Acad. Royale de Belgique*, 1961, p. 290 (with bibl.) also identifies the two *Nāsatya-Aśvinau* with the couple of the last Amǝša Spənta, *Haurvatāt* and *Amərətāt*. On the *Nāsatya* as σωτῆρες from disease see Dumézil, *ibid.*, p. 292.

The *Nāsatya* are known to the Avesta, but in the singular. *Nāŋhaiθya-* is the name of a *Daēva* (Zarathustra turned the *dewāh* into demons, *daēva-*).

despite the difference in names[14] (they both love horses, *áśva-*) and so forth[15].

Let us now see whether we can find some I.-E. characteristics of Mitra:

A. The eye of Indo-Aryan Mitra (and Varuṇa) is the sun (Gershevitch, p. 4). This reminds us immediately of the fact that in Old Irish *súil* "the eye" corresponds exactly to Lat. *sōl*, gr. ἥλιος,

[14] On the benevolent and favorable character of the Dioskuroi see also e.g. Horace, *Odes*, I, 3, 2; IV, 8, 31 and the excellent commentary of Kiessling and Heinze, Zürich-Berlin 1964, *ad locum*, as well as Theokritos 22, 17; they save the sailors in danger of shipwreck and help men in other ways; they protect hospitality. About the Aśvinau: "Their equivalence to the Greek Dioskuri cannot be doubted. They are Indo-European, and not solely Indian" we read e.g. in the *New Larousse Encyclopedia of Mythology*, London-New York, 1959, p. 329. On the attribution of the Aśvinau to the third class (peace, prosperity etc.) see Dumézil, *Les dieux des Indo-Européens*, Paris, 1952, pp. 81f.

Since both the Aśvinau and the Dioskuroi are horseriders, the etymology of *Aśvinau* (from *áśvah* is obvious, it is equally obvious that the name *Aśvin-* is an ancien epithet.

Bethe writes in *PWRE* s.v. *Dioskuren*, 1903, p. 1111, §15, third section: "Die vergleichende mythologie hat sie mit den indischen Aśvins zusammengestellt, die bei sonnenaufgang angerufen wurden, also lichtgötter waren [?], auf rossen und als helfer aus meeresnot, als ärzte, als schützer der frauen, schwachen und verfolgten gedacht wurden *Oldenberg, Religion des Veda*, 50, 207-215. Auch der unterschied, dass [sic] jene rettung ohne kampf [!?], der dem Indra vorbehalten ist [!], bringen, stimmt wohl zu dem ursprünglichen wesen der griechischen Dioskuren, die nur durch ihre verbindung mit rossen kriegerisch ausgebildet sind, bei ihren rettungen weder aus sturmesnot noch von krankheit haben die Griechen an kampf gedacht. Da ganz selbständige entstehung und entwicklung bei solcher gleichheit nicht wohl denkbar erscheint, dürfte die identifikation notwendig sein, um sowohl als auch bei den Kelten und Germanen ein nämliches götterpaar verehrt wurde, das Timaios bei Diod., IV, 56 und Tac., *Germ.*, 43 mit den Dioskuren gleichsetzten. *Mannhardt Ethnol. Zeitschr.*, VII, 309ff. vergleicht auch die lettischen gottessöhne *dêwa dêli* [= Διὸς κοῦροι]. Vgl. auch *Andrew-Lang, Myth.*, franz. übers. 172f. There follows more bibliography and discussion of other opinions.

One would almost think that in 1903 Bethe had a knowledge of Dumézil's theory, for his description of the Aśvinau—Dioskuroi and of Indra foreshadows the two functions: pacific for the Aśvins, warlike for Indra.

[15] In the expression of Dumézil, *Mitra-Varuna*[4], p. 18] and *pacem, Iuppiter* and *Ζεύς* would be "homologues" of *Thōr*: *pathikṛt-* of *pontifex* (at least to some extent); cfr. also, *ibid.*, p. 109 and 137f. The same is true for other concepts, the Vedic *śraddhá* corresponds semantically and functionally to the Latin *fidēs* (Meillet, *MSL*, 22 [1922], pp. 215ff.; Dumézil, *Mitra-Varuna*[4], pp. 67f.)

Thus we can consider as "homologues" *Hermes, Mercurius* and *Loki*; *Venus, Aphrodite* and *Frija*, altho here some historical influence must certainly be admitted. *Frija* is an adjective which has become the name of a goddess!

Vedic *súryaḥ*, Avestan *hvar-*, etc. Cfr. also Homer, *Iliad*, 3, 277: ἠελίος θ' ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς etc.

B. "The wind [...] is Varuṇa's (and Mitra's) breath". (Gershevitch). We have here the same conception of microcosm-macrocosm which we have in O. Irish *súil* (see above); cfr. Bonfante, *Die sprache*, 5 (1959), pp. 1 ff.

C. The car of Varuṇa (= Mithra) shines like the sun, and is drawn by well-yoked-steeds" (Gershevitch, p. 5). We think immediately of Apollo and his chariot.

D. Mitra and Varuṇa "reaching out they drive with the rays of the sun as with arms [...]. They affect with disease those who neglect their worship" (Gershevitch). One thinks immediately of the deadly arrows with which Apollo drives pestilence into the Achaean army in the first book of the Iliad.

E. Mitra and Varuṇa are conceived as young (Gershevitch, p. 4), like Apollo.

F. The Avestan Mithra has "a thousand ears [...], ten thousand eyes" (*Hymn to Mithra*, st. 7); Varuṇa (= Mitra) is likewise "thousand-eyed"; his spies, "who observe the two worlds", "that are wise and cannot be deceived", are probably his eyes. One thinks again of Homer ἠέλιός θ' ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις. The Avestan Mithra has also "ten thousand spies" (*Hymn*, st. 27); probably the words "his perception is thousandfold" (st. 35) have the same meaning.

Let us now read more carefully the passage of the Iliad mentioned above (3, 275 ff.; also the preceding verses are important):

τοῖσιν δ' Ἀτρεΐδης μεγάλ' εὔχετο χεῖρας ἀνασχών·
"Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ἴδηθεν μεδέων, κύδιστε μέγιστε,
ἠελίος θ' ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις
καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ γαῖα, καὶ οἳ ὑπένερθε καμόντας
ἀνθρώπους τίνυσθον, ὅτις κ' ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ·
ὑμεῖς μάρτυροι ἔστε, φυλάσσετε δ' ὅρκια πιστά"[16].

It is a solemn oath, with all the solemn ceremonies and rituals that a solemn, international oath requires; and an "oath" is very similar to a "contract" or "covenant" (international), it is almost the same

[16] On this difficult passage, which presents even a morphological irregularity (τίνυσθον dual!), see e.g. the excellent comment of Van Leeuwen, *Ilias*, Lugd. Bat., 1912, p. 121 (*ad locum*). But the verses that concern directly our problem are quite clear. Cfr. also Chantraine, *Gr. hom.*, II, p. 28.

thing. Now here Agamemnon not only invokes the supreme god, but also "the sun, that sees and hears everything" (cfr. the spies of Mithra): and the *rivers* and the *earth*, in verses obscure and mysterious (who are the gods that τινοστλον? Why invoke the *rivers*, who have no particular importance in Greek religion, especially in oaths, and the *earth*, who has very little? Why not more important gods, such as Hera, Apollo, Ares or Aphrodite? etc.). We are confronted here obviously with an extremely old, pre-Homeric oath formula which shows some interesting resemblances with the Vedic and Avestan epithets of Mitra, and with Indo-Iranian more than with Greek conceptions (the cult of rivers and natural objects). Greek appears as a central and innovating area [17].

As for etymology, the best connection seems to me (if we admit that for *mitrāḥ* the older meaning is "contract") the one with Latin *mūtuus*, "lent", "reciprocal", *mūtuum* "lending", "loan", which is a typical juridical word (connected with [18] Latvian *mìetus* "exchange", therefore *mūtuus* comes from **moitetuos*; cfr. also Vedic *mithá-ḥ* "mutually"; *mithuná-ḥ RV*, "building a pair" etc., avest. *miθvana-* etc., see Mayrhofer *s.v.v. mithāḥ, mithū, méthati*). The root **mei-*, indicating "reciprocity" (lat. *mūtuus* etc.) is quite apt to build a word like "contract", which is typically reciprocal. This connection enters into the frame of the many religious and juridical words that connect Indo-Iranian and Latin, "lateral areas" (Vendryes, Bártoli, Devoto, Dumézil, etc.): *crēdit*, *flāmen*, *lex*, *rex*, etc. Let us now examine the formation of *mitrám*, I.-E. **mitróm*. We have here a root **mei- *moi- *mi-* with the "zero" grade in the first syllable, which is stressless; and a suffix **-tró-*, full grade, stressed, in the second syllable; the word is

[17] Dumézil, *Mitra-Varuna*², p. 113 n. I correctly observes that Greek — a central area — has lost a great deal of the ancient Indo-European religion. "Nous disons simplement que, dans l'histoire de la dynastie des Ouranides — qui est un récit construit [?], il l'un des rares morceaux de mythologie grecque qui nous paraissent uppeler directement, génétiquement, la comparaison indo-européenne [...]". The reader will observe, by reading the Table of contents (pp. 213sq.), that no chapter is devoted to Greece. (Cfr. also p. 140: "En fait, elles [les vues que ce livre entr'ouvre sur l'ancienne conception de la Souveraineté] éclairent simplement la singularité des mythes grecs, l'impossibilité où l'on est de les réduire aux systèmes indo-européens" perhaps in part because of Aegean influences).

[18] The connection of *mūtuo* (< **moitewos*) with *Mitra*, Latvian *mìetus*, Vedic *mithāḥ* etc. has already been proposed by Meillet, *JAOS.*, 10 (1907), p. 144 and is repeated by Dumézil, *Mitra-Varuna*², 1946, pp. 118f. (who, strangely enough, ignores Meillet): but nobody has tried a chronology, not even an approximate one. See however Dumézil, p. 120: "puisque le mot *mutuum* est indo-européen, de forme archaïque [...]".

perfectly in order with the ancient I.-E. alternances. Since we know many categories of I.-E. words that do *not* have this alternance, and are obviously of later date, but already I.-E. (say Lat. *genus* = Gr. γένος = Vedic *jánah*), and since the older reconstructed I.-E. language with stress obviously was at least as old as 2.500 or 3.000 B.C., we must necessarily conclude that **Mitrós* (whether derived from the root I mentioned, or from another one) must be as old as 3.500 B.C. approximately.

Dumézil in his excellent book *Mitra-Varuna*, cited above several times, has tried to prove that the figure of Mitra was that of an Indo-European god; I think I have proved that the word too is Indo-European, nay, Proto-Indo-European[19].

Turin, 1975 G. BONFANTE

ADDITIONAL NOTE

I had already finished this article when the *Nachträge* (1976) of the *Concise etymol. dictionary* of Mayrhofer appeared. On p. 778 the reader will find the supplement to the article *Mitráh* of the same dictionary (vol. II, p. 633 f.). Now, whether we start from root **mei-* (cfr. *minóti*) 'tauschen' with Meillet or from **mə-tlo-* 'zusammenkunft' (cfr. got. *maþl* 'versammlungplatz', 'markt') with Johansson and Burrow or from **mey-* 'binden, verknüpfen' with Petersson, Güntert, Walde-Pokorny, Scherer and Eilers or from root **mei-* or **moi-* of *máyah* 'erquickung' with Gonda (cfr. *Indol. Taurin.*, I (1973), pp. 106 f.) or from the reduced grade (**ə*) of root **mā-* 'messen' with Lentz (**mə-tró-m*, cfr. Gr. μέτρον) what I said remains true: we are confronted with a word that stems from the period of the indoeuropean stress accent, about 2.500 or 3.000 B.C. The accent of Greek μέτρον (where,

[19] The Indo-European Mitra had already some connection with the day and with the sun: cfr. Dumézil, *Mitra-Varuna**, pp. 90f. (p. 90: "la nature avant tout lumineuse de son compagnon [Mitra]" Bergaigne). Cfr. also Meillet, *JAOS.*, 10 (1907), p. 143 with abundant references: Cumont e.g. writes that the Vedic and Iranian religion "voient en lui [Mitra] une divinité de la lumière invoquée avec le ciel, au moral, elles le reconnaissent comme le protecteur de la vérité, l'antagoniste du mensonge et de l'erreur", and J. Darmesteter states that "Mithra représente la lumière considérée comme être moral."

as often happens in Greek, ε = *a) can be explained through the law of the spondaic ending which I have expounded and profusely defended in *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, 8 (1930), pp. 265-295.

The etymology that appeals to me the most is still the one proposed by Meillet; although the matter is quite immaterial for the age of the word, which I believe is about 3,000 B.C., as I said. The concept of 'contract' and perhaps its divinisation is therefore not Indo-Iranian, but already Indo-European.

JOHN ANDREW BOYLE

RAVEN'S ROCK: A MITHRAIC *SPELAEUM* IN ARMENIAN FOLKLORE?

That Mithra (*Mihr*) was worshipped in pre-Christian Armenia is a well attested fact. The pagan Armenians had adopted the Iranian pantheon *en bloc*, and a temple consecrated to Mihr at Bagayarič in Upper Armenia (the present-day Pekeriç in the Turkish province of Erzurum) was destroyed by Tiridates III and Gregory the Illuminator *ca.* A.C. 300[1]. That some memory of the heathen deity may have survived amongst the Armenians into modern times seems first to have been suggested by Mardiros H. Ananikian. In the section on Mihr in his *Armenian Mythology*[2] he writes:[3]

> We find in the region of Sassun (ancient Tarauntis) a legendary hero, called Meher, who gathers around himself a good many folk-tales and becomes involved even in eschatological legends. He still lives with his horse as a captive in a cave called Zymp-zymps[4] which can be entered in the Ascension night. There he turns the wheel of fortune, and thence he will appear at the end of the world.

Ananikian is referring here to an episode in the folk epic known as *David of Sasun* or the *Daredevils of Sasun*. During the *XI International Congress of Orientalists* held at Paris in 1948 the Armenian folklorist H. Dikran-Tchitouny gave a summary of his version of the epic, based on four variants which he had collected in the region of Van-Sparkert[5]. In that summary the story of Mher the Younger is related in the following terms:[6]

[1] See René Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie des origines à 1071* (Paris 1947), pp. 117-120 and 123.

[2] Boston, 1925.

[3] p. 34.

[4] Perhaps a corruption of the *ζαμπζι* "cuneiform" of Dikran-Tchitouny's text. See below, p. 69, note 27.

[5] See *Actes du XIe Congrès International des Orientalistes, Paris-23-31 juillet 1948* (Paris 1949), pp. 368-371.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 371.

Mehèr le Cadet est né *archi-géant*. Il se venge de tous les ennemis de son illustre père. Mais, ayant lutté avec son père, sans le connaître, et, de ce fait, étant maudit par lui, accusé injustement par la jeune femme de son oncle, aux avances amoureuses de laquelle il avait refusé de céder, Mehèr ne trouve pas d'autre salut que d'aller sur les tombeaux de son père [redacted] de sa mère, pour demander pardon et conseil. Ses parents ressuscités lui indiquent le chemin de Van, où se trouve le *Roc-Taillé*. Mehèr y va [redacted] pénètre dans le rocher, avec son poulain Kourckic-Djalaline, attiré par un *Corbeau-Noir*. Le Roc se referme, emprisonnant Mehèr, à cheval, dans l'enceinte du granit.

Chaque année, la nuit *miraculeuse de l'Ascension, les portes du ciel s'ouvrent ;* [redacted] *manne tombe sur la Terre ; Mehèr sort, ramasse une partie de la manne, rentre dans le Roc, qui se referme de nouveau. Mehèr mange de cette manne, qui lui suffira pour toute l'année.*

Mehèr est toujours là, à l'intérieur du Roc-Taillé de Van-Tospe. Deux cierges brûlent, nuit et jour, à ses deux côtés. *La Roue-de-l'Univers* (Tchahri Felèg) est devant ses yeux. Lorsque cette Roue cessera de tourner, Mehèr, monté sur son poulain, sortira de son tombeau de granit, [redacted] alors ce sera la fin du monde ancien [redacted] le début du règne de Mehèr, c'est-à-dire du *Règne de la Justice* pour tous...[7]).

The session at which Dikran-Tchitouny read his paper was presided over by Professor Geo Widengren, who alludes to it in two of his works, *Iranisch-semitische Kulturbegegnung in parthischer Zeit*[8] and *Die Religionen Irans*[9], in both of which he positively identifies Mher with the Iranian deity. No further notice seems [redacted] have been taken of Dikran-Tchitouny's paper until the meeting of the *First International Congress of Mithraic Studies*, where it was discussed on both formal and informal occasions and where the feeling was expressed that the story of Mher's confinement in the Carved Rock might well hold the key to some basic problems of Western Mithraism[10].

[7] Tchitouny's text, speaks in fact only of Mher's ravaging the world. See below, [redacted]. [redacted] and note [redacted].

[8] Cologne, 1960, p. 65.

[9] Stuttgart, 1965, pp. 209 and 239.

[10] See *Mithraic Studies*, pp. 84-89 and 356-357.

In view of the interest then aroused I read through the whole episode as recounted in Tchitouny's text[11], which I discovered to be considerably more detailed than the corresponding passages in the Soviet standardized version[12]. I have prepared a *résumé* of the text and have added some remarks by way of commentary. I hope that this information may be of assistance to Mithraists in deciding whether or not the Armenian material can throw any light upon their researches.

The exiled Mher, arriving at his father's tomb, falls asleep and dreams a dream, in which voices say to him:

> "...Mher, Mher, O Mher,
> Thy father David has cursed thee;
> Thou shalt not see death and
> thou shalt have no heir.
> Go till thou come to Raven's Rock[13]
> enter it;
> Thou shalt remain there until the
> Last Judgement."

Waking he throws himself on the grave and addresses his father:

> "Father, rise up, father, rise up;
> rise up from thy sweet sleep.
> To-day they have turned me out
> of the House of Sasun.
> They have closed their courts to me...
> To-day freezing snow has come.
> Thy child Mher's feet are frozen...
> To-day they have deprived me
> of the House of Sasun.

[11] *Sarmantacan, épopée populaire arménienne* (Paris 1942), pp. 1083-1097.

[12] I have consulted Frédéric Feydit's translation, *David de Sassoun*, Paris 1964, and also the composite translation by Leon Surmelian, *The Daredevils of Sassoun*, London 1966.

[13] Tchitouny's text has here and elsewhere *Akrap'u-K'ar*. On p. 1090, note 3, he mentions also a form *Akarp'u-K'ar*, i.e. "Rock of Akirp'i", Akarp'i being the name of a village. I have preferred *Agéanu-K'ar* "Raven's Rock" which Tchitouny regards as a corruption due to the intervention of the raven in the story. Feydit and Surmelian both have "Raven's Rock" in the corresponding passages.

Come out, give me Məsər[14] that I
may go and dwell there.
I am left an orphan wandering
forsaken from door to door."

His father's voice answers him from the tomb:

"My son, what can I do? My son,
what can I do?
The strength has gone from my hand,
the hair has fallen from my beard.
The colour has fled from my face,
the light is cut off from my eyes.
Snakes and scorpions have made their nests in me.
My son, Məsər belongs to the Melik
of Məsər[15].
Go to Raven's Rock, go to Raven's Rock!
Thy bread is baked, thy food is
cooked.
The day thou wast born, my son,
Raven['s Rock] was written on thy
head[16].
Go to Raven's Rock, on Tospan Hill.
Go, immortal Cain, my side still
pains me[17].
I have cursed thee: there shall
be no death for thee on earth.
Go, enter the Carved Rock, on the
Plain of Van."

[14] I.e. Misr (Egypt). See the following note.

[15] There are two bearers of this title in the epic, the first being the opponent and then the ally of Mher the Elder and the second a son of Mher by the Melik's widow and so the half-brother of David of Sasun. See Chaké Der Melkonian-Minassian, *L'Epopée populaire arménienne David de Sassoun* (Montreal 1972), pp. 46-49, and 158-159 and 99-105. Melkonian-Minassian, p. 108, sees in the Melik of Məsər an incarnation of the invaders of Armenia, but the title exactly fits the Ayyūbids, the dynasty of Saladin, who had expanded eastwards into the Lake Van area, and there is certainly some reminiscence of their successors the Mamelukes, who put an end to the kingdom of Little Armenia.

[16] I.e. thou wast fated to go there.

[17] On Mher's battle with his father, who then lays a curse upon him, see Melkonian-Minassian, p. 62.

But Mher has no mind to enter the Carved Rock, and, his father making no further reply to his pleas, [redacted] turns to his mother's tomb.

> "Rise up, mother, rise up, rise up out
> of thy sweet sleep
> It is I, the son that drank the milk
> of thy breast
> For seven months thou didst nurse me
> above thy tender heart.
> I have been round the world many
> times and have seen many men.
> I have not seen so sweet a mother
> as thee [redacted] this world.
> Come out, give me Tehran [redacted], I shall
> come into my possession.
> To-day they have deprived me of the
> House of Sasun;
> I am wandering from door to door, I am left
> an orphan.
> Tell me, mother, tell me, what shall
> I do?"

His mother replies:

> "My son, what can I do? My son,
> what can I do?
> The hair has fallen from my head,
> the colour has fled from my face.
> The light is cut off from my eyes, the
> grace has flown from my hand.
> Snakes and scorpions make their
> nests [redacted] me.
> My son, Tehran belongs to the Shah
> of Persia[18].
> Raven's Rock [redacted] written on thy head.
> Go [redacted] Raven's Rock, go to Raven's
> Rock.

[18] This is of course, a flagrant anachronism. Tehran, an insignificant place [redacted] the Middle Ages, became the capital of Persia only at the end of the 18th century.

[19] See the previous note.

Thy place is destroyed, thy clothes
torn.
Thou hast wandered enough [illegible]
the world.
So long as thy horse does not sink
in the dry ground,
Thou art free [illegible] wander in the
world.
When thy horse sinks in the dry
ground
thou shalt stay in the Carved Rock.
For thee there is no entrance into
the ground. Go [illegible] the Rock of Van on
Tospan Hill."

Mher speaks again to his mother and she gives him the same message; and finally, mounted on his horse, the Colt Jalali[20], he sets out from Sasun [illegible] seek the Carved Rock. A prince lies [illegible] wait for him in the Ostan Pass and lassoos Mher's mount, but with a blow of his sword he frees the animal and rides on. In his despair he appeals now to God Himself:

"'O God', he said, 'either give battle to Mher or
raise up his soul of this world and take it
to Thee'
God sent seven angels on horseback;
they dismounted to do battle with Mher.
They fought from noon [illegible] evening,
all of the day.
However much Mher wielded the
Flashing Sword[21],
He could not touch the angels.
As for the angels they shot many
[arrows], they tormented Mher.
He was at his wit's end. He raised
his eyes to Heaven and prayed:

[20] On the Colt Jalali, [illegible] supernatural mount of all the four heroes [illegible] the epic in succession, see Melkonian-Minassian, pp. 160-161.

[21] On this hereditary weapon of the heroes of [illegible] epic see Melkonian-Minassian, [illegible] 184-185.

'O Lord God, my father's curse
has struck me.
The vein in my loins has been
wrenched out and flung away.
I have had no heir in this world.
Nor will death come for me,
until the Last Judgement.
I beseech Thee, Lord God
In Thy Mercy open the Door
for Mher,
Do thus, let him into the Rock
of Van,
That his soul may be occupied
until the Last Judgement."
He turned his eyes towards the earth;
He saw that his horse had entered
Tospan Plain.....
He looked across the plain —
what did he see? A raven was
croaking there.
He shot an arrow at the raven
and hit and wounded it.
The raven flew off; Mher
urged on his horse in pursuit of
it.
He came to a great rock that
was called the Carved Rock
The rock opened like a cave. He
looked, the raven had gone inside.
Mher turned his horse back on
the ground.
When he turned, the horse's feet did
not remain on the surface of the ground,
They sank to the knees in the ground...

Finally Mher drags his horse back to the rock and stands weeping in front of it.

"By God's command the rock
opened and Mher entered upon his horse...
When he had entered he got off his horse
and tethered it.

The door closed and he with his
horse was left inside."
A voice came from above the rock
and said:
"Mher", it said, "thou with thy
horse shalt remain in the rock
until the barleycorn grows to the
size of the hip.
And the earth becomes firm and
solid and supports the feet of thy
horse.
When that day comes
Mher and his horse will again
come out of the rock.
Mher will traverse the world
from end to end.
He will wreak havoc[22] and
will die."

Once a year at midnight on the Feast of Ascension the rock miraculously opens and Mher comes out on his horse, but the earth is too soft to support its weight, and he re-enters the rock, and the door closes behind him. Two hours he spends outside the rock and during that time manna falls from heaven, and Mher and his horse eat their fill of it and are not hungry again for a whole year.

Whoever remains awake that night
and sees all this,
whatever his heart desires is
miraculously granted.
Mher's Door is open in front: who-
ever boldly enters takes as much gold as he wishes and
comes out.
Here there is boundless gold and silver piled up.
How many people have made the
attempt and have gone in!
They have been greedy and have
said "Let us carry off a lot!"

[22] See below p. 69, note 28.

and they have been too late.
The door has closed upon them
and they have been left in the cave[23].
To this day Mher and his horse
are still hale and hearty.
(We have not seen this, we have
heard it from others).
Night and day one candle burns
on either side.
To this day Mher sits there
astride his horse
He is a giant whose chest
is seven cubits in breath.
The hair of his body, they say,
grows out and covers the [whole]
body.
As for his horse, there is always
lucerne laid in front of it;
Summer and winter it is always
green here.....

One "Red Sunday," that is the third Sunday after Easter, a man told his daughter to take a candle to church and light it from the Holy Light upon the Altar. Seeing the smoke of a candle coming from the Carved Rock she thought the place where the candle was burning must be a church. She went inside, and the door closed behind her. She saw manna falling from the sky. Mher and his horse ate it; the girl did too; and they were filled. A whole year passed before they were hungry again. Then the door opened, and the girl took her lighted candle and returned home[24].

Her father asked: "Daughter,
a whole year has passed:
Where hast thou been?"
The girl replied: "How [dost thou mean]?
Did I not go just now?

[23] See below p. 69, note 28.

[24] On the motif of intruders being allowed to remove treasure from the Sleeping Hero's cave, see below p. 69, note [illegible]

I lit a candle. I did not stay;
I came back [at once]."[25]
"Who was in this house where
thou wast?" said her father.
"There was a large man and his
horse."
"What didst thou see at the door?"
"There was a tall walnut
tree; there was nothing else."
"Ah! What didst thou eat there?"
"Something round," she said, "like
consecrated bread came from the Sky.
I ate of it, the man too and
his horse also,
and afterwards we felt no hunger."

On another occasion, one Ascension night, a shepherd noticed the door of the cave was open. He entered and beheld a gigantic man and his horse. Mher picked up the shepherd and held him in the palm of his hand, marvelling at his minute size. He questioned him about the world outside and was told about the invention of fire arms that killed from a distance. He asked how big men were now. Were they like Gog and Magog or a little smaller? No, said the shepherd, they were the same size as [illegible]. Then Mher understood that the world had not changed. He put the man down and bade him go. The shepherd realized that it was Mher.

He asked: "Mher, when wilt thou come
out of thy cave?"
"When a grain of wheat is as large as
a hip
and a barleycorn is as big as a
plum."
By God's will the Rock opened
again,
The shepherd came out. He went
into the world and told [his
tale].

[25] On the supernatural lapse of time see below p. 69, note 28.

The poem ends with Mher contemplating the Čaxri Felek, which, whatever it means here, is a corruption of the Persian expression *čarx-i falak* (which has also passed into the Turkish language)[26], literally "the celestial sphere" and metaphorically "fate" or "destiny":

> Mher is there, inside the cave in
> the Van Rock.
> It is also called Mher's Door.
> Cuneiform[27] writing is engraved deep
> on the door of the rock.
> The Čaxri-Felek is turning inside
> this rock.
> It is a sign of the Sun which
> soars and turns day and night,
> Which, like a fiery horse, flies up
> and up.
> This is the roaring wheel of the
> terrestrial globe,
> and Mer is always watching it.
> When this wheel stops one day and
> turns no more,
> Mher's Door will open,
> That day Mher will be freed and
> will come out
> and will ravage the world.
> But when shall we see this? When
> the world comes to an end.

Leaving aside for the present the question of Mher's identity with his namesake the Iranian deity, we shall have no difficulty in recognising in his story a variant of the widespread folklore theme of the king or hero, asleep in a mountain cave, who at the appointed time will emerge from his hiding place to save his nation or the world[28].

[26] Spelt in the Latin alphabet *čarkfelek*.

[27] *čnavaz*, perhaps a corruption of some Turco-Arabic word. In fact there *is* cuneiform writing on the rock. See below p. 73, and note 40.

[28] See E.S. Hartland, *The Science of Fairy Tales* (London 1891), pp. 205-221; Sir John Rhys, *Celtic Folklore, Welsh and Manx* (Oxford 1901), II, 456-497; A. van Gennep, *La Formation des légendes* (Paris 1920), pp. 193-200; A.H. Krappe, *The Science of Folk-lore* (London 1930), pp. 108-110; *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* ed. E. Hoffman-Krayer *et al.*, s.v. *Bergentrückt*. In the case of Mher and Artavazdes (see below p. 71 and note 33) there is of course some contamination

In the West the legend has been attached to many legendary and historical personages, of whom the best known examples are Arthur of Britain—*rex quondam rexque futurus*—and the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. We have perhaps a much older version of the legend in the report by Plutarch's friend Demetrius who had been sent by the Roman Emperor to explore the coasts of Britain. On one of the offshore islands Demetrius was told by the inhabitants of another island in which Cronus was imprisoned, with Briareus keeping guard over him as he slept, while around him were many deities, who waited on him as his henchmen and attendants[29]. In the East, in Persia, we have instances of such sleeping saviours in the Zoroastrian Kərəsāspa and in the last Imām of the Shī'ites, the Mahdī[30]. It is, however, in Armenia itself that we find the closest parallel in Mher. We are told in the *History* of Moses of Khoren how Artavazdes, the son of Artaxia II, who reigned *ca.* 34 B.C.E., is cursed by his dead father in the following terms:

> If thou ridest in the chase
> up upon noble Masis[31],
> May the genii (*k'ajk'*) seize
> thee and take thee
> Up upon noble Masis,
> that thou mayst remain
> There and no more see the light.

And Moses adds:

> Old women relate of him that he is imprisoned in a cave, bound with iron chains: and two dogs are constantly gnawing

with "the fire-god, master-smith and demiourgos *par excellence*, Prometheus and Hephaistos in Greece, Lug in Ireland, Loki in Iceland, not forgetting, of course, his rôle in the Christian mythology of the Orient and the European MiddleAges." See Kruppe 1930, pp. 333-334. On intruders' being allowed to help themselves to gold and silver (p. [illegible] and note 24) see Hartland, pp. 207-209, Rhys, II, 494-495, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, l.c. section 6, on the supernatural lapse of time during their stay underground (p. [illegible] and note 25) Hartland, pp. 161 ff, *Handwörterbuch*, l.c. section 7.

[29] *De defectu oraculorum*, xviii. See Robert Flaceliere (ed. and transl), *Sur la Disparition des oracles* (Paris, 1947), pp. 146-148. The passage was first quoted and discussed by Rhys, II, 493-494, see also also R.S. Loomis, "Arthurian Tradition and Folklore", *Folklore*, LXIX, 1-25 (esp. 13-14)

[30] See Arthur Christensen, *Les Kayanides* (Copenhagen 1931), pp. 102-103.

[31] I.e. Ararat

> [illegible] the chains and he [illegible] trying to escape and put an end to the world. But the chains, they say, are strengthened by the sound of blacksmiths' hammering. Therefore, [illegible] is that, even in our days, many blacksmiths, complying with the legend, strike their anvils three or four times on [illegible] Sunday [illegible] order, they say, that his chains may be strenghtened[32].

Eznik of Kołb[33] records a different version of the legend in accordance with which the genii of the mountain are holding Artavazdes prisoner in order [illegible] prevent him from succouring his people; he will, however, finally free himself and save his country and nation. It [illegible] on this legend, in the opinion [illegible] Melkonian-Minassian, that the story of Mher the Younger is largely based. She provides a comparative table of the correspondences between the legend and the epic, of which the most striking is the paternal curse laid upon both Mher and Artavazdes[34].

An extremely interesting element [illegible] the story of Mher is the intervention of the raven that guides him to the rock. The raven in the rôle of scout or guide is a familiar feature in folklore and mythology. Leaving aside the bird which Noah sent out from the Ark and "which went forth to and fro, until the waters were dried up from off the earth"[35], we may mention Odin's Hugin and Muninn, which "fly over the world each day," and the three ravens of Bügü Khan, the legendary king of the Uighur, "that knew all tongues; and whenever he had a matter on hand thither the ravens would go and act as spies and bring back news."[36] [illegible] the raven in the rôle of guide we may quote from the examples [illegible] Classical literature the story of the birds that [illegible] the army of Alexander the Great to an oasis in the Libyan desert[37]. In the West at least the raven seems to have been associated with the Sleeping Hero. Barbarossa, disturbed in his slumbers, asks the intruder whether the ravens are still flying

[32] ii,61. See also Melkonian-Minassian, p. 114.

[33] Quoted by Melkonian-Minassian, p. 115. Here there is quite clearly a conflation of the Sleeping Hero and the Chained Satan.

[34] P. 116.

[35] Genesis, viii, 7.

[36] Juvaini, *The History of the World-Conqueror*, transl. J.A. Boyle (Manchester, 1958), I, 57.

[37] For further examples see A.H. Krappe, "Arturus Cosmocrator", *Speculum*, XX (1945), 405-414 (409); E.A. Armstrong, *The Folklore of Birds* (London 1958), pp. 78-79.

round the Kyffhäuser[38]. As for Arthur, it was believed in Cornwall, and perhaps at one time in other parts of Great Britain, that he had been changed by enchantment into a raven and would retain that shape throughout the ages until he finally returned to recover his throne and kingdom[39]. The closest parallel to Mher's raven is, however, as Dr. Gershevitch has suggested[40], the bird *karšiptar*, which, according to the *Vendidad*, took the Mazdayasnian religion to Yima's Var, the suggestion being the more attractive because of Gershevitch's identification of *karšiptar* as the actual Avestan word for "raven"[41]. According to the *Bundahišn* the *karšiptar* was said to possess the gift of speech and in at least one version of the Armenian epic Mher's guide is described as "a talking raven of fiery colour[42]" The *karšiptar* is perhaps also reflected in the "black crow"[44] in the Modern Persian variant[45] of the international tale known as the Three Magical Objects, most familiar in the West as the Grimm brothers' "Tischchen deck dich, Goldesel und Knüppel aus dem Sack"[46]. The bird bestows the objects on a peasant called, by a curious

[38] Hartland, p. 214, Loomis, p. [illegible]

[39] See Krappe 1945, p. 405, Loomis, p. 16. The legend had reached 16th-century Spain — it would be interesting to know from what source. "A Spanish chronicle printed in 1582 asserted that in England it was common talk... that Arthur had been enchanted into the form of a crow and that many penalties were inflicted on anyone who killed one of the birds. The chronicle added the astounding and surely erroneous report that Philip II of Spain had sworn ... that he would resign his title to the crown of England if Arthur should come back." See Loomis, l.c. Cervantes refers on three occasions to this legend, the first reference (*Don Quijote*, Part I, Chapter 13) is worth quoting in full: "No han vuestras mercedes leído, respondió D. Quijote, los anales e historias de Ingalaterra donde se tratan las famosas fazañas del rey Arturo, que comunmente en nuestro romance castellano llamamos el rey Artús, de quien es tradición antigua y comun en todo aquel reino de la Gran Bretaña, que este rey no murió, si no que por arte de encantamento se convirtió en cuervo, y que andando los tiempos ha de volver a reinar y a cobrar su reino y cetro: a cuya causa no se probará que desde aquel tiempo a este haya ningún inglés muerto cuervo alguno?"

[40] *Mithraic Studies*, I, [illegible]

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] Arthur Christensen, *Les Types du premier homme et du premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des Iraniens*, Part II (Leiden, 1934), 21

[43] Surmelian, p. 247.

[44] *kalāγ-i siyāh*. Perhaps the raven is meant. It cannot be the carrion crow, which is not found in Persia, and in fact in the illustrations in Šubhī's book the bird is shown as a Royston or hooded crow.

[45] See Šubhī, *Afsānahā-yi Kuhan* (Tehran, 1328/1949-50), pp. 75-84.

[46] No. 36 in the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. On the wide distribution of this tale see van Gennep, pp. 4, 5-47.

coincidence, Mihrak ("Little Mihr") in a cave to which Mihrak finds his way by following a feather given him by the bird as it floats along on the wind.

Whether the *karšiptar* or Mher's raven bear any relation to the bird depicted in Western Mithraea is a question on which, as a non-specialist, I should not like to venture an opinion. There is, however, nothing necessarily Mithraic about the Carved Rock. Known also as Mher's Door it is a megalithic block on the mountains east of Van covered with cuneiform inscriptions of the Urartian period;[47] there is a photograph of it in Melkonian-Minnassian's book[48]. As for the description of Mher seated on horseback in his cave it is undeniably reminiscent of a Mithraic relief. The candles burning on either side of him have been aptly compared with the torchbearers Cautes and Cautopates. And the Čaxri Felek, of which the precise function and significance escape me, might well be thought to represent the framework of the tableau, viz., the signs of the zodiac. Yet I have an uneasy feeling that all these resemblances are purely fortuitous and that the story of Mher the Younger has nothing to do with either Eastern Mithra or Western Mithras, but is simply one of the endless variants of the old Indo-European theme of the Sleeping Hero.

[47] Melkonian-Minassian, p. 116, note 72

[48] Facing p. 116.

ROBERT J. BULL

THE MITHRAEUM AT CAESAREA MARITIMA

During the summers of 1973 and 1974, excavation teams operating as part of The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima[1], discovered a series of Roman barrel vaults near the harbor front of Caesarea, the city which for almost 600 years served as the port and capital of the Roman and Byzantine province of Syria Palestina[2].

The first vault examined, labeled Vault I, was 4.94 m. high, 4.95 m. wide and had an extant length of 20.5 m. See Figure 1. The western end of the vault had suffered collapse and it was only after several weeks of excavation that its original length of 31.30 m. was determined. Constructed of blocks of *kurkar*, the local soft calcareous limestone, and founded on bedrock, Vault I had had an entrance which at one time opened on a north-south Roman road built along the harbor front of the city. It was subsequently discovered that the vault was one of several parallel and contiguous vaults, some of which interconnected with an even larger series of similar structures. Many of the vaults could not be examined, due to collapse and debris blockage. Eight vaults were entered and measured and on the basis of their dimensions, set within the limits of three known streets, the probable plan of a complex of twenty vaults was drawn. Only those streets which marked the eastern, western and southern limits of the complex of vaults, however, have been found. The *insula* formed by these streets is 75 m. wide east-west and at least 60 m. in extent north-south. The size, number, construction method and their location on the harbor front, indicated that the vaults were built as *horrea*[3]. The archaeological remains found in the vaults confirmed this judgment.

[1] The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima is a consortium of 25 Universities and Colleges in the United States and Canada which has been engaged for five sessions in the stratigraphic excavation of the Roman, Byzantine and early Arabic remains of Caesarea. The excavation is under the direction of Prof. Robert J. Bull, Drew University, Madison, N.J. and is sponsored by the American Schools of Oriental Research and the Albright Institute for Archaeological Research in Jerusalem.

[2] Josephus *Antiquities*, XV, 331-341 and *Wars*, I, 408-415. A. Reifenberg, *Caesarea: A Study in the Decline of a Town*, IEJ 1 (1950/51), pp. 20-32. L.I. Levine, *Caesarea Under Roman Rule*, Leiden, 1975.

[3] G. E. Rickman, *Roman Granaries and Store Buildings*, Cambridge, 1971, pp. 137-140.

Vault 1 was stratigraphically excavated and found to have had six general phases of use, the first of which dated from the first century A.D.[4]. Sealed on the first floor of the vault were coins of Nero (A.D. 54-65)[5] and amid other pottery evidence a large number of fragments from amphorae widely used in the first half of the first century A.D. in Italy and Spain for the storage of wine and *garum*[6]. The numismatic, ceramic and architectural evidence indicated that the vault was in use as a warehouse by the mid first century and was probably constructed as part of the harbor installation during the Herodian foundation of the city of Caesarea between 22-12 B.C.[7]. Josephus describes in considerable detail the port facilities of the city and notes that vaulted structures had been built at the harbor, although he suggests that the vaults were for the purpose of sheltering sailors[8].

In the third phase of its history during the third century A.D. and perhaps earlier, the eastern 13.5 m. of Vault 1 was adapted for use as a Mithraeum. *Podia* (1.60 m. wide, .40 m. high and 10.40 m. in length) were constructed at the eastern end of the vault and against its northern and southern walls. A bench (1.10 m. wide and .40 m. high) was built against the eastern wall joining the eastern ends of the two longer *podia*. The remains of an altar (.60 m. by .60 m. by .22 m. high) constructed of two hewn blocks, was placed in the aisle between the northern and southern *podia*, .25 m. in front of the eastern bench. Immediately behind the altar and built approximately on and along the east-west center line of the eastern bench was a stone construction (1.05 m. long, .32 m. wide and .32 m. high) which ran from the western end of the *podium* to the eastern wall of the vault. This construction was in effect a low wall which divided the bench into two equal divisions north and south. See Figure 1. In the floor [illegible] m. from the southern *podium* and 2.10 m. from the eastern

[4] A preliminary report on the stratigraphy of Caesarea by Prof. Lawrence Tombs of Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario is part of a forthcoming *Festschrift* for Dame Kathleen Kenyon.

[5] L. Kedman, The Coins of Caesarea Maritima, Jerusalem, 1975, p. 98, #26, pl. 1 #3.

[6] M.H. Callender, *Roman Amphorae with Index of Stamps*, London, 1965. Form 1 (Dressel Form 1), Fig. 1, 1, [illegible] 1a. Form 7, Fig. 1, 5 and 43.

[7] Josephus *Antiquities*, XVI, 138-141. [illegible] Avi-Yonah, *The Foundations of Tiberias*, IEJ 1 (1950 51), pp. 169ff.

[8] Josephus *Antiquities*, XV, 337.

wall of the wall of the vault, at the north-east corner of the altar, was a circular concave depression (.45 m. in diameter and .10 m. deep) with a drain at its bottom which [illegible] off in a northern direction.

The western end of the vault had suffered most from destruction and weathering and the western end [illegible] the Mithraeum shared something of the same fate. On the Mithraeum floor at the western ends of the *podia* were found the remains [illegible] a stone foundation judged to be a 3.25 m. wide entrance to that part of the vault used as a Mithraeum, although there was no extant evidence of the existence of a door. Traces of painted plaster were found on the northern and southern walls of the vault the length [illegible] the *podia*. No plaster, however, was found west [illegible] the ends of the *podia* and west of the entrance to the Mithraeum. Excavations were undertaken in the deep debris [illegible] the western end of the vault in an effort [illegible] determine whether or not all or part of that end of the vault had been used as an ante-chamber [illegible] the Mithraeum. Danger of collapse prevented the complete clearing of the western end of Vault I, but partial clearing in three probe trenches discovered one .15 m. square dark gray marble tile *in situ* in the entrance way to the Mithraeum. Further to the west of the Mithraeum entrance, many disturbed white tessera were found lying on a floor related [illegible] the third phase of use of the vault. That the entrance way to the Mithraeum was tiled and the western end of the vault tessellated, [illegible] probable. Some 14.5 m. west of the Mithraeum entrance, the floor of the vault has a steep incline up to the north-south Roman road found at the entrance of the Vault I.

Square shaped recesses approximately .[illegible] m. on a side and .10 m. deep were found cut approximately 1.65 m. apart along both of the side walls of the vault at the tenth course of building blocks and 3.20 [illegible]. above the foundations [illegible] the vault. These were judged to be timber holes used during the vault's construction and as such, ante-dated the Mithraeum phase of the vault's use. All of the timber holes in the eastern 13 meters of the vault that is, within that part of the vault used as a Mithraeum, were plugged with small stones and bear evidence [illegible] having been covered with plaster, whereas those west of the entrance to the Mithraeum were empty and lack any evidence of having had a plaster covering. It was conjectured that the builders of the Mithraeum had used the timber holes to construct a ceiling within the vault which would have reduced the 5 m. height of their cult center. The plaster over the timber holes however, is evidence against this assumption. That there was no lowered ceiling

is further borne out by the discovery of blue paster fragments on the ceiling at the very top of the vault within the Mithraeum.

At 4.50 m. from the eastern wall of the vault a series of 19 small rectilinear shaped, .07 m. by .04 m. recessed holes .03 m. deep, had been cut into the stone of the wall and ceiling equidistant from one another in a north-south line across the span of the vault. The holes began at points on either side of the vault 2.34 m. above the floor of the Mithraeum. The plaster which had covered the walls of the Mithraeum did not cover any of the 19 holes, but at the edge of one of the recess holes plaster was shaped against wood which was already in the recess hole when the plaster was applied. This evidence indicated that a wooden structure of some type was fitted into the uncovered holes in the wall and ceiling. If the .07 m. by .04 m. pieces of wood, at least as long as the 2.5 m. radius of the vault were fitted into the 19 recess holes, the angle at which the holes were cut would necessitate that the wooden pieces meet at the geometric center of the vault. The resultant form would be a splay. If the wooden pieces maintained their .07 m. width for their entire length along the radius of the vault, at a point near their conjunction, the individual pieces of wood would have formed a semi-circular solid, or as is more likely, they would have been fitted to a semi-circular shaped piece of wood in order to secure and support the 19 piece radiate structure. No evidence of vertical supports rising from the aisle or the *podia* to the splay was found. We considered the possibility that the splay--apart from its probable symbolic significance as the radiate sun served as a device for reducing the size, or gave the appearance of reducing the size of the vault to that part of it used as a Mithraeum. That the splay was not part of a construction designed to lower the ceiling in the eastern end of the vault and thereby diminish the height of the Mithraeum, was indicated by the presence of the small patches of blue plaster on the ceiling of the Mithraeum and the presence of a light source related to the Mithraeum cut through the vault roofing 15 cm. to the ast of the splay. The author suggests that the splay served as a symbol of the radiate sun as well as a divider or screen which separated the eastern quarter of the Mithraeum from the rest of the sanctuary in the manner of an *iconostasis*. A member of the cult entering the Mithraeum would upon walking down the aisle toward the east, approach and pass under a sunburst of 19 rays outlined and illuminated by the light source and seen against the blue field of the ceiling above it. See Plate 3 for a suggested reconstruction.

In the southern wall of the vault and 2.30 m. from its eastern end a small north-south vault 1.12 m. wide and .86 m. high connected Vault I with another large similar and contiguous vault to the south. The second large vault had almost totally collapsed and it was possible to see only a small part of it, nor could it be determined without further excavatioh whether or not the second large vault was in use at the same time as the Mithraeum.

In the top of the vault, two scuttles had been cut for the purpose of admitting light. The western scuttle (.80 m. long by .30 m. wide) was located 14.60 m. from the eastern wall of the vault on the east-west center line of the vault. Light admitted through this opening fell in the ante-chamber to the Mithraeum and to the entrance to the Mithraeum. The eastern scuttle (.45 m. by .45 m.) had been cut into the vault ceiling with its center .33 m. south of the east-west center line of the vault and its center 3.80 m. from the eastern end of the vault. The location of the scuttle caused it to admit light to the Mithraeum .15 m. east of the splay and in the area of the altar. The fact that the eastern scuttle was cut into the ceiling of the vault off center was noted and the suggestion was made that this had been done to conform to the angle of the sun and thereby admit a stronger and more direct light into the area beneath. Late in the month of June it was noticed that the shaft of light from the eastern scuttle as it progressed from west to east did so each day nearer the altar. Whether or not the phenomenon of the Mithraic altar being illuminated by a shaft of light at mid-day at the time of the summer solstice was part of the planning of those who adapted Vault I as a Mithraeum, as seems to be the case, must await clarification of the constructions built around the scuttles in the 3rd century structure built over Vault I.

In a series of trenches laid across Vault I, 3rd century pottery along with ashu carbon and quail bones were found on the floor of the Mithraeum under a layer of debris. Of this pottery, the most clearly datable were three third century laps found in the stratigraphy between the altar and the eastern *podium*. It was in this earth layer that the most important artifact related to the Mithraeum was found. This artifact was a small circular medallion on which was depicted in bas relief, Mithra slaying the bull, a *tauroctone* ταυροκτόνος. This medallion, carved of white crystalline marble is .075 m. in diameter and .01 m. in thickness. On its reverse a finished bevel reduces the reverse diameter to .065 m. while the reverse surface was with a

rough comb dressing. The obverse of the medallion is divided horizontally into two registers, the upper of which is twice the size of the lower and features the *tauroctone*. The lower of the two registers depicts three scenes from the life of Mithra. Mithra and associated figures in the upper register have been cut in much higher relief than the figures found in the smaller scenes in the lower panels. See fig. 4.

In the upper register, Mithra wearing a Phrygian cap, his cloak flying in folds behind him, is inclined to the right in the act of slaying the bull. The bull has fallen to its knees with its foreleg folded under it and its hind leg fully extended out behind. Mithra, whose relative size is about the same as that of the bull, holds down the beast as he leans across it, his left leg folded under him on the back of the bull and his right leg fully extended behind him allowing him to secure with his right foot the shank of the bull's extended hind leg. With his right hand Mithra thrusts a dagger into the upper right fore flank of the bull at the base of the neck as he grasps the muzzle of the bull in his left hand and pulls its head up and back. The head of Mithra is turned sharply to his right so that he appears to be looking over his right shoulder in the direction of the bust of Sol in the upper left of the medallion. The turned head of Mithra permits his full face to be seen, but either because the face was never fully carved, or because it has been badly worn, or both, the facial features are only faintly discernible. In the creases of the folds of Mithra's cloak, where it drapes over his left shoulder and falls between the head of the bull and Mithra's right arm, there are traces of red color.

Certain of the figures usually associated with the bull slaying scene are clearly present on the medallion; others are indistinctly represented, if at all. The raven usually located behind Mithra and frequently found resting on his flying cloak may be represented by a poorly defined protuberance in the upper left of the medallion, to the left of the bust of Sol, and on the top fold of Mithra's cape. The snake, its body almost totally extended vertically, has its head at the point where the dagger enters the body of the bull. The scorpion, usually seen at the testicles of the bull, may have originally been what is now only a small ill-defined ovoid at the junction of the right rear flank and the under body of the bull. Above and to the right and left of Mithra are two almost identical and almost featureless busts; the one on the

left of the medallion is traditionally identified with Sol and the one on the right with Luna[9].

On the right of the medallion and in front of Mithra and the bull is a standing male figure with crossed legs wearing a Phrygian cap and holding in his right hand a torch held upright. His left arm is at his side and he stands facing the bull slaying scene. Details of his costume are no longer clear and there is only a slight trace of his facial features. A crouched dog, its foreleg extended, its shoulder beneath the right knee of the crossed leg of the standing figure, thrusts its head toward the bull as though barking. The stance, location, upright torch and presence of the dog, indicate that the standing figure is Cautes[10].

On the left of the medallion and behind the bull is a second standing male figure. His legs are not crossed and his right arm is extended downward and across the front of his body. What is probably an inverted torch, held in the figure's right hand, is thrust toward the rump of the bull, though Mithra's right leg obscures much of its length. The figure wears a Phrygian cap and his head is turned away from the scene of the slaying: few other details of his face and dress are preserved. In his left hand he grasps what appears to be a short staff no part of which extends below the point where it is held. Partly obscured by the standing figure's left leg and at the left of the extended right leg of Mithra is the head of a lion[11]. The stance, location, inverted torch and the presence of the lion indicate that the standing figure behind Mithra and the bull is Cautopates.

The panel on the left of the three panels which comprise the lower register contains both a kneeling and a standing figure. The standing figure on the right of the panel faces left and with an extended left arm, lays his hand on the lowered head of the crouched figure before him. Apart from a slight indication that the standing figure wears a Phrygian cap, few details of either figure have been preserved. The acute angle formed by the circumference of the medallion and the divider between the upper and lower registers has probably caused

[9] For the traditional position of these figures and those mentioned in the paragraphs below see the standard work on Mithraic monuments: M.J. Vermaseren — *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, The Hague, 1956. Hereafter referred to as CIMRM.

[10] For a discussion of the role and position of Cautes and Cautopates (referred to below) see: L. A. Campbell, *Mithraic* Iconography and Ideology, Leyden, 1968, *Passim*.

[11] CIMRM, #1415, #1422

some distortion in the juxtapositioning of the two figures. Both the Mithraic bas reliefs and paintings indicate that the standing figure is Mithra and the kneeling figure is Sol, although on all other bas reliefs known to the author, Mithra is at the left laying his hand on the head of kneeling Sol who faces to the left[12].

The center panel depicts two figures at table, facing the observer. The details of these faces, like those of all faces in the lower panels, are featureless and were, perhaps, originally painted on and subsequently worn or washed away. The figure on the right seems to be wearing a Phrygian cap. Since the banquet of Sol and Mithra was one of the important events in the life of Mithra and one which appears on Mithraic paintings and with great regularity on Mithraic bas reliefs, it seems probable that the middle panel of the lower register records that event. Details of the banquet scene on a great number of bas reliefs are lacking and as a result, it is frequently impossible to distinguish Sol and Mithra from one another. Sol is usually on Mithra's right, that is, on the left of the panel[13]. The only clear exception to this known to the author is on a bas relief found at Dieburg where the positions are reversed[14]. The hint of a Phrygian cap on the head of the figure on the right helps confirm the judgment that that figure is Mithra and that middle panel of the Caesarea medallion depicts Sol and Mithra in their usual positions at table.

In the panel on the right of the three panels in the lower register, a figure is depicted riding a bull to the right. The rider, his cape flying out behind him, holds the head or horns of the beast as he drives the animal towards an indistinct and perhaps recumbant figure before him. The recumbant figure raises what may be his extended right arm in the direction of the advancing rider. The positioning of the figures in the panel may be distorted by the fact that the scene is depicted in the acute angle between the register divider and the circumference of the medallion. The rider apparently has his face turned to the observer and there can be seen the faint outline of a Phrygian cap on his head. Other details of both figures are almost entirely lacking. Identification of the mounted figure is not difficult. Scenes from bas reliefs which show Mithra, his cloak flying behind him while riding a

[12] CIMRM. #1128, #1137, #1430, #1579, #1650, #1740, #2046, #2214, among others.

[13] CIMRM. #42, Fig. 21, #798, #1815, #1935, #2046, among others.

[14] CIMRM. #1247.

bull and holding on to the animal's horns as they advance to the right, are common[15]. There is, however, no instance known to the author where Mithra mounted on the bull is depicted advancing upon a second figure standing or reclining in the same scene. The reclining figure with arm extended is the least clear of all the figures depicted on the Caesarea medallion. Similar figures found in the same general location are usually identified with Saturnus or Oceanus[16].

Small marble bas reliefs depicting Mithra slaying the bull, with associated scenes from the life of Mithra, are well known, but circular bas reliefs exhibiting the *tauroctone* are rare[17] having been found mainly in Noricum and Upper Moesia[18]. The Caesarea medallion is similar not only in shape but also in style of execution to those bas reliefs found along the Danubeian frontier[19].

Since the medallion was found in a stratified earth layer between the altar and the eastern *podium*, its original location and use wer uncertain. The discovery, however, of a white circular area *ca* .[illegible] m. in diameter on the plater of the western face of the low east-west wall which divided the eastern podium into two equal divisions immediately above the place where the medallion was found, suggested that the medallion had at one time been set in the plaster of the western face of the eastern *podium's* dividing wall. The medallion would have been centrally located approximately .65 m. above the floor of the Mithraeum directly behind and approximately .30 m. above the top of the altar. The original location and relative size of the medallion can be seen in Figure 3.

The entire Mithraeum, floors, furniture, walls and ceiling were at one time, covered with hard plater. Exposure to weather which

[15] CIMRM, #1128 (robe not flying), #1422 (no robe), #1472, #1815, #1920, #1972, #2044, #2177, #2244, #2510, among others.

[16] CIMRM, #1128, #1253, #1472, #1935, #1958, #2018, #2171, #2272, among others.

[17] L.A. Campbell, *Typology of Mithraic Tauroctones*, Berytus XI (1954/55), p. 13.

[18] CIMRM, #1415, #1416, #2246, #2254. Others with modification of the circular form have been found in Pannonia #1472, #1475, #1815; Dalmatia #1861; Dacia #2023, #2187, Upper Moesia #2241, #2246 and Rome #810.

[19] Compare with those monuments sited in footnote 18. In Campbell's classification of Mithraic monuments, the Caesarea medallion would be categorized as Type V AB, Type V (Upper Moesia) because of its circular form and AB because it is a conflate of subtypes, A (Greco-Phrygian) and B (Roman) denoting two distinct stylistic traditions of carving the tauroctone. See L.A. Campbell, *Typology of Mithraic Tauroctones*, Berytus XI (1954/55), pp. 10-23.

came directly off the sea after the western end of the vault had collapsed and before the opening in that end had become blocked with sand and debris, probably caused the plaster surface on the walls and ceiling to disintegrate. On the ceiling a few small areas of blue painted plaster can still be seen while on the walls small areas of white plaster and a few patches of deep reddish brown painted plaster remain. Under the encrustration of salt, a large area of plaster, located on the eastern end of the southern wall of the vault, has been preserved. Earth and debris which accumulated on the floor, *podia*, and altar preserved much of the plaster covering those items. Some moisture from the surface may have caused damage in the vault and brought about the loosening of plaster in the western end of the vault, but similar damage could not easily have occurred in the eastern 20 meters of the vault where the Mithraeum and its frescos were located. The builders of the Mithraeum, in order to protect their sanctuary and its decorations, constructed above the vault, and specifically above that two thirds of the vault which housed the Mithraeum, an elaborate water shelf and drain. Over an area 20 m. long and 5 m. wide, in a thick layer of hydraulic cement there were placed in regular rows east and west, north and south, .10 cm. high stone piers. On the tops of these piers had been set and cemented, 3.5 m. thick ceramic tiles (.46 m. wide and .[illegible] m. long). Upon the ceramic tile surface, 4 cm. thick polished white marble slabs, the same width and length as the ceramic tiles beneath them, were laid and cemented in place. Thus, a white marble surface [illegible] m. long by 5 m. wide on top of a [illegible] cm. high drain set in hydraulic cement and pitched at 2.5% grade, afforded effective protection against water seepage into the Mithraeum at the eastern end of the vault. Three columns bearing military memorial inscriptions in Latin of the 3rd century A.D. have been found on this structure and tend to suggest the 3rd century ceramic evidence which dates the structure[20].

One large section of plaster (2.20 m. long by 50 cm. high) has been preserved in about 2.10 m. above the *podium* on the southern wall at the eastern end of the vault. This section of plaster contains the remains

[20] Ceramic evidence found in fill under the hydrolic cement surface indicates that the construction date was probably between the last part of the second century and the first part of the third century A.D. Definition of the structure built above Vault I and over the Mithraeum will have to await further excavation scheduled for the summer of 1976.

of three fresco panels, labeled (from east to west) Panels A, B and C, in the order in which they were cleaned and examined. The plaster containing the frescos is in a poor state of preservation, has become detached from the stone wall of the vault and is being held intact and against the wall of the vault by a layer of crystalized salt, between 1 cm. and 2 cm. thick. Study of the frescos and the photography of them was possible only after the salt layer was in part dissolved away by action of water and alcohol sprayed in a fine mist on the encrustation; a slow process which lasted over several weeks. The danger, of course, was that the application of too much water would dissolve the salt crystals which held the plaster to the wall of the vault and the whole fresco be lost. The color photographs which were presented at the Second International Congress for Mithraic Studies held in Tehran between September 1 and 8 in 1975, along with this paper, were taken through a salt layer less than 2 mm. in thickness. The photography was done by Professor George Whipple of Ohio Northern University who managed with inadequate light sources and under trying conditions, to produce good color copies of the frescos. Infrared and ultra-violet photography were used but they added no significant information to our understanding of the frescos. The extant fresco colors are faint and many of the details obscure, but there is little hope that more salt can be removed without grave risk of destroying the frescos

Panel A is approximately .65 m. wide and .50 m. high and although there is a faint reddish brown line which represents the surface on which the figure at the left is standing, there is no evidence of a lower or upper border to the panel. Traces of a panel divider separate Panel A and Panel B. The bottom of the divider is indistinct and blue in color but the top of the divider is a stylized vine or tree with a long trunk. The upper foliage is green and individual branches or leaves can be distinguished. No trace of a panel divider on the left side of Panel A can be found. Within the panel are two poorly preserved figures. At the left are the lower legs and a small part of the upper torso of a standing figure. The figure is advancing to the right and is colored a light purple with traces of red particularly at the edges of the garments. The figure is clad in close fitting trousers (*anaxyrides*) and wears a tunic or cape the lower edge of which can be seen hanging back of the figure at about the level of the knees. Most of the head and much of the upper part of the body is missing but the general stance of the body indicates that the figure is in the act of extending one or

both arms forward, that is to the right. A second figure at the right of the panel is .25 m. high and kneeling to the right. The hands, arms and legs of the figure are colored a solid red. The cloak is also red but that impression is generated by a series of thin parallel stripes painted diagonally from upper right to lower left across the white or gray background of the garment. The figure appears to be kneeling on the right knee with the lower right leg, partially destroyed, extended behind and with the flat line of the bottom of the right foot angled at 45° behind the body. Both arms of the figure are extended to the right and in the right hand is held a rounded object. The object is proportionally about the size of the head of the kneeling figure and is shaped like a flattened sphere which has been divided horizontally so that the upper and lower hemispheres are separated by a space. The extended left arm rises above the extended right arm and hand which holds the rounded object. The left hand has the fingers extended and spread apart so that the observer views the open palm of the hand. The head of the kneeling figure is obscured by damage to the plaster. An indistinct blue area above and beyond the kneeling figure suggests to the author that a third figure standing at the right of the panel facing to the left may have originally been part of the panel.

Panel B is .80 m. wide and is the widest of the three preserved panels. Between the panel divider which separates Panels A and B and a vertical green panel divider between Panels B and C, are the remains of two figures. The general stance of the two figures in Panel B is the same as that of the two figures found in Panel A except that in Panel B the two figures are much farther apart. A standing figure .43 m. high on the left of the panel advances to the right with the upper part of the body inclined to the right and with one or more of the arms extended to the right. The figure wears close fitting trousers (*anaxyrides*) and the bottom edge of a cape or tunic can be seen behind the figure. The trousers are light blue with green decoration while the cape or tunic is blue with traces of red decoration at the edges. The figure at the right of the panel is .25 m. high and is kneeling, to the left, on both knees with both arms extended in a lowered position which conveys an attitude of supplication. The kneeling figure is painted red and is probably nude, apart from the cape across the back which is painted green and blue. The distance between the two figures is such that the standing figure on the left even though slightly inclined to the right and with left arm fully

extended to the right could not reach the head of the kneeling figure. The narrow horizontal section of damaged plaster between the two figures has a faint red line extending from it which suggests that the standing figure is holding a long narrow rod or sword, the end of which is near to the head or shoulder of the kneeling figure.

In the upper right and upper left of Panel B are two ill-defined golden or yellow areas or objects, one above and behind the standing figure and one above and behind the kneeling figure. The object on the right is the more clearly defined. It appears to be either a bust or, more probably, a vase. A flared base supports a bulbous body the top of which rises to a point. The whole figure is *ca.* 15 cm. in height. No details on the surface of the bust or vase are apparent.

Panel C, .45 m. wide, is the narrowest of the three panels and is defined by vertical green panel dividers both of which appear to be stylized trees similar to the one found between Panels A and B. Within the panel two standing figures, each .43 m. high, face one another. Between them, rising from the ground, is a rectilinear shaped object *ca.* 10 cm. wide and *ca.* 15 cm. high, painted in red outline. On top of the rectilinear object is a yellow disk outlined in red with short, curved red lines extending out from it. The rectilinear object with the red disk on top of it, rises to just less than half the height of the two standing figures on either side. The figure on the left faces to the right and is dressed in green trousers. The green color of his garment appears to cover the front of his torso to the shoulders. Behind him hands a cloak or cape colored purple. The head of the figure has been damaged and only a faint outline of it remains. The left arm is extended from the shoulder but appears foreshortened, perhaps due to an effort to depict the lower part of the left arm held latterly in front of the figure. A faint red line rises vertically in front of the figure as though the figure were holding a staff or rod upright in the left hand held before him. The figure's right arm and hand is extended out over the yellow disk on top of the rectilinear object between the two figures. The right hand of the figure at the left of the panel appears to join the right hand of the figure at the right of the panel.

The standing figure on the right of Panel C advances to the left. His body is red and perhaps nude. If he is clothed, he wears red trousers and over them a red cloak. The position of his left arm is not clear but his right arm is extended and touches the extended right arm of the standing figure opposite. The standing figure on the

right wears on his head what appears to be a crown. Behind his head a yellow nimbus appears with what may be a yellow ray rising vertically above the head. The head appears almost frontal and what is judged to be hair may [redacted] seen on either side of the head. The figure may be bearded.

The scenes on the frescos at Caesarea are difficult to interpret. The standing figures on the left side of each [redacted] the panels found in the frescos at Caesarea wear clothing similar in form and color [redacted] the standing figures found on the walls above the *podia* at Capua Vetere and in the judgment of the author are in each case, with the exception of the figure on the right in Panel C, depictions of Mithra[21]. The kneeling figures, on the other hand, more clearly resemble the red figures associated with initiation of the *mystes* found on the front [redacted] the *podia* [redacted] the Capua Mithraeum. Unlike the kneeling figures at Capua, both kneeling figures at Caesarea were [redacted] cloak and the [redacted]neeling figure in Panel A has a cloak with red diagonal stripes similar to that worn by the standing *pater* in the initiation scenes at Capua[22].

Panel C probably depicts the *iunctio dextrarum* taking place over a burning altar, but whether [redacted] depicts Mithra and Sol or Mithra and another perhaps, a *Heliodromus*, shaking hands, [redacted] not clear. Panel A has not exact parallel [redacted] frescos known to the author. There is at Capua Vetere a fresco of a kneeling figure with a standing figure behind, but there is no object in the kneeling figures hand[23]. There are bas reliefs which show as standing figure behind [redacted] kneeling figure but, as in the fresco at Capua Vetere the kneeling figure is empty handed[24]. Panel B has a number of parallels. An initiation scene at Capua Vetere shows a standing figure extending a sword or rod in the direction [redacted] a kneeling *mystes*[25]. Similar relationships between standing and kneeling figures have been noted on several bas reliefs[26]. Even with these parallels the identity of both figures and the action depicted in Panel B remains less than clear.

[21] M.J. Vermaseren, *Mithriaca I: The Mithraeum at S. Maria Capua Vetere*, Leiden, 1971, pp. 16-24, pls. IV, V, XIII, XIV, XIX.

[22] Ibid., [redacted] 2655 and pls. XXI-XXIII, XXV-XXVIII.

[23] Ibid., p. 36f. [redacted] pl. XXV.

[24] CIMRM #1292 [redacted], #1935 and #1958.

[25] Vermaseren, *Mithriaca* I, pp. 28ff. pl. XXII.

[26] CIMRM #42, #1128, #1137 1b and 2a, #1292 5d.

In the judgment of the author the frescos at Caesarea do not depict the initiation of the *mystes* but rather, because their prominent position near the place of the *tauroctone*, beside the altar and at eye level on the walls of the Mithraeum, they depict scenes from the life of Mithra.

AHMAD HASAN DANI

MITHRAISM AND MAITREYA

The luminous character of the Vedic god Mitra and the Avestan Mit(h)ra has been accepted by all scholars. In Verses xiii. 3, 13 and ix. 3, 18 of the *Atharvaveda* the Vedic Mitra is identified with the sun. Here he assumes the character of the sun in so far as he is asked to uncover in the morning what has been covered up by Varuṇa. Similarly in the *Rigveda* V. [illegible], 4 Savitar becomes Mitra because of his laws, and in III. 5, 4 and V. 3, 1, Agni, when kindled, becomes Mitra. However, as the literal meaning of the word *mitra* is "friend", "agreement" or "compa[illegible]"[1] has, by implication, been considered the chief attribute of the god. In the tribal stage of human society such a concept of god was essential to compose tribal differences and to bring about social living. Both these concepts faded in the later development of the Indian Aryan society. The tribes fused into evolving agricultural states and the social pattern considerably changed in the early historic period. On the other hand the sun-god himself assumed under his own name greater prominence and the concept of Mitra was almost forgotten. Mitra's companion god Varuṇa appears again in historical inscriptions, but Mitra himself is not seen. In the Nanaghat Cave Inscription[2] Varuṇa takes his place along with Yama, Kubera and Vasava. In the Allahabad Pillar Inscription[3] Samudra Gupta is compared with Dhanada, Varuṇa, Indra, and Antaka. It must, however, be mentioned that Mitra appears as a part of the name of several individuals and kings, e.g., Indra-mitra, Vasu-mitra, Agni-mitra, Vrihaspati-mitra. In fact there is a whole line of "Mitra" kings[4] ruling in the Gangetic Valley. Here "mitra" is used in the

[1] For details, see P. Thieme, "The Concept of Mitra in Aryan belief," in *Mithraic Studies* (ed. J. R. Hinnells), Manchester University Press, 1975, pp. 21-40; and J. Gonda, "Mitra in India," *ibid.*, pp. 40-52.

[2] D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1942, p. 187.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 259.

[4] R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkhar, *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II, Bombay, 1953, p. 172.

literal sense of "friend" of such and such a god. Thus the old concept of Mitra does not appear to have survived in India[5].

The numismatists have tried to identify some of the Greek deities appearing in Indo-Greek coins with Mithra. There is a general confusion between the Iranian Mithra and Zeus[6]. Bivar[7] calls Helios, appearing on the coin of Plato, Mithra. Lahiri notes four types of Helios shown on the coins of this ruler. Bivar takes one type, in which the *quadriga* is driven to the front and its square structure is visible, to be Iranian in appearance. This identification is made probably because of the solar concept of the deity. In all these cases the deity is seated on a four-horse drawn chariot—a typical means of representing the Sungod. Rosenfield[8] (fig. [illegible] and 89) has illustrated two examples of the sun-god on such a horse-drawn chariot from Gandhāra. However, the fourth type of Plato's coins has the standing Helios-Mithra, holding a sceptre in the left hand and with his right hand partly stretched forward. It is this last type of the iconographic figure that appears on the Kushāna coins[9] and bears the name of Miiro[10], taken for Mithra. The Kushāna deity is clearly putting on his boots—a practice seen in the northern type of the image of the sun-god. It therefore seems clear that by the time of the Kushānas the new concept of sun-god had crept into India and it was most probably linked with the concept of Mithra.

Rosenfield[11] has summed up the new concepts of the sun-god as developed in the Kushāna and Gupta periods. He has shown how this god became "both the agent and goal of salvation." He "was the creator, protector, and destroyer of the universe," and "the only one who was actually visible and a source of energy." He was "capable of an infinite number of epiphanies and, according to the Bhavishya Purāna, [illegible] had been incarnate even in the Buddha." Illustrating a

[5] Prof. Humbach's hypothesis that Kushāna Miiro is a pre-Zoroastrian god lacks corroboration. See his article "Mithra in the Kushāna period," in *Mithraic Studies*, pp. 137-38.

[6] A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford, 1962, p. 63n and 122.

[7] Quoted by A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins*, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 30-31 and [illegible] 170-71.

[8] John [illegible] Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushānas*, California, 1967, pp. 192-195.

[9] *Ibid.*, nos. 115-123.

[10] See David W. MacDowall, "The role of Mithra among the deities of the Kuṣāna coinage," in *Mithraic Studies*, [illegible] 135-141.

[11] *Op. cit.*, pp. 194-195 and also pp. 196-197.

scene from Buddha's life from the Huvishka Vihāra at Mathura (fig 40 of his book), Rosenfield comments:

> "Here a frontal solar quadriga and deity occupy the extreme left section of the panel. Its symbolic role must be similar to that of the celestial quadriga painted over the head of the giant Buddha at Bamiyan. Another example is found in a passage in the Asvaghosha *Buddhacharita*, in which Brahman forest dwellers greet the Buddha as he begins his career as an ascetic. They remember that his family belonged, as Ikshvākus, to the solar race of kings, and they liken his coming to the rising sun and call him a Sūryaputra".

These concepts of the sun-god, which Rosenfield has summarized, are clearly a development of the ideas seen in the Vedic and Brahmanic literature. Here we note how those ideas have been utilised to shed greater light and eminence on the Buddha. But we have already seen how in the Kushāna period the concept of the sun-god has whirled round that of Miiro or Mithra. The Mathura panel of sculpture brings the concept nearer to the Helios Mithra figure seen in the coins of Plato. Thus by the Kushāna period Helios--Mithra—sungod has been affecting the concept of the Buddha. In the *Brihat Devatā* the sun is equated "with what is, and has been, and is to be, of what moves and is stationary ..... all of this some regard the sun alone to be the origin, the cause of dissolution"[12]. The sun, being the original cause, should not be far different from the Buddhist concept of Ādi Buddha.

As these developments have taken place, it is no wonder that in the *Mahābhārata* (III. 3) when Yudhishthira makes a prayer, he includes, among 108 names of the sun-god, that of *Maitreya*. In the epic tradition at least the solar concept was the chief component of Maitreya. And when we remember that the Sun-god and Mithra had already been confused and identified in the Kushāna period, it is not difficult to see how the name, Maitreya, could have originated from that of Mithra and at least in its origin it integrated the concept of the sun.

Unfortunately no attempt has so far been made to analyse the conception that has accumulated and grown around the Bodhisattva Maitreya. We have traced above the first tradition that must have

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 305 note 69.

given birth [illegible] the original concept [illegible] Maitreya. We shall return to this point below. The last concept is the one seen in the Vajrayāna Buddhism in Eastern India so well attested in the later literature and discussed in the books[13] on iconography.

Dr. Bhattasali, who was interested in the iconographic recognition of the sculptures has worked out a system [illegible] Dhyāni Buddhas, corresponding Dhyani Bodhisattva and corresponding Mānusi Buddhas —[illegible] emanating from Ādi Buddha, the Universal Father, and Ādi Prajña, the Universal Mother. In this system Maitreya, as Manusi Buddha, is related to the Bodhisattva Viśvapāṇi and Dhyāni Buddha Amoghasiddhi. [illegible] Bhattacharya has been able to get more details from the *Sādhanamālā* and shows the different forms of Maitreya one accompanying Vajrāsana in the Indian Museum image (fig. 46 of his book), second Maitreya, the future [illegible]uddha, from whom [illegible] given the following *Sādhanā* :

> "The worshipper should meditate himself as Maitreya who originates from the yellow germ syllable "Maim". He is three-faced, three-eyed, and four-armed. His right and left faces respectively of blue and white colour. His complexion is yellow like that of gold. He sits in the *Paryanka* attitude on an animal. His two hands are engaged [illegible] exhibiting the *Vyākhyāna Mudrā* and he shows in his other right and left hands the *Varada Mudrā* and [illegible] a full blown *Nāgakeśara* flower with its branches. He [illegible] decked in many ornaments".

The third form is of the Bodhisattva Maitreya supposed to be waiting [illegible] the Tushita heaven. His chief symbol is the Nagakeśara flower in one hand. The other hand [illegible] [illegible] the *Varada Mudrā*. About this Getty records the tradition:

> "Śākya-Muni is supposed [illegible] have visited Maitreya in the Tushita heaven when he appointed him to be his successor, and many Buddhist sages (*arhats*) are believed [illegible] have had communion with him, transporting themselves by supernatural means to the Tushita heaven to seek enlightenment on various religious points. The great Āsaṅga, one thousand years after

[13] B. Bhattacharya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Calcutta, 1958, pp. 77-78, 80-81, and 93-94; N.K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Dacca, 1929, Alice Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, Oxford, 1914, pp. 20-22.

> the birth of Buddha, ascended to the Tushita heaven, where he was initiated, by Maitreya, into the mystic doctrine of the Tantra, which he grafted on to the Mahāyāna school in the beginning of the sixth century. Maitreya is therefore looked upon, by certain sects, as the founder of the Tantra school."

Between these two concepts of Maitreya—the one seen in the epic tradition and another noted in the Vajrayāna Buddhism—there is a gulf of difference. In the latter the solar concept of Maitreya is completely forgotten and he has now become a part of the Buddhist cosmogony. Even when he is regarded as the future Buddha, the concept is not of the same kind as that of a Messiah. He has been completely absorbed in the growing complexities of the Buddhist religion. As we will see below, his pose of giving a boon and his chief symbol of holding a *Nāgakeśara* flower are far different from the second type so popular in Gandhāra art. It is this Vajrayāna concept of Maitreya that partly spread in South and South East Asia.

Rosenfield[14] has collected together the material regarding Maitreya of the second type but he seems to have confused the whole issue as the different strata of ideas around Maitreya have not been properly analysed and separated. He has taken the whole data and conceived of only one concept of Maitreya. However, he has very significantly observed in one of his notes:[15]

> "The oldest appearance of Maitreya in Buddhist literature is in one of the oldest of the sources of the Pali Canon, the *Sutta Nipata*. There he is one of the sixteen disciples of a Brahman ascetic Bavari who are converted by the superior insight of Śākyamuni. In this text, there is no reference to the Messianic role".

If this tradition is correctly recorded, we have found a significant stage beyond the solar concept of Maitreya as seen in the epics. Here we get a canonical text in which Maitreya is not yet a Messiah. But unfortunately as Maitreya is a Bodhisattva, the confusion regarding Bodhisattva has coloured the ideas about him. Rosenfield writes:

> "The origins of the Bodhisattva doctrines are an extraordinary complex subject with a number of unsolved historical and

[14] *Op. cit.* pp. 227-238.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 312 note 72.

> theological issues. Among these is a commonly stated theory that this religious system was greatly affected by foreign influences streaming through Kushanshahr into India. This is said to be most clearly apparent in the cult of the Bodhisattva Maitreya, conceived of as the Buddha-to-come, whose guidance will lead myriads of the faithful to salvation. Similar doctrines of a Messianic savior had been current throughout the ancient Orient."

Here what is actually being discussed is not Maitreya alone, but the whole concept of Bodhisattva. This last term is, however, not so simple. Even if we accept that there has been an influence on it from the Western sources, there is no doubt that the Jātaka stories do present to us a concept of Bodhisattva which is far different from anything implied in the West. It is not possible here to go into detail and see the evolution of the original concept of Bodhisattva from the developing ideas of Indian Buddhism as noted, for example, among the *Mahāsaṅghikas*. We confine ourselves to Maitreya alone. Rosenfield again notes.

> "Maitreya cult spread widely in the Kushanshahr, the Tarim Basin, and north west China, whereas his images appear rarely if ever in the lower Gangetic region or the Deccan of this period".

Rosenfield has also illustrated a seated figure, probably of Maitreya (his figure 32). The inscription at the pedestal, which is dated in the 29th year during the reign of Huvishka, significantly records that the image was for the acceptance of the 'Dharma-guptikas' (correctly, Dharma-guptakas), a Hinayāna sect. It is therefore clear that the concept of Maitreya was not limited to the concept of Boddhisattva, which is central to Mahāyāna Buddhism. If we accept this, we can correctly visualise that the original Maitreya was different from his later absorption in the Bodhisattva pantheon. Without realising the point, Rosenfield notes: "To pinpoint this image of Maitreya in a Dharmaguptaka vihāra at Mathura is another affirmation of what is otherwise well known: that the worship of this deity flourished in Hinayāna as well as Mahāyāna circles, and that the cult was an important transitional step between the two vehicles".

On the other hand, the image of Maitreya in Gandhāra is very

well defined. He is usually shown in Abbaya-mudrā and holds a *Kamaṇḍalu* (a flask) with the left hand. This *Kamaṇḍalu* has given rise to a lot of confusion. Rosenfield says: "The *Kamaṇḍalu*, which was later to become widely distributed among a variety of deities in Mahāyāna Buddhist art, was connected with Maitreya at this time chiefly because it symbolized a Brahmanic element fundamental to his nature." And again he writes:

> "It was a short step from the form of Brahmā in this art to that of Maitreya, as can be conveniently demonstrated on a stele from Sahri Bahlol[16], where both are present. The long *chignon* of Brahmā (the jaṭāmukuṭa—technically, the ascetic's matted hair) and his water vessel are adapted to the Bodhisattva by the addition of jewels and strings of pearls, converting the ascetic type into an aristocratic figure."

Here Rosenfield is trying to seek at least iconographic connection between the figures of Brahmā and Maitreya and later he cites literary evidence to show how "the Brahmanic element is a constant factor in the literature of the Bodhisattva through the fifth century A.D." But the Brahmanic element is not the same as the concept of Brahmā. The philosophic doctrine of *Brahman* need not be confused with the icon of Brahmā. Even if we accept the Brahman philosophy in certain concept of Maitreya, that has nothing to do with his iconographic representation which has some incidental resemblance with that of Brahmā. However, it must be noted that except for Kamaṇḍalu, there is nothing in common between the figures of Brahmā and Maitreya. The *jaṭāmukuṭa* seen in the latter's hair is actually pleated hair, which in some cases take the form of *ushnisha*. Thus Maitreya is quite different from Brahmā and his concept is more than that of the Brahmanic idea.

It is therefore clear that Maitreya, in the original concept, was not a Bodhisattva and therefore the Messianic role given to him is of later growth. It is only after this growth that the scholars began to think in terms of the Iranian belief in the *saoshayant*, "the Avestic leader of the Pure Ones," and this was attributed to Maitreya. Once we clear our mind of this confusion, we can see how the idea of original Maitreya came into Gandhāra with the influence of the foreign

[16] H. Ingholt, *Gandharan Art in Pakistan*, New York, 1957, fig. no. 253.

population. It is not unlikely that the original Mithra was absorbed into growing Buddhism in Gandhāra and Maitreya became the second important Buddhist deity after Buddha. From which form of Mithra the concept of Maitreya was derived is a question left for future scholars to investigate.

H. R. ELLIS DAVIDSON

MITHRAS AND WODAN

It is perhaps rash to attempt to compare two such enigmatic gods as Mithras and Wodan, around whose names many contradictory and complex theories have grown up. Various attempts have been made to link Wodan, the Germanic god associated with magic, runes, poetry, ecstasy, the gaining of treasure, the art of war between princes, royal ancestors and the realm of the dead, with Mithras, whom we know to have been worshipped in a number of centres in Germany in the Roman period. When the sanctuary at Dieburg was excavated in 1926, and the unusual hunting scene found in a prominent position, Behn suggested that here Mithras had been identified with the local god of the region, namely Wodan, as riding god and leader of the hunt[1]. Attempts were made by several scholars to link the god's title *invictus* and the heads in the tree with Wodan's cult, and it was pointed out that Mercury, identified by the Romans with Wodan, was given a place here and in other Mithraic temples. Behn claimed that Wodan was the German god of light and the heavens, and suggested that he might be identified with the god holding a spear on the Jupiter columns in the Rhineland. Waas pointed out that three of the Mithraic temples were in the vicinity of the Odenwald, the forest which he believed to have been a centre for Wodan's worship[2], and there were even attempts to derive the Runic alphabet, consistently associated with Wodan and the Scandinavian Odin, from Mithraic lore.

A number of these arguments were refuted by the opposition, led by Clemen[3], who pointed out that Mithras appears as a hunter and also bears the title *invictus* outside Germanic territory. It was doubtful if Wodan was a god of light, and the figure on the Jupiter columns was believed by many to be a Celtic deity; runes were known in north-western Europe in the early Roman period outside the area influenced

[1] F. Behn, *Das Mithrasheiligtum zu Dieburg* (*Römisch-germanische Forschungen I*), Berlin/Leipzig 1928, pp. 46ff.; "Der reitende Mithras", *Festschrift Walter Bertke*, Weimar 1966, pp. 48ff.

[2] C. Waas, "Mithras und Wodan", *Preussische Jahrbücher* 214 (1928), pp. 331ff.

[3] C. Clemen, "Mithras mysterien und germanische Religion", *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft* 34 (1937), pp. 217-26.

by Mithraism. The lively arguments which went on in the late 1930s indeed proved inconclusive, because of the lack of precise knowledge about the cult of Wodan in the Roman period in Germany. It seems necessary to make a fresh start.

Our knowledge of Wodan is based on brief references in Latin writers, particularly Tacitus; on place-names; on the titles of Wodan's Scandinavian successor, Odin; on identification of Wodan with Mercury; and on early Germanic and Scandinavian iconographical evidence. We rely considerably on what is known of Odin, whose cult continued, especially among the pagan Swedes, into the eleventh century, while poetry and myths about him were recorded in Iceland after the Conversion. But the iconographical evidence goes back earlier than this. In Gotland and the Baltic we have a large number of impressive monuments which were inspired by the cult of the god in the Viking Age, and from the period before this we have a great many gold bracteates, produced in the Baltic area from the 5th to the 7th century A.C., and worn as amulets. These began in imitation of Roman medallions, but developed according to native tradition, and they bear figures and scenes of mythological significance. Professor Karl Hauck of Münster has made use of modern photographic techniques to study them in detail, and he is convinced that they supply us with important evidence for the cult of the god in the pre-Viking period[4]. We have to rely chiefly on iconographical evidence for our knowledge of Wodan, since we are faced here with what has been called a "textfree" situation, and in such cases, as Sir Mortimer Wheeler once remarked, we may find the tub but "altogether miss Diogenes"[5]. It might be added that we may also be tempted to confuse the tub with the cauldron of plenty, or Noah's Ark, or any other container associated with our particular field of interest, and it is necessary to realise the limitations of evidence taken from later literature, although it is reasonable to use it as a check or as a support for our interpretations. In such cases we have urgent need of co-operation between scholars from different disciplines, and I believe that possibly Mithras and Wodan may throw light on one another.

Many earlier arguments for links between the two deities were weakened by over-simplification, and we know that in regions where different cultures and religions meet relationships are anything but

[4] K. Hauck, *Goldbrakteaten aus Sievern*, Munich 1970

[5] S. Piggott, *The Druids* (1974), pp. 6-7.

simple. It is, however, clear that Mithraism flourished to an impressive extent in the territories occupied by the Germanic peoples, as was shown by Charles Daniels in a paper given at the *First Mithraic Congress*[6]. He found nineteen certain examples of Mithraic temples in and around the Rhineland, and further possible ones, dating from a period in the middle of the 2nd century. Dedications suggest that legionary rather than auxiliary troops from the East spread the cult, and there are a number of dedications made by civilians, although these are often on military sites or put up by men with army connections; there are six such dedications at Dieburg, while some temples, like those at Stockstad and Osterburken, appear to have been wholly civilian. While the cult was primarily introduced by the army, it evidently had a ready appeal to the German people, and its rapid growth in the area may have begun even earlier than that in the Danubian province. Certainly the response was striking if compared with that in the Celtic regions of Britain, Spain, and Gaul.

It seems reasonable to suppose that this was due to existing resemblances between the cult of Mithras and that already associated with a warrior *élite*, the cult of Wodan. Both appear to have been almost wholly masculine in their appeal, likely to attract trained and dedicated fighting men and especially their leaders. Wodan was the god of kings and princes who led their own warrior bands, while the Mithraic inscriptions include mention of a legate of Upper Germany, a consular beneficiary, centurions, and the commander of an infantry regiment, as well as legionaries and veterans and junior officers. Both cults moreover possessed a series of clear, memorable symbols with great powers of survival.

In Germany as elsewhere Mithras is depicted as a riding god, and as the slayer of a bull, with a raven messenger; he is also associated with dog, snake, cock, eagle, and horse. According to Campbell, the raven in Europe replaced the hawk in Persia and Egypt as the swift traveller through the sky, and it is shown partaking in the sacrificial ritual by pecking at the flesh of the slaughtered bull[7]. In Germanic iconography the raven was the close companion of Wodan and of the later Odin; the god, as deity of battle, was associated with the raven and the wolf, the creatures of the battlefield who devoured the slain, and it was a

[6] C.M. Daniels, "The role of the Roman army in the spread and practice of Mithraism", *Mithraic Studies* (1975), II, pp. 262ff.

[7] L.A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, Leiden 1968, pp. 23, 312.

poetic convention to describe any great leader as one who gave food to the ravens. The implication is that those killed in battle were dedicated to the god as a sacrifice, and that the ravens were his messengers, streaming out to the battlefield to slake their hunger, as for instance in a verse quoted in the saga of Ragnar Lodbrok[8]:

> The dark raven each morning flies over this town,
> and it seems that he will die of hunger. He should
> journey south over the sands to see what we have done with
> our axe-blows; dead men's blood is there for the taking.

There is a different conception of the raven messenger when Odin is said to be accompanied by two ravens, *Huginn* and *Muninn* (names based on *hugr*, "thought", "mind", and *munr*, "thought", "desire", or possibly *muna*, "to remember"). These he sent each day round the world, to seek for tidings, and they whispered their news into his ears; Hauck shows a Christian wall-painting of a saint from the Carolingian period at Mals which appears to preserve the same tradition[9]. He claims that this goes back to the Germanic Wodan, and that the god is shown accompanied by two birds on some of the early bracteates. The motif is certainly found on a helmet-plate of the 7th century, the well-known figure of the battle-god on horseback with two birds flying above which came from Grave 1 in the ship-cemetery at Vendel in Sweden. It seems that on the bracteates the raven sometimes replaces the winged victory of Roman tradition, and we know that the raven banner was long associated with the followers of Odin. Indeed the pagan Vikings were frequently described as destructive ravens with iron teeth and claws, transformed into doves at baptism: this motif may be traced back to an early 9th century panegyric by an Irish scholar on King Louis the German, and reoccurs in many places in Scandinavian and Irish literature[10].

The Germanic god of battle might also be represented by the eagle, who in the Roman world was associated with Jupiter and the thunderbolt, and was the symbol of sovereignty. He flew high and far, and could bear men up to the realm of the gods; one of his functions in Indo-Iranian tradition appears to have been to bring the sacred drink,

[8] *Ragnars Saga Loðbrókar*, ch. 16.

[9] Hauck (note 4, above) Abb. 55b; pp. 201 ff., 248 ff.

[10] N. Lukman, "The Raven Banner and the Changing Ravens", *C & M* 19 (1958), 135 ff.

soma or *haoma*, from the cloud-rock[11]. Impressive eagle helmets were worn by Swedish warriors, and on the early bracteates a bird head-dress plays an important role[12]. It is clear that the eagle was an important symbol among the Germans, since eagle brooches are found in very large numbers in Germanic territory, dating back to the late 5th and 6th centuries. The Viking Age stones in Gotland appear to depict Odin in eagle form, and in one scene he brings back the magic mead to the gods in his eagle shape, as recounted in the literary myths[13].

The third bird, the cock, has also some association with Odin, although on a much smaller scale. It was the cock which aroused his followers to battle on the last day, and there is some evidence for cocks sacrificed in the Viking Age, both by the eastern Vikings on their travels and also at Scandinavian funeral ceremonies, since the remains of birds are included in the rich ship-graves of Norway and Sweden[14].

The dog is not easy to distinguish from the wolf in Scandinavian art, and the wolf is undoubtedly one of the creatures associated with the battle god: Odin was said to have two wolves as his companions when he feasted with warriors in his hall, and the wolf, like the raven, devoured the slain and is constantly mentioned in heroic poetry. Warriors dedicated to Odin were said sometimes to wear wolf-skins or even to take on wolf form. The dog however is represented as the guardian of the entrance to the realm of the dead, and is depicted on some of the Gotland stones which show the entry of the hero into the kingdom of Odin[15]. On the other hand, we have the tradition of the wolf as Odin's implacable enemy, who will devour him at Ragnarok when it breaks loose from the chain laid upon it by the gods; this tradition goes back to the 10th century at least, since it is depicted

[11] Campbell (note 7 above), pp. 218, 221.

[12] Hauck (note 4 above), pp. 169 ff.

[13] On a stone from Lärbro stora Hammars (III), Gotland, see S. Lindqvist, *Gotlands Bildsteine* I (Stockholm 1941), fig. 85. For use of the eagle symbol, see Thurt, *Die Vogelfibeln der germanischen Völkerwanderungszeit* (Bonn 1939) and E. Salin, *La Civilisation Mérovingienne II* (Paris 1959), pp. 186 ff.

[14] For reference to sacrifice of cocks on the voyage down the Dnieper, *De Administrando Imperio*, by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, ch. 9 (Moravcsik and Jenkins, [1949], p. 61); also Ibn Fadlan's account of the cremation on the Volga (see M. Smyser, *Medieval and Linguistic Studies in honour of Francis Peabody Magoun Jr.*, 1965, p. 99).

[15] E.g., on stone from Alskog (Lindqvist, note 13, above, fig. 137).

on an early Christian cross from the Isle of Man, and is also mentioned in 10th century poetry[16].

The horse is associated with both Wodan and Odin, since both are depicted as riding gods. On the early bracteates the horse appears, developing out of the steed of the Emperor on Roman medallions, and seems to become increasingly important. In the 7th century figures of a rider appear on open-work buckles from southern Germany and the mainland, and Kuhn shows convincingly that they were probably derived from an earlier figure of a riderless horse, which in turn developed from a griffin[17]; the griffin is an eastern motif which, according to Cumont, could represent the conducting of the dead to the Other World[18]. The horse with its rider is shown in a more impressive form on a panel of the Hornhausen stone of the 7th century, and its rider bears the sun-symbol on his shield; it may be noted that the rider on the Gotland stones occasionally has a shield with the same motif[19]. On these stones the horse is sometimes shown with eight legs, in agreement with literary descriptions of Odin's horse Sleipnir[20]. In German folklore we find Odin associated with the Wild Hunt, the ride of the dead through the air on winter nights; this is especially strong in southern Germany and the Lower Rhine, although also found in Britain, Scandinavia, and northern France, and is a popular tradition which seems to have been based on the noise of winter storms or of wild geese passing overhead. Only in a small number of cases admittedly does the leader of the Hunt bear Wodan's name; more often he is the Devil, or some notorious local figure. However allusions go back to the 11th century at least, and there are some grounds for a pre-Christian association with Wodan[21]. This accounts for the strong interest in the hunting scene at Dieburg among German scholars.

[16] On the fragment from Andreas, in the Manx Museum. See H. R. E. Davidson, "The Battle God of the Vikings", University of York 1972, p. 3.

[17] H. Kuhn, "Die Reiterscheiben der Völkwanderungszeit", *IPEK* 12 (1938), pp. 95ff.

[18] F. Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans*, New York 1912, p. 184.

[19] Lindqvist (note 13, above), figs. 86, 104.

[20] *Ibid.* figs 137, 140 and 86 (some doubts about the last of these). For a possible explanation of the eight legged horse, H. R. E. Davidson, *Gods and Myths of Northern Europe* (1968) 142ff.

[21] J. de Vries, "Contributions to the study of Odin", *Folklore Fellows Communications* 94, Helsinki 1931, pp. 25ff.

Odin has some connection with the serpent, which is shown with him on the Vendel helmet plate; the serpent also plays a prominent part on the bracteates. We know that the god himself could take on serpent form, as when he penetrated through the rock to gain the magic mead. He was also associated with the dragon of northern tradition, sometimes represented as a serpent and sometimes as a fiery creature in the air, for the dragon guarded treasure within the earth, and the gaining of treasure came under the provenance of Odin, as is claimed in *Ynglinga Saga*[22]:

> Odin also knew about all treasure buried in the earth, and where it was hidden, and he knew the songs which cause earth and hills, stones, and howes to open before him, and he bound those who dwelt there by his utterances, and entered and took what he desired.

The northern dragon is thus not a wholly threatening symbol, and may also signify wealth. On the bracteates we find a figure grasping a serpent in either hand, and Hauck seeks to identify this with Wodan the creator[23]. If this is correct, then it may represent an earlier Germanic tradition in which the snake is beneficent rather than harmful.

The bull is not obviously associated with either Wodan nor Odin, and does not feature on the bracteates. There was, however, a continuing tradition for the sacrifice of a bull in Scandinavia: for instance, there was a bull sacrifice at the Thing or Assembly, and there is a tradition that such a sacrifice was made by the victor in an official duel, as in the episode in *Egils Saga* when Egil wins at the *holmgang*[24]:

> A huge old bull was led out, called the sacrificial beast (*blótnaut*). The one who was victorious was to slay it; sometimes there was one beast and sometimes each man who took part in the duel provided one.

In earlier Germanic tradition the bull evidently played a part, since one of the splendid lost treasures from the 6th century tomb of Childeric of the Franks was a golden bull's head, bearing the sun-disc on its forehead[25]. Caesar stresses the importance of the aurochs, the wild ox of the northern forests, to the Germanic peoples, and tells how it was a test of manhood among their youth to trap the powerful beast

[22] *Ynglinga Saga*, ch. 7.
[23] Hauck (note 4, above), pp. 150 ff.; 221 ff.
[24] *Egils Saga*, ch. 65; cf. *Víga-Styrs Saga ok Heiðarvíga*, ch. 4.
[25] Salin (note 13, above), p. 168.

in a pit and then go in and slay it. I have suggested that the bull-slaying scene on the Gundestrup Bowl, a ceremonial vessel from Roman times, might conceivably be based on this practice[26]; it would certainly account for the popularity of the bull-slaying imagery among the Germans. The name of the aurochs was given to one of the Germanic runes, and the aurochs' horns were used for ceremonial drinking vessels and splendidly decorated with silver; this point is mentioned by Caesar and is confirmed by the discovery of mounts from two such horns in the grave at Sutton Hoo.

Thus it is possible to find a link between Wodan and the various creatures of the Mithraic menagerie; sometimes the link is strong and definite, sometimes rather tenuous. Serpents, a pair of birds, a wolf, and a horse have all been pictured on Germanic cremation urns of the pagan period[27], and cremation, and therefore fire, is traditionally associated with Odin. A more striking parallel with Mithraic tradition however is shown on the emphasis on the breath in the iconography of the bracteates. Hauck has pointed out a number of cases in which a head is shown with the breath issuing from the mouth, bearing a strong likeness to the head of the wind as shown on Mithraic monuments[28]; he takes this to signify the creative and regenerative powers of Wodan. The same motif is found on a large number of Anglo-Saxon brooches from the pre-Christian period, where a face with staring eyes and sometimes rounded cheeks has a kind of cloud or enclosed space below the mouth; this sometimes suggests flames, and sometimes is filled with the heads and limbs of animals, in accordance with the style of Anglo-Saxon animal ornament in the 6th century[29]. In the past, claims have been made that Wodan was primarily a wind god; this was partly due to his association with the Wild Hunt and partly to the significance of his name, which appears to mean "Fury" or "the Furious One". While such a limited interpretation of the character of the god is hardly borne out by the evidence as a whole, it seems as though the power of the breath formed an important part of Wodan's functions. In one Icelandic poem, *Vǫluspá*, it is said that at

[26] H. R. E. Davidson, "Mithraism and the Gundestrup Bowl", *Mithraic Studies* (1975), II, pp. 504ff.

[27] Found on urns from Lackford, in Norwich Museum, and from Newark. See P. Gelling and H. R. E. Davidson, *The Chariot of the Sun*, figs. 59c, 76, and 82.

[28] Hauck (note 4, above), pp. 143ff., 343ff.

[29] H. Vierck, "Ein Reliefbelpaar aus Nordendorf", *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter* 32 (1967), pp. 104ff.

the creation of the first man and woman by the gods from trees on the shore, it was Odin who gave them breath, while in a medieval manuscript from Liége Wodan is represented as the ancestor of the Anglo-Saxon kings and is shown linked with his descendants by wavy lines proceeding out of his mouth[30].

The symbol of the feast and the drinking of the mead of inspiration was clearly of considerable importance in the cult of the Germanic god, and also in the picture of the Scandinavian Odin in the Viking Age. Not only have we the tradition of champions and kings who die in battle feasting in the realm of the god after death, but also that of the dead man feasting with his ancestors. The mead was recovered by the god himself in eagle form from the rock where the giants had hidden it, and borne back to Asgard, and one of the attractions of Valhalla, the hall of the slain where Odin presided, was the nightly banquet for the warriors who had spent the day fighting, with supplies of pork and mead which never gave out. A story recorded in the 7th century in the Latin life of Columbanus by his biographer Jonas is worth noting in this connection[31]. When the saint was in the region occupied by the pagan Alamanni in the 6th century, he is said to have come upon a group of pagans round a large vat capable of holding about twenty measures of beer; they explained that this was no mere drinking party, but that they intended to offer the vat to Wodan. The saint was a determined character opposed to any compromise and he went up to the vat and breathed on it, whereupon it burst with a loud noise and the beer was lost. The rueful pagans are said to have admitted that the man of God had great power in his breath, and this is perhaps significant, if Columbanus was represented as deliberately outdoing Wodan at his own game. When in Mithraic temples we find feasting scenes showing those taking part in bird or animal masks, this is a conception which would have been a familiar one in the northern peoples, for bird and animal masks and helmets are found frequently in Germanic and Scandinavian art, particularly those of wolf and eagle.

Another Mithraic practice which was associated with the northern god was that of a period of training for young warriors and some kind of initiation ceremony. In particular we have the ordeal by fire,

[30] S.R.T.O. D'Ardenne, "A Neglected Manuscript of British History", *English and Medieval Studies presented to J.R.R. Tolkien* (1962), pp. 90ff.

[31] *Vita Columbani*, I, 27 (ed. B. Krusch, 1905), p. 213.

undergone by Odin himself, who endured agony sitting between two fires and was afterwards able to disclose hidden knowledge, while some of his Danish heroes are said to have undergone a similar test[32]. The ritual most closely associated with Wodan and Odin however was hanging from a tree, a method of sacrifice practised by the followers of the god. The story of King Vikar, chosen for sacrifice against his will, suggests that it was possible to simulate such a sacrificial ritual, using the intestines of a calf instead of a rope; this is an interesting point in view of the reference to the binding of a man's hands with the intestines of a fowl, mentioned in one of the Christian writings against Mithraism[33]. The idea of a testing period for young warriors dressed as wolves when they learned the lore of battle, and of challenges made to their courage and loyalty, is implied by the account of the training of Sigmund's son Sinfjotli in *Volsunga Saga*[34]. Such literary sources are late, but it is possible that early traditions were sometimes preserved in them and ideas were adopted from earlier poems without full understanding of their significance.

Finally an important link between Mithras and Wodan is offered by the figure of Mercury. This god played an important part in Mithraic symbolism, and the grade of the Raven was associated with him[35], while he was also represented as a divine magician and messenger and the conductor of the dead to the Other World. We are told by a number of Latin writers that the Romans identified Wodan with Mercurius[36], and the day of Mercury, the third of the planetary week, was named after Wodan, Woden, or Odin by Anglo-Saxons, Saxons, Frisians, and Scandinavians. The introduction of the seven-day week with its days named after the planets which governed the first hour of each appears to have reached the Rhineland by the 3rd century A.C., and the Germans (unlike the Celts) substituted the names of their own gods, Tiwaz, Wodan, and Donar, for the three Roman ones, Mars, Mercury and Jupiter[37]. It seems probable that this

[32] In the poem *Grimnismál* in the *Poetic Edda*, and account of visit to Uppsala in *Hrólfs Saga Kraka*, ch. 41

[33] Campbell (note 7, above), p. 298. For the story of King Vikar, *Gautreks Saga* ch. 7. See Davidson (note 20, above), pp. 51-2

[34] *Volsunga Saga*, ch. 8.

[35] Campbell (note 7, above), pp. 66ff.

[36] J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology* (translated J.S. Stallybrass, 1880) I, pp. 100ff

[37] E.J. Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World* (1968), pp. 59ff., J. Heurogon, "Octavo Ianam Lunam", *REL* 25 (1947), pp. 241ff., F.H. Colson, *The Week* (1926), p. 110. I am grateful to Dr. W.M.S. Russell for supplying me with the first reference.

change should be associated with the acceptance of the cult of Mithras, since the planets were linked with the seven grades of the Mithraic hierarchy. Whether the so-called Jupiter pillars, the columns found in the Rhineland and on Celtic territory with a figure which seems to represent the sky-god on top and in some cases with planetary deities round the base, may also show Mithraic influence is a more difficult question, because of our inadequate knowledge concerning the relationship between Celts and Germans in the Roman period; this is a subject on which much further work needs to be done[36].

There are of course differences as well as resemblances between the two cults. The signs of the Zodiac do not appear to have left a recognisable mark on German or Scandinavian symbolism associated with Wodan or Odin. There is no obvious parallel to the practice of sacrifice by strangling and stabbing which was of primary importance in Wodan's cult; nor does the idea of Odin as a one-eyed god, or as a hooded and disguised deity wandering among men, appear to be present in Mithraic symbolism. As to the relationship between Wodan and the sky-god Tiwaz or the thunder-god Donar, who was equated with Jupiter, this is as yet far from clear. At least it can be said that there does not seem to be a strong case for any Germanic deity other than Wodan to have a close association with Mithras.

In our present state of knowledge, I would hesitate to propose that there was a close relationship between the two cults, or that one developed out of the other, that of Wodan presumably existed before the Romans reached Germany, and that of Mithras appears to have come into the area with the Roman army. I wish only to stress existing resemblances, which seem sufficiently strong to account for the enthusiasm with which the Germans received Mithras. Once the cult had been accepted by a number of Germans, Mithraism may have served to emphasise and strengthen certain elements in the cult of Wodan as it went on to develop in Denmark and Sweden. The Mithraic temples known to have existed in Germany must have made many familiar with the cult who were not active members, and certainly many Germans made dedications to the god, particularly those who served in the army or were attached to the military camps. Still more must have visited the abandoned shrines after the army quitted Germany and seen the carvings and paintings which adorned them. The Mithraeum was built partly underground, but it had a decorated roof

[36] E. Thevenot, *Divinités et sanctuaires de la Gaule*, Paris 1966, pp. 28 ff.; J. de Vries, *Les Celtes*, Paris 1963, pp. 39 ff. I owe these references to Joan Liversidge

which symbolised the sky, and it was ornamented with representations of bull-slaying, feasting, and figures of a riding god. It is conceivable that these helped to build up the strange concept of Valhalla, the Hall of the Slain. Odin's hall in the literary sources is in some way reminiscent of the gravemound, which is partly beneath the earth and yet stands above it as a landmark; it is also depicted as a divine dwelling, the house of Odin in the sky among the other halls of the gods. Here Odin or his messengers escorted dead warriors, riding across the sky over land and sea, and here the champions feasted among the panoply of battle, surrounded by wolf and eagle shapes, with raven messengers bringing news from earth. Such a concept might have been inspired by the impressive Mithraic remains on German territory. It is even possible that those with knowledge of Latin took note of the inscription frequently found in Mithraic temples in Germany: "In honour of the Divine House" (*domus divinae*)[59]. Thus it may have been the influence of Mithraism which as time went on led to greater emphasis on Odin as god of the dead rather than of the sky, although the latter aspect of his character seems never to have been wholly forgotten. The hall of Odin played a prominent part in pre-Christian religious symbolism in Scandinavia, and although the conception of entry into his realm was a limited one, reserved for kings and heroes and dedicated warriors, it came to form an essential part of funeral imagery in both the art and literature of the Viking Age. At that time small bands of fighting men, living as warriors, raiders and traders, went out with their leaders, bound by strong oaths of loyalty to each other and to the man at their head, united by certain ceremonies and rituals in honour of Odin, the god to whom oaths were sworn and to whom toasts were drunk. This is reminiscent of what we know of the Mithraic community and presume to have been its character in Germany. Certainly the relationship between Mithras and Wodan is a subject provoking many questions, and one which would seem to merit further consideration.

[59] Campbell (note 7, above), p. 371.

ALEXANDER DIETZ

BAGA AND MIΘRA IN SOGDIANA

In the Sogdian Calendar, the seventh month of the year, *Baγkānīc*, does not contain the name of Miθra as in other Middle Iranian Calendars, but bears instead the name Baγa (*By-*), the common meaning of which in Sogdian is 'god, lord, gentleman' (etc). J. Marquart argued that Baγa was simply an alternative name for Miθra, thus implying that Miθra was considered the God *par excellence* by the Sogdians[1]. In an article published in 1965 in the BSOAS, W.B. Henning however claimed that there was evidence for the existence of a Sogdian deity Baγa, who supposedly played a role as the promoter and protector of marriages and who was not identical to Miθra but closely associated with him, perhaps even surpassing him in popular esteem in some parts of Central Asia[2]. According to Henning, the Sogdian god Baγa was, from an historical-comparative point of view, identical to the Vedic god Bhaga who plays a minor role as one of the six Ādityas in the Rigveda. Should Henning's claim prove to be valid, it would provide a strong argument for dating the main traits of the system of the Vedic Ādityas, hitherto considered a specifically Indian development, back to the Proto-Indo-Iranian Period and would thus have considerable consequences for the prehistory of Iranian Religion and for the study of the origins of Miθra-worship.

Henning's argument for the existence of a Sogdian marriage god Baγa was mainly based upon a novel etymology of an enigmatic Sogdian expression, which he rightly associated with marriage. The expression in question occurs in several variants of two main types. The first type, represented by Manichaean Sogdian *βγ'nypš kt'kw* and its Christian Sogdian equivalent *by'nypš qt(y)*, has an internal *pš*, while the second type, represented by Manichaean Sogdian *βγ'n'yšp 'krty* and Christian Sogdian *by'nyšpqty* is characterized by an internal *šp*. Since only the transposition of *pš* into *šp* (and not of *šp* into *pš*)

[1] Josef Marquart: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran. Vol. 1, Göttingen 1896, p. 64 sq. Vol. 2, Leipzig 1905, pp. 132, 135 sqq.

[2] Walter B. Henning: A Sogdian God. In: BSOAS 28, 1965, p. 242-245.

is attested in Sogdian. Henning suggested that *pś* should be considered to be the primary form. The final part, *kt'kw* (etc.), of the expression *βγ'nypś kt'kw* (etc.) comes from the Iranian **krtaka-*, the past participle passive of the Iranian verb **kar-*, 'to do, to make', which according to Henning in Sogdian may not only have the normal passive meaning 'done, made', but may also indicate the noun of action 'act of making, action of making'.

Yet in Henning's interpretation of the first part of the expression, i.e. of *βγ'nypś-* (etc.), a number of difficulties arise. Henning was quite correct in considering *βγ'nypś* to be a compound consisting of an adjective *βγ'nγ*, a derivation from *Baγa-(βγ-)*, and of a substantive *pś*. Rather questionable, however, is his contention that *βγ'nγ* was not derived from the common noun *βaγa(βγ-)* 'god, Lord, gentleman' (etc.), but came from the name of a supposed Sogdian deity *Baγa(βγ-)*. Thus *βγ'nγ* would not have the expected meaning of 'divine, lordly, gentlemanly' (etc.) but would rather mean "pertaining to Baγa". Even more doubtful is Henning's derivation of *pś* from the Avestan *pisra-*, an implement employed in smelting or welding meaning perhaps 'smelting oven' or 'smelting pot', which led him to postulate a meaning of 'union' for *pś*, although there is considerable difference between a smelting pot and a union. Seen from this point of view, Henning's interpretation of the compound *βγ'nypś* as 'Baγa-union' (referring to the supposed god Baγa) and that of the entire expression *βγ'nypś kt'kw* as 'Baγa-union-making' needs to be reconsidered. Indeed his earlier proposal, made in 1945, linking *pś* to Iranian *puθra-*, "son" is to be preferred, especially since *pś* in the meaning of "son" is well attested in a number of Sogdian compounds[3].

As a matter of fact, *βγ'nypś* is clearly similar to the expression *βγ''ny BRY*, found in the introductory formula of Letter No. III of the Sogdian Ancient Letters, in which the recipient is addressed by his wife with the words: *'R βγw xwt'w βγ''ny BRY znyδ't*, 'to the gentleman and master, the *βγ''ny BRY* Zanēdāt', whereby *BRY* is simply the Aramaic ideogram commonly used in the Sogdian National Script in the place of the phonetically-written *z'rk* 'son'. Thus, *βγ'nypś* (as well as *βγ''ny BRY*) must have had a meaning such as either 'divine son, lordly son, gentlemanly son', etc., or 'son of a divine (being), son of a lordly (person), son of a gentlemanly (person)', etc.

[3] Idem, BSOAS 11, 1945, p. 486 f.

If we were to postulate a meaning of 'son of a divine being' for *βγ'nypš*, we would have a striking parallel in the Bactrian title *bagopouro* (etc.) 'Son of God', which occurs in the phrase *šao bagopouro* 'King and Son of God' on the inscription of Kaniška at Surkh Khotal. Yet if we were to interpret the Sogdian expression *βγ'nypš kt'kw* as meaning 'the making of a son of a divine (being)', then the question arises, how such an expression came to be associated with the idea of marriage in Sogdian. At this point, it might be appropriate to consider some ethnographic evidence for marriage customs in Central Asia. In the Chuf Valley of Tadžikistan, the bridegroom is still today the centre of attention throughout the marriage festivities. At the time of the actual wedding the newly-wed husband is given the title of *šāh*, "King", a title which he retains during the subsequent days of feasting. While the groom himself has a relatively passive role in the celebrations, his wishes are made known through a specially appointed assistant called *jasaul* ('Administrator of Order'). The *šāh* can instruct his *jasaul* to inflict punishment upon anyone who fails to show him proper respect or otherwise displeases him. Similar customs are known throughout Central Asia, whereby the newly-wed husband is almost invariably called *šāh*. The same custom is even practiced in Northern India among the Rajputs and those ethnic groups strongly influenced by them, where, however, the bridegroom bears the title of *rāja*.

In view of the fact that a custom of naming a newly-wed husband *šāh* and treating him like a king, is almost universal among the Iranian-speaking peoples of Central Asia, it should hardly cause surprise to find a comparable custom among the ancient Sogdians. Thus it seems very plausible to interpret the Sogdian expression for marriage *βγ'nypš kt'kw* as indeed containing an imperial title *βγ'nypš* and as meaning "the making of a son of a divine (being)", i.e. "the making of an emperor". As the passage of the Sogdian Ancient Letters mentioned above seems to suggest, the compound *βγ'nypš* may have come to denote husband in general in Sogdian, at least in a figurative sense.

Henning's conclusion, however, was also partly based on the association of Baya and MiΘra in the phrase *ZKn Bγγ ZY ZKn myδr' nβ'nty L' pryδ'nk'm...*, 'by Baya and by MiΘra, I shall not sell her...', found in the Sogdian marriage contract from Mount Mugh (Nov. 4, R 10-12). However the formula with which the phrase begins has as such little to do with marriage but must rather be

considered to be a kind of oath formula. In this context it would be more plausible to interpret Baγa(βγ-), which as a common noun means 'god, lord, gentleman' (etc.) as here simply signifying God *par excellence*. If this is correct, then the association of Baγa with Miθra can be compared to that of Ahura Mazda with Miθra in the archaic Avestan formula *Miθra Ahura barəzanta*, "Miθra and Ahura (Mazda), the exalted ones", in which, as is well-known, the inverse word order is due to rhythm and does not reflect a hierarchical predominance of Miθra.

Since this study has shown that there is no evidence for the existence of a special Sogdian god called Baγa and related to the Vedic Āditya Bhaga, the question concerning the interpretation of the name of the Sogdian month Baγakānic, and its significance for the study of Miθra in Sogdiana, again becomes open. The developments in Sogdian religion, as has been shown in recent investigations by H. Humbach, followed a very complicated and highly intricate path[4].

[4] Helmut Humbach: Vayu, Śiva und der Spiritus vivens im ostiranischen Synkretismus. In: Monumentum H.S. Nyberg. Vol. 1. Teheran-Liège 1975, p. 397-409, pl. XLVII (Acta Iranica.)

ELEONORE DÖRNER

DEUS PILEATUS

Seit Mithras in Kleinasien und Europa verehrt wurde, trägt er auf allen Darstellungen, die uns von ihm bekannt sind, eine Kopfbedeckung, die sich aus einer steifen kunstvollen persischen Tiara (τιάρα) in eine weichfallende Mütze wandelt, die man allgemein als phrygische Mütze zu bezeichnen pflegt. Dieses Attribut ist so charakteristisch geworden, daß Wüst schreiben konnte: „Die phrygische Mütze vertritt den deus pileatus"[1]. Keiner der römischen von den Griechen übernommenen Götter hat einen derartigen Kopfschmuck. Jupiter und Neptun werden mit wallendem Haupthaar dargestellt, nur Mars trägt als Kriegsgott einen Helm, Merkur dann und wann einen Reisehut oder einen Flügelhelm.

Im allgemeinen scheinen die Römer von den Griechen die Abneigung gegen eine Kopfbedeckung übernommen zu haben, die eigentlich nicht recht erklärbar ist, wenn man an die intensive Sonnenbestrahlung in den Mittelmeerländern denkt. Die ablehnende Haltung der Griechen kommt in dem spöttischen Urteil des Herodot zutage:

"Nun sind die Schädel der Perser so schwach, daß man schon mit einem kleinen Steinchen ein Loch hineinwerfen, die der Ägypter aber so hart, daß man sie mit einem Stein kaum entzwei schlagen kann. Das kommt davon, sagte man mir, und ich glaube es wohl, daß die Ägypter sich von klein auf den Kopf scheren. Davon wird der Schädel von der Sonne so hart, und deshalb fallen ihnen auch die Haare nicht aus; denn nirgends dürfte man anderswo so wenig Kahlköpfe finden wie in Ägypten. Davon also kommt es, daß die Ägypter so harte Schädel haben; und daß die der Perser so schwach sind, kommt davon, daß sie von kleinauf den Kopf bedecken und Filzmützen tragen"[2].

Den Griechen war die Filzmütze zwar bekannt, aber sie wurde nur von Bettlern, Greisen, Schiffern, Kranken und Landarbeitern getragen und als Pilos (πῖλος) bezeichnet. In den wohlhabenderen Schichten setzte man bei längeren Reisen einen breitrandigen Hut auf, aber

[1] E. Wüst, *RE*, S. 2151 s.v. 'Mithras'.

[2] Herodotos III 12.

man bedeckte niemals sein Haupt auf einem Gang durch die Stadt. Ein Pilos wäre eine unwürdige Kopfbedeckung für einen Gott gewesen.

Wenn wir in der griechischen darstellenden Kunst Personen mit einer Kopfbedeckung begegnen, so handelt es sich daher meist um solche, die als Orientalen ausgewiesen werden sollen, wie zum Beispiel Paris, der als orientalischer Prinz kenntlich gemacht wurde, rätselhafter ist es schon, warum sie Orpheus trägt. Begegnen wir Odysseus mit dem Pilos, so bedeutet das, daß er sich unter dem Schiffsvolk auf seinen Irrfahrten bewegt. Die phrygische Mütze nimmt an Beliebtheit bei den Schiffsleuten um das Mittelmeer zu und hält sich als charakteristische Tracht bei ihnen bis in das 19. Jahrhundert hinein. Auch die Dioskuren, die von den Schiffern verehrt werden, werden oft mit einer Mütze bekleidet dargestellt[3].

Wir begegnen dem Gott Mithras auf kleinasiatischem Boden in den Reliefdarstellungen und Skulpturen des Königreiches Kommagene in persischer Gewandung. Auf der Sockelanlage II in Arsameia trägt er eine kunstvoll verzierte persische Tiara. Die Mütze ist hoch und steif. Die oberste auf dem Relief fehlende Spitze fiel nach vorne. Auch auf dem Nemrud Dağ finden wir ihn auf dem Dexiosis-Relief zusammen mit dem König Antiochos mit einem Kopfschmuck ähnlicher Art bekrönt. Auf beiden Reliefs erscheint hinter der Tiara die Sonnenscheibe. So handelt es sich um eine Kombination des von dem persischen Mithras und dem von einem Sonnengott getragenen Kopfschmuck[4].

Unter den Göttergestalten, die nach dem Willen des Königs Antiochos in riesiger Monumentalität auf der Ost- und Westterrasse des Nemrud Dağ thronen, ist Mithras als persischer Gott unter die griechischen Götter aufgenommen worden, ja mit ihnen verschmolzen und wird in der Inschrift als Apollon-Mithras-Helios-Hermes bezeichnet. Auch die griechischen Götter Zeus und Herakles tragen nicht nur als Zeichen ihrer Verschmelzung mit den persischen Göttern deren Namen, (Zeus-Oromasdes und Artagnes-Herakles-Ares), sondern ebenfalls eine hohe kegelförmige Kopfbedeckung und den persischen Leibrock, wie man ihn trotz der blockhaften Gestaltung der auf den Thronsesseln sitzenden Gottheiten und trotz der Verwitterung noch gut erkennen kann. Hinter dem Haupt des Mithras fehlt die Sonnen-

[3] E. Bethe, *RE*, S. 1087ff. s.v. 'Dioskuren'.

[4] John H. Young bei F.K. Dörner und Th. Goell, *Arsameia am Nymphaios*, *Istanbuler Forschungen* 23, 1963, S. 202 und S. 215.

scheibe, wie sie auf den Reliefs sichtbar war, und daher konnte man bei den herabgestürzten Köpfen im Zweifel sein, welcher dem König und welcher dem Mithras zuzuordnen war; denn auch der König trägt die hohe Tiara.

Der König muß außerordentlichen Wert auf die persische Tracht gelegt haben; denn er verordnet in der großen Kultinschrift von Arsameia, daß die Priester an den monatlichen Geburtstagsfesten des Königs Mithradates und an seinen eigenen "unter Anlegung von persischer Kleidung, die den Priestern unseres Geschlechtes meine Gnade und die väterliche Satzung angelegt hat"[4], alle Statuen mit goldenen Kränzen schmücken und die Opfer vollzogen werden sollen. Da wir wissen, wie groß die Abneigung der Griechen gegen eine Kopfbedeckung war, hat es vielleicht große Schwierigkeiten bei dieser Verordnung gegeben, vergleichbar etwa mit der Einführung des Hutes durch Atatürk in der Türkei, die sich in unserm Zeitalter vollzogen hat. Als die Römer das Königreich Kommagene auflösten und seine Tradition aufgegeben wurde, verschwanden auch die fremden Götternamen der griechischen Gottheiten Zeus und Herakles. Nie wieder trugen sie die persische Tiara.

Umgekehrt streifte Mithras alle griechischen Namen ab. Er erscheint im römischen Pantheon in eigener Person, dem Gott Helios brüderlich zugeordnet, die persische Mütze auf dem Haupt.

Leider liegt die Zeit, in der sich aus einer Verehrung des Mithras in Kommagene ein Mysterienkult im römischen Reich entwickelte, für uns noch im Dunkeln. Auch auf dem Höhepunkt seiner Verehrung können wir nur wenige zeitgenössische Quellen zu Rate ziehen, da die Bräuche und Satzungen, so auch die Aussagen über sein Wesen streng geheim gehalten wurden.

Über die Darstellungen als Felsgeborener, als Stiertöter oder mit Helios beim Göttermahl ist viel gerätselt worden. Ein kleines, aber auffallendes Kennzeichen ist dem Gott auf allen Darstellungen verblieben: die Mütze. Auf den Denkmälern der römischen Kaiserzeit hat die Kopfbedeckung des Mithras keinesfalls mehr die hohe steife Form der Tiara, keine Wangenlaschen und Schmuckzeichen wie in Kommagene; es ist die weiche, wollne Mütze mit dem nach vorne herabfallenden Zipfel geworden, wie sie noch jahrhundertelang die Schiffer an den Küsten des Mittelmeeres trugen.

Es ist nun außerordentlich schwierig zu unterscheiden:

[4] ebd. S. 46.

1. ob diese Mütze eine Erinnerung an die persische Kopfbedeckung der Magier ist und dem Gott als Herkunftsbezeichnung verbleibt;
2. ob Mithras schon bewußt die weichfallende Mütze trägt, die dem römischen Sklaven bei seiner Freilassung verliehen wurde;
3. ob wir hier eine Anknüpfung an den altitalischen Pileus haben, von dem man auch diese den Sklaven verliehene Mütze herleitet.

Auch über die Herkunft dieses altitalischen Pileus besteht noch keine Klarheit. Helbig neigt zu der Annahme, daß diese asiatische Kopftracht an Italien durch die Karthager vermittelt wurde[6].

Ein wichtiger Hinweis für uns wäre die exakte Bezeichnung der Kopfbedeckung in den Quellen und in der Literatur, aber schon seit früher Zeit ist die Benennung dieser Mützenform, nämlich: Tiara-Phrygium-Pileus, außerordentlich schillend, und die Historiker unserer Zeit haben trotz aller umfassenden Vergleiche die Frage der Herkunft, Verbreitung und Beliebtheit nicht lösen können. Vor allem ist unklar: Wann übernimmt Kleinasien die Mütze von den Persern und seit wann wird diese Mütze als „phrygische" bezeichnet? Und weiter: warum übergibt man den Freigelassenen eine Mütze, von der man sonst so wenig Gebrauch macht? Ist es eine altitalische Tradition oder ein orientalisches Zeichen der Standeserhöhung.

Schramm weist in seiner Untersuchung nachdrücklich auf diese Schwierigkeiten hin, wenn er schreibt: "Die Wörter Mitra und Tiara sowie die an ihrer Stelle sonst noch benutzten Bezeichnungen haben alle ihre – zum Teil sehr weit zurückführende – Wortgeschichte und sind daher mit Vorstellungen verknüpft, die daraufhin gemustert werden müssen, ob diese noch nachwirken oder bereits vergessen sind. Andererseits beweist der gleiche Name noch nicht, daß auch das Gleichbenannte zusammenstimmt. Mit Mißverständnissen und gewaltsamer Namensübertragung ist zu rechnen.

Wenn der Name wechselt, kann die Form beibehalten werden. Umgekehrt gibt das Beibehalten des Namens keine Gewähr dafür, daß nicht die Form der Kopfbedeckung sich wandelt. Das kann durch die Mode, durch den Zeitstil, durch das Bedürfnis nach gesteigerter Pracht bedingt sein, aber auch tiefere Gründe haben..."[7].

Auf jeden Fall sind sich Helbig und Schramm einig, daß es sich bei der phrygischen Mütze um eine Abart des hohen zylindrischen

[6] W. Helbig, *Über den Pileus der alten Italiker. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften München*, 1880, S. 544.

[7] Percy E. Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik. Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae historica*, Stuttgart 1954, S. 51 f.

Hutes handelt, der im Alten Orient in vielen Abwandlungen nachzuweisen ist. Bei Helbig ist das Problem des Mithras als *deus pileatus* vollkommen ausgeklammert. Er führt keine der Mithrasdarstellungen als Vergleich an.

Ebenso streift Brandenburg nur flüchtig die Mithrasmütze in seinen "Studien zur Mitra". Er führt in außerordentlich genauen Vergleichen den Beweis, daß die Mitra bei Homer noch ein Panzergurt ist, dann seit den frühen griechischen Lyrikern eine Kopfbedeckung der Frauen und Orientalen. Ihre Herkunft ist der Orient, es waren die mannigfachen aus Tüchern hergestellten, gewickelten Hauben. Brandenburg beschließt seine Untersuchung mit den Worten:

"Spätestens seit der frühen Kaiserzeit wurde die Mitra dann auch mit Tiara und Kidaris, anderen typisch orientalischen Kopfbedeckungen, die später auch Phrygium genannt werden, gleichgesetzt"[8]. Mit dem Wort *pileum* und *phrygium* beschäftigt sich Brandenburg lediglich auf Seite 63 f. seiner sorgfältigen Untersuchung. Er schreibt dazu: "Vergil endlich versteht unter Mitra die typisch asiatische Kopfbedeckung, für die uns ältere Quellen ausschließlich die Namen Tiara, Kidaris und Kyrbasia überliefern. *Maeonia mentum mitra crinemque madentem subnixus* heißt es bei ihm *Aen.* 4, 216 und *Aen.* 9, 616 sagt er, *habent redimicula mitrae*; damit ist die Tiara beschrieben, deren über die Wangen herabhängende Laschen unter dem Kinn zusammengebunden werden konnten. Servius zur Stelle und ihm folgend Isidor erklären dann auch die Mitra als *pilleum Phrygium*, d.h. Tiara: (Serv. *Aen.* 4, 216) *nam utebantur Phryges et Lydi mitra, hoc est incurvo pilleo, de quo pendebat etiam buccarum tegimen*; (ebd. 9, 613) *habent redimicula mitrae illud dicturus fuerat, habetis in pilleis redimicula: quod convertit in vituperationem maiorem dicens "religatas habetis mitras", nam pillea virorum sunt, mitrae feminarum ... mitra autem proprie Lydorum fuit*; (Isid. orig. 19, 31) *mitra est pilleum Phrygium, caput protegens ... redimicula autem sunt quibus mitra alligatur. Pilleum autem ut praediximus a pelle erat, nam mitra ex lana est.*" Dazu Anm. 44: "Vgl. Juv. 6, 516: *Phrygia vestitur bucca tiara*; Schol. *ad loc.*: *Sacerdotis habitus, tiara nam galea sacerdotis est, quae per malas veniens mento subligatur, tiara est, frigium quod dicunt*; Serv. *Aen.* 7, 247: *tiaram pilleum Phrygium dicit*; Jord. *Get.* 11, 71: *tyaris, quos pilleus alio nomine nuncupamus.*"

[8] Hugo Brandenburg, *Studien zur Mitra. Beiträge zur Waffen- und Trachtengeschichte der Antike*. Münster 1966, S. 179.

Vorher zitiert Brandenburg auf S. 59, Anm. 29: "Isid. *orig.* 19, 31, 4: *mitra est pilleum Phrygium* (sic!) *caput protegens, quale est ornamentum capitis devotarum*".

Aus diesen von Brandenburg angeführten, verhältnismäßig späten Schriftstellern und ihren Kommentatoren läßt sich nicht erkennen, seit wann es zu der Austauschbarkeit oder Vermengung der verschiedenen Ausdrücke für die Kopfbedeckung kam.

Schramm widmet dem Begriff der phrygischen Mütze nur einen kurzen Abschnitt. Er schreibt über die Entwicklung der päpstlichen Haube: "Man vermutet, daß die Einführung des päpstlichen *camelaucum* im 8. Jahrhundert erfolgt sei ..... Bei der nächsten Erwähnung trägt diese Haube den Namen *phrygium* (*frigium*), also „Phrygische Mütze." Bei dieser handelt es sich um eine Abart der hohen zylindrischen Haube, die im alten Orient in vielerlei Abwandlungen bis in die Neuzeit nachzuweisen ist. Solche Spitzmützen waren auch Griechen und Römern bekannt, die sie Tiara oder *pileus* nannten. "Phrygisch" hieß sie, wenn ihre Spitze nach vorne kippte. In dieser Form wurde sie auch in Rom getragen, und hier galt sie schließlich als Zeichen des freien Mannes ..... Aber auch der Gott Mithras findet sich meist mit dem an sein Herkunftsland erinnernden Phrygium dargestellt." Schramm zitiert zu diesem Satz anschließend Seneca, *de beneficiis* VI c. 31, daß nämlich diese Mütze bei den Phrygiern, vor allem von den Priestern und Königen getragen wurde[9].

Aus diesem Satz könnte man schließen, daß Schramm bei dem "Herkunftsland" des Gottes Mithras nicht das ferne Persien, sondern Kleinasien meint. Denn Plutarch zufolge lernten die Römer Mithras zuerst durch die Seeräuber aus Kilikien kennen. Pompejus hatte eine Anzahl von Kriegszügen gegen diese Piraten unternommen, die Plutarch beschreibt und wobei er von ihnen sagt: "Auf dem lykischen Olymp feierten sie fremdartige Opferdienste und geheime Mysterien, von denen der Mithraskult noch heute blüht und eigentlich erst durch sie verbreitet worden ist"[10].

Es ließ sich bisher nicht feststellen, in welcher Darstellung der Gott dort verehrt wurde, ob damals nur Priester und Könige die Mütze trugen oder auch schon einfachere Leute. Eigentümlich ist es ja, daß die phrygische Mütze später vor allem von den Seeleuten getragen wurde.

[9] Schramm, a.O. S. [illegible]

[10] Plutarchos, *Pompeius* 24.

Bei der Untersuchung des Unterschiedes zwischen der alten Bezeichnung *camelaucum* für die päpstliche Haube mit der neuen Bezeichnung *phrygium* stellt Schramm fest, daß nur der Name, nicht die Form gewechselt hat. Noch einmal ändert sich die Bezeichnung; denn seit der ersten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts heißt das *frigium* bereits *regnum*, und dieser Name ist der Haube fortan geblieben. Sie wird dem Papst ganz am Schluß seiner Weihe von einem Laien niederen Grades aufgesetzt. Sein Sitz und seine Haube sind es dann, die zusammen den Papst aus seinem Klerus herausheben. Daher kann es in der Zeit des Papstes Formosus (891-96) heißen: *in sacratissima beati Petri sede pileatus resplenduit.*

Wir haben keine Anhaltspunkte, daß die Angehörigen des Mithraskultes die phrygische Mütze trugen, nur daß der oberste Priester, der *pater patrum*, damit bekleidet war. Er nimmt den höchsten Rang im Mithrasdienst als der irdische Stellvertreter des Gottes ein, weshalb er in der für Mithras typischen Kleidung auftritt. Im Mithreo di Felicissimo in Ostia zeigt das Mosaik seine Attribute: die Sichel des Saturn, Stab und Ring und vor allem die phrygische Mütze, die die ihn als weisen Meister kennzeichnen.

Auf jeden Fall kann die Kopfbedeckung in der römischen Welt gegenüber der griechischen nur eine Aufwertung erfahren haben. So wird die Göttin Libertas, die Freiheitsgöttin meist mit dem „pileus libertatis" in der Rechten dargestellt. Auf zahlreichen Münzen, die nach der Ermordung Caesars geschlagen wurden, sehen wir auf der einen Seite den Kopf der Libertas, auf der anderen die Köpfe der Caesarmörder Cassius und Brutus, darunter die phrygische Mütze zwischen zwei gekreuzten Dolchen. Vielleicht bekundeten sie mit diesem Symbol ihre Verbundenheit mit den befreiten unteren Schichten[11].

Allein die Darstellung der phrygischen Mütze mußte den Menschen der Antike und vor allem den Mithrasanhängern etwas bedeuten, vielleicht ein Symbol dafür sein, daß in der religiösen Gemeinschaft des Mithras alle Mitglieder *fratres* sind, wie unterschiedlich die Rang- und Standesstufen auch sein mögen.

Einer volkstümlichen Auslegung zufolge ging die französische Jakobinermütze von der phrygischen Mütze aus, die von den Schiffsleuten am Mittelmeer getragen wurde. 1792 wurden die in Marseille befreiten Galeerensklaven zur Durchführung des Aufstandes nach Paris

[11] Koch, *RE*, S. 103 s.v. 'libertas'

gebracht. Ihre roten Wollmützen, mit überfallendem Zipfel und der dreifarbigen Kokarde geschmückt, wurden rasch beliebt und zum Zeichen der Revolution. Schramm gibt eine andere Erklärung: „In Rom galt die phrygische Mütze als Zeichen des freien Mannes — daher konnte sie auch von der Französischen Revolution aus der Schublade der Gelehrsamkeit hervorgeholt und zum Symbol der Freiheit gemacht werden"[12].

Jedenfalls blieb die phrygische Mütze bis auf unsere Tage in Frankreich Staatssymbol. Auf den französischen Münzen schreitet die Personifikation Frankreichs oder der Freiheit mit der Jakobinermütze im gelösten Haar. Wahrscheinlich von Frankreich abgeleitet finden wir im Staatswappen von Argentinien ebenfalls die phrygische Mütze, über der sich zwei Hände zum Schwur vereinen.

Nicht nur ein beiläufiges Attribut der Mode ist die Mütze. Es haften ihr Vorstellungen und Anschauungen an, die viel tiefer im Denken der Menschen verwurzelt sind, als es bei oberflächlicher Betrachtung scheint. Die Tarnkappe, die Narrenkappe, der Doktorhut, der Hut Geßlers auf der Stange – man könnte die Reihe noch lange fortsetzen, und überall liegt eine tiefere Bedeutung zugrunde. Der Hut zeichnet seinen Träger aus, sei es, daß er ihn erhöht oder herabsetzt. Mehr als man denkt, beschäftigt das Problem ob „mit oder ohne Hut" die Gemüter der Menschen. Seitdem sich die Griechen bewußt von den Persern durch die Mißachtung ihrer Kopfbedeckung zu unterscheiden suchten, hat die Mütze noch häufig zur Differenzierung beigetragen.

Es ist merkwürdig, daß der Bedeutung des *pileus* im Mithraskult noch verhältnismäßig wenig Beachtung geschenkt worden ist. Helbig aber schreibt schon 1880: „Nehmen wir das Kreuz aus, dann dürfte schwerlich ein Symbol so viele verschiedene Richtungen verkörpert haben wie die alte asiatische Kopftracht"[13].

[12] Schramm, a.O. S. [illegible]
[13] Helbig, a.O. S. 552.

FRIEDRICH KARL DÖRNER

MITHRAS IN KOMMAGENE

Welche Rolle Mithras in Kommagene gespielt hat und welche Bedeutung Kommagene für die Ausbreitung des Mithraskultes in aller Welt zukommt, darüber kann heute noch kein abschliessendes Urteil abgegeben werden. Ich möchte aber behaupten, dass wir erst am Anfang unserer Erkenntnisse stehen!

Indessen: Mithras war die Schlüsselfigur bei meiner Entdeckung der königlichen Residenzstadt Arsameia am Nymphaios! Als mir an einem besonders heissen Sommertag im Jahre 1951 bei unserem Anmarsch auf den Nemrud Dağ die Bauern in dem kleinen Dorf Alut etwas von einem „resim taşı", d.h. einem „Bildstein" erzählten, der von ihnen auf dem Südhang der nahegelegenen Eski Kale von Eski Kâhta freigelegt worden war, da ahnte ich noch nicht, dass mich dort im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes Mithras erwartete. Es handelte sich, wie eine sofort unternommene Nachforschung ergab, um das Oberteil einer Mithras-Darstellung. Im Jahre 1953 konnten wir sogleich nach Beginn der Ausgrabungen das anpassende Unterteil freilegen und — was noch wichtiger war — den ursprünglichen Aufstellungsort auf einer aus dem Felsen herausgearbeiteten dreistufigen Sockelanlage lokalisieren (Sockelanlage II). Bei diesem unteren Teil des Reliefs ist an der Basis noch die Hälfte des Einsatzzapfens erhalten geblieben, der [redacted] das östliche Sockelloch hineinpasste. Mit einer Höhe von 50 cm ist dieser Zapfen grösser als sonst in Kommagene üblich, aber erklärlich, weil die gesamte Höhe des Reliefs immerhin 4, [redacted] m beträgt, also selbst für kommagenische Verhältnisse aussergewöhnlich!

Während der Körper der Mithras-Darstellung frontal wiedergegeben ist, schaut er selbst nach links, auf dem Kopf die τιάρα ὀρθή (Tiara orthe) mit der typisch nach vorn abknickenden Spitze sowie mit perlenbesetzten Kanten verzierten Wangenlaschen und Nackenschutz, geschmückt mit sechszackigen Sternen, die von einem Mittelpunkt ausstrahlen; dazu auf der Tiara noch ein 8-10 cm breites Diadem, gestaltet als ein einfaches, mit Rauten und Rundscheiben verziertes Band. Unübersehbar — und was mir bei dem ersten Anblick sofort die Deutung nahelegte — die Sonnenscheibe in tiefem Relief hinter dem

Kopfschmuck als ovaler Strahlenkranz herausgearbeitet. Der rechte, leicht vorstehende Fuß ist ebenfalls im Profil gesehen, während der Künstler den linken Fuß von vorn dargestellt hat, wobei die gelockerte Kniehaltung besonders auffällt. Vor der Mitte des Körpers liegt die linke Hand, angewinkelt und mit dem Baresman. Bei der Publikation des Reliefs hat John H. Young in unserem Ausgrabungsbericht darauf hingewiesen, dass die Hand, die das kleine Bündel mit Tamariskenzweigen hält, „ziemlich ungeschickt wiedergegeben" sei, da der Daumen mit dem Baresman parallel liege, der Zeigefinger ausgestreckt nach unten weise und daher die drei äusseren Finger die Zweige hielten[1].

Werfen wir noch einen Blick auf das Kostüm, das der Gott trägt. Auffallend ist der schwere Mantel, anscheinend ein aus Wolle gearbeitetes Kleidungsstück mit breiten Aufschlägen an den Ärmeln. Der Mantel wird vorn offen getragen, ist oben am Hals mit einer Kordel geschlossen, von der man noch die Schlaufe mit den beiden herabhängenden Quasten sieht und die offensichtlich rechts und links um zwei mit einem Blitz verzierte, medaillonartige Schliessen geschlungen ist. Der Mantel verdeckt die sich an den Füssen bauschenden Hosen, den sogenannten Anaxyrides, die in niedrige Schuhe eingesteckt sind.

Es ist offensichtlich, dass wir es hier mit einem in persischem Gewand dargestellten Mithras zu tun haben. Bemerkenswert ist der Aufstellungsort, der als Standplatz für dieses Relief gewählt ist; er liegt am ersten Halteplatz des Prozessionsweges, der zu das Hierothesion für König Mithradates I. Kallinikos führt. Bei der Bezeichnung „Hierothesion" handelt es sich um eine bemerkenswerte, sprachliche Neuschöpfung, die sich in etwa mit der Umschreibung „sepulkraler Kultbezirk" wiedergeben lässt. Dieses Hierothesion hatte bereits Mithradates I. Kallinikos:

> „für seinen eigenen Leib geweiht, indem er des Ortes schönste Stelle umgrenzte, und er hat seinen herrlichen Körper, der in allgemeinem Ruhm bei Wettkämpfen zu Ehren der Ahnen als schönsiegend (καλλίνικος) gepriessen wurde, dieser Erde geweiht und der Seele unvergängliche Wesenheit in das ewige Haus der Götter hinaufgeführt"[2].

[1] John H. Young in F. K. Dörner/Th. Goell, *Arsameia am Nymphaios. Die Ausgrabungen im Hierothesion des Mithradates Kallinikos von 1953-1956* (= *Ist. Forsch., Bd. 23*, 1963) 200. Die Fragmente des Mithras-Reliefs sind Taf. 98 B und C publiziert, für Grundriss und Schnitt von Sockelanlage II vgl. Plan 5.

[2] *Arsameia* a. O. 41, Zeilen 28-35.

Es ist unverkennbar, dass Sockelanlage [redacted] mit der Mithras-Darstellung innerhalb des Hierothesion einen dominierenden Platz einnimmt, eine Feststellung, auf die später noch eingegangen werden soll.

Nachdem die beiden Fragmente des Mithrasreliefs im Jahre 1963 wieder zusammengesetzt und an ihrem ursprünglichen Platz auf der Plattform von Sockelanlage II aufgestellt werden konnten[3], lässt sich auch heute wieder etwas von der Majestät dieses Reliefs erahnen und ebenso von der tiefen Wirkung, die es auf die von allen Seiten auf das Hierothesion zuströmenden, zum Krönungs- und Geburtstag der Könige eingeladenen Festgäste ausgeübt haben dürfte, an Festtagen, die monatlich das ganze Jahre hindurch zu feiern vom König angeordnet worden war (Abb. 1).

Für das Thema „Mithras in Kommagene" [redacted] die kürzlich von Helmut Waldmann publizierte Inschrift auf der Rückseite der Mithrasstele von besonderer Bedeutung. Denn hier lässt uns König Antiochos I. wissen, dass er für Mithras-Apollon-Helios-Hermes einen eigenen Priester eingesetzt habe[4]. Dieser Priester hatte dafür Sorge zu tragen, dass für die Festteilnehmer „Tische mit angemessenen Speisen beladen und Krüge mit Wein, mit Wasser gemischt, für reichlich gespendeten Trank, bereitstehen" sollten.

Wie wir aus der Inschrift auf der Rückseite der Mithrasstele weiter erfahren und ebenso aus dem Νόμος (Nomos), dem heiligen Gesetz für das Hierothesion, das ich auf einer oberhalb von Sockelanlage II liegenden, künstlich geglätteten Felswand bei Sockelanlage III entdeckte, gehörte es auch zu den Obliegenheiten des amtierenden Priesters, an den Festtagen alle im Hierothesion aufgestellten und geweihten Altäre, also auch Sockelanlage II und die dazu gehörenden Reliefs, mit goldenen Kränzen zu schmücken.

Der Platz um Sockelanlage II reicht aber keinesfalls aus, um hier dem eingeladenen Volk die Festfeiern in der angeordneten Art und Weise zu ermöglichen. Das Opfermahl und der festliche Umtrunk

[3] Vgl. *AA* 1965, 193. Einen guten Eindruck der beherrschenden Position von Sockelanlage II auf dem Südhang der Eski Kale vermitteln die Farbphotographien in der von F.K. Dörner herausgegebenen Sondernummer KOMMAGENE der Zeitschrift ANTIKE WELT (Zürich) 6, 1975, 41 Abb. 40 (Rückseite der Stele) und Abb. 42 (Vorderansicht der Mithras-Darstellung).

[4] *Die kommagenischen Kultreformen unter König Mithradates I. Kallinikos und seinem Sohn Antiochos I.* (= *Et. prél. aux Relig. Orientales dans l'Empire Romain 34*, Leiden 1973) 102 [redacted], 78 ff.

können nur in den auf dem Plateau gelegenen Festräumen des Hierothesion stattgefunden haben. Wenn die Fußböden in den Festräumen, die wir wieder freigelegt haben, auch stark zerstört sind, geben sie uns doch noch eine Vorstellung von der kostbaren Ausgestaltung. Sie waren mit Mosaiken ausgelegt, abwechslungsreich mit Mäandern, Bordüren mit Festungszinnen gestaltet, ebenso mit Wellenmustern, Perlstäben, Efeu- und Sägeblattmustern. Beachtlich ist die grosszügige Anlage der Festräume auf dem Plateau mit 10,87 × 9,22 m und 13,85 × 14,62 m, d. h. also gut 100 m² und 203 m²! Von dem Verputz der Wände liess sich aus zahlreich aufgefundenen Resten der Nachweis führen, dass er farbig angelegt war und nach der Mode der damaligen Zeit Marmor imitierte.

Bei der Grabungskampagne 1967 konnte Wolfram Hoepfner nachweisen, dass vor den Festräumen noch große, in dorischem Stil erbaute Hallen angelegt waren, die von den Nebenräumen aus zugänglich gewesen sind[5].

Eine imposante, 7 m breite Freitreppe führt auf die Höhe des Plateau, ausreichend um einen reibungslosen Zu- und Abgang der Teilnehmer an den Kultfeiern zu gewährleisten. Dass für diese nach Art eines Propylon gestaltete Westhälfte des Plateau die Propyläen in Athen Vorbild gewesen sind, ist ein sprechender Beweis für den kulturellen Gestaltungswillen des königlichen Schöpfers dieses Hierothesion, von Mithradates I. Kallinikos[6].

Wie haben wir uns nun die Ausübung der Kulthandlungen im Hierothesion des Mithradates Kallinikos vorzustellen? Ist der für Mithras-Apollon eingesetzte Priester – durch die Inschrift auf der Rückseite des Reliefs bezeugt – verschieden von dem Priester, der für den Kult des Königs Mithradates Kallinikos und mit ihm für den seines Sohnes Antiochos Sorge zu tragen hatte? Eine definitive Beantwortung dieser Frage vermag ich noch nicht zu geben, wenn ich auch – nicht zuletzt auf Grund der üblichen Gegebenheiten – und vor allem aus der Inschrift auf der Rückseite ihre Identität annehmen möchte, [illegible] doch hier vom König verfügt, dass dieser Priester auch an der Gestaltung der königlichen Feste am 16. Audnaios, dem Geburtstag des Königs, und am 10. Loos, seinem Krönungstag, mitzuwirken hatte.

[5] *Istanbuler Mitteilungen 19/20*, 1969/1970, 261, vgl. den Plan mit Propylon und Festräumen 257, Abb. 1.

[6] Vgl. *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* a. [illegible] 263

Natürlich liegt es selbst bei Annahme einer solchen Identität durchaus im Bereich des Möglichen, dass neben den allgemeinen Kultfeiern auch solche "dem Mithras eigene oder eigentümliche Opferhandlungen" stattgefunden haben können, wie Elmar Schwertheim vermutet, allerdings mit der Einschränkung, dass Art und Weise unklar bleiben[7].

Bei den Ausgrabungen in Arsameia am Nymphaios fanden wir als Oberflächenfund den oberen Teil eines weiteren Mithrasreliefs. Dieses Fragment lag etwa 25 m westlich von Sockelanlage III; den unteren Teil entdeckten wir über dem Steilhang, der die Eski Kale begrenzt[8]. Beide Fragmente gehören nach Ausweis der Dedikationsinschrift auf der Rückseite zusammen, die uns wissen lässt, dass König Antiochos I. diese Darstellung des Mithras-Apollon-Hermes geweiht hat, eine Angabe, die uns berechtigt, den dargestellten Herrscher als den Stifter dieses Dexiosis-Reliefs anzusehen.

Nach den Untersuchungen von Waldmann, die leider ein Zuviel an spekulativen Hypothesen bringen, so dass oft nicht mehr die Grenzen zwischen gesicherten Erkenntnissen und vagen Vermutungen zu erkennen sind, hat ein glücklicher Neufund, der hier erstmals publiziert wird, uns über die Mithras-Darstellung auf Sockelanlage II neue Erkenntnisse vermittelt.

John H. Young konnte bei der Publikation der in Arsameia am Nymphaios entdeckten Skulpturen von dem Fragment des Mithras-Reliefs von Sockelanlage II nur folgendes feststellen:

> „Die ganze linke Seite des Reliefs ist abgebrochen, und keinerlei Spuren erlauben einen Rückschluss auf die Haltung des rechten Armes der Gottheit. Ein Fragment, das unmittelbar vor Sockelanlage II gefunden wurde, mag zur linken Seite der Stele gehören; es ist 58 cm hoch und zeigt einen Teil der rechten Schulter mit einem Stück des Zepters, dazu vielleicht ein Stückchen des Nackenschutzes. Auf Grund dieses Fragmentes muss die dargestellte Person zum Gotte hin nach rechts geschaut haben"[9].

Zum Problem der Chronologie hat John H. Young dann ausgeführt:

> „Das Relief von Sockelanlage II gleicht in keiner Weise irgendeinem Relief vom Nemrud Dağ. Dem Thema nach kommt

[7] E. Schwertheim, "Monumente des Mithraskultes in Kommagene" in: Sondernummer KOMMAGENE a. O. 63

[8] *Arsameia* a. O. 97f. mit Abb. 3 (Rückseite) und 208f. mit Zeichnung Abb. 30

[9] *Arsameia* a. O. 203.

ihm am nächsten das Relief von Antiochos und Apollon Mithras von der Westterrasse, aber die Figur des Apollon Mithras auf dem Relief von Sockelanlage II ist ihrem Gegenstück auf dem Nemrud Dağ sehr unähnlich. Sie findet ihre beste Parallele auf dem Nemrud Dağ in den Kolossalstatuen, und es scheint sicher, dass die Kolossalstatuen die ersten Skulpturen waren, die auf dem Nemrud Dağ ausgeführt wurden; denn sie sind aus dem Kalkstein gemeisselt, der weggebrochen wurde, um die grosse Terrasse zu bilden. Weiter erscheinen die hier getragenen parthischen Anaxyrides nirgendwo auf dem Nemrud Dağ, was darauf schliessen lässt, dass das Relief entweder früher oder später ist als jede Arbeit auf dem Nemrud Dağ. Sollte das der Fall sein, ist sie sicherlich früher. Fasst man alle Beweise zusammen, scheint es zwei Möglichkeiten zu geben: (a) Das Relief ist ein frühes Werk aus der Zeit von Antiochos I, oder (b) möglicherweise ein Werk aus der Zeit seines Vaters Mithradates I. Leider können wir nicht definitiv beweisen, welche dieser Möglichkeiten die richtige ist; aber in beiden Fällen handelt es sich wohl um eine Darstellung von Mithradates I. Für diese Annahme spricht einmal der dominierende Platz, den Sockelanlage II innerhalb des Hierothesion eingenommen hat, und zum anderen die Tatsache, dass ... eine weitere Darstellung mit Mithras und Antiochos im Hierothesion gefunden worden ist. Es wäre aber doch sehr unwahrscheinlich, zwei Darstellungen von Mithras mit Antiochos im Hierothesion des Mithradates Kallinikos anzunehmen"[19].

Nach meiner Ansicht spricht alles dafür, das Mithrasrelief in die Frühzeit zu setzen, möglicherweise noch in die Zeit, als Mithradates I. Kallinikos dieses Hierothesion geweiht und ausgestaltet hat, d. h. in die erste Hälfte des 1. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Dass es sich in der Tat um ein Dexiosis-Relief zwischen Mithras und einem kommagenischen König handelt, war nach dem kleinen Fragment mit dem Endstück des Zepters wahrscheinlich. Nun haben aber starke Regenfälle unterhalb des Steilabfalls der Eski Kale die Erde von einem grossen Block abgespült: es handelt sich um das Oberteil eines rechten Arms mit dem Ansatz der Schulter, über die in Zickzackfalten der schwere Umhang herabhängt (Abb. 2). Man erkennt gut Teile des kurzärmligen Brustpanzers, der ganz dem Panzer des Königs auf

[19] *Arsameia* a. O. 225f.

Sockelanlage III[11] entspricht, d. h. er ist "mit einem in Kommagene beliebten Muster geschmückt: schmale, diagonal verlaufende Bänder bilden ein netzartiges Rautenmuster. In jeder Raute ist ein sechszackiger Stern, dessen Strahlen von einem Punkt in der Mitte ausgehen, und in jeder Ecke der Raute befindet sich wieder ein Punkt. Der Panzer muss aus Leder gewesen sein, und das Muster war wahrscheinlich eingestanzt", so hat John H. Young diesen Waffenrock des Königs auf Sockelanlage III beschrieben[12].

Dass dieses Fragment von der Darstellung des königlichen Herrschers gehört, der in der Art der Dexiosis-Reliefs mit Mithras auf Sockelanlage II dargestellt gewesen ist, beweist die zeichnerische Rekonstruktion, die ich Gerhard Brüning verdanke (Abb. 3). Wie die Aufmessung des Fragmentes zeigt, entspricht das Bruchstück mit einer überdimensionalen Grösse so genau der Darstellung des Mithras, dass an einer Zugehörigkeit dieses Oberteils zu der Darstellung eines kommagenischen Königs als Pendant zu Mithras nicht gezweifelt werden kann[13].

Welcher kommagenische Herrscher kann mit Mithras auf diesem Dexiosis-Relief dargestellt gewesen sein? Eine Beantwortung dieser Frage ergibt sich mit einer gewissen Wahrscheinlichkeit, wenn wir in die Diskussion das bereits erwähnte Relief mit einbeziehen, das als Oberflächenfund, in zwei Teile zerbrochen, an verschiedenen Stellen des Südhanges der Eski Kale geborgen worden war. Wir hatten bisher angenommen, dass diese Dexiosis von einer auf dem Südhang noch nicht freigelegten Sockelanlage stamme. Nach der eingehenden Untersuchung des Südhangs entfällt jetzt diese Annahme, und es bleibt keine andere Wahl, als anzunehmen, dass dieses Relief in dem zweiten Sockelloch von Sockelanlage II seinen Aufstellungsort hatte, das nach seinen Massen der kleinen Ausführung dieses Reliefs wohl entspricht[14].

[11] Bei der Publikation des Dexiosis-Reliefs in *Arsameia* a. O. 203ff. hat sich John H. Young entschieden, den dargestellten kommagenischen König mit Mithradates Kallinikos zu identifizieren (vgl. besonders die Ausführungen 223). Indessen hat Young nach einer intensiven Beschäftigung mit den verschiedenen Formen der Tiara doch einer Identifikation mit Antiochos I. den Vorzug gegeben (vgl. *AJA* 69, 1964, 31 ff.); zustimmend Jörg Wagner, in: Sondernummer KOMMAGENE a. O. 59.

[12] *Arsameia* a. O. 205.

[13] In die in Anlehnung an John H. Young vorgenommene Rekonstruktion ist auch das Fragment von der rechten Schulter mit dem Zepter eingefügt, das unmittelbar unterhalb von Sockelanlage II gefunden wurde und dessen Masse ebenfalls genau entsprechen (publiziert *Arsameia* a. O. 202 Abb. 29).

[14] Vgl. *Arsameia* a. O. Plan 5.

Bei meiner Veröffentlichung der Inschrift auf der Mithras-Antiochos-Dexiosis hatte ich geschrieben:

> „Auffallend ist die in den Massen bescheidene Darstellung, die Antiochos für sich selbst im Hierothesion seines Vaters angeordnet hat, eine für die charakterliche Beurteilung des Sohnes bedeutungsvolle Geste, die nicht zu unterschätzen ist"[15].

Lässt sich also die Dexiosis mit Mithras und Antiochos der Sockelanlage II zuweisen, so ergibt sich mit zwingender Notwendigkeit der Schluss, in dem kommagenischen König, der auf dem daneben stehenden Relief mit Mithras dargestellt war, den Vater von Antiochos I., also Mithradates I. Kallinikos zu vermuten, d. h. den Herrscher, für den das Hierothesion auf der Eski Kale geweiht worden war.

Vielleicht ist es noch möglich, dass in der bisher noch nicht freigelegten Fläche unterhalb des Steilabfalls auf dem Südhang noch weitere Bruchstücke des Königsreliefs aufzufinden sind. Wichtig wären für die Identifikation vor allem Teile der königlichen Tiara. Denn es ist zu erwarten, dass Mithradates I. Kallinikos entsprechend den Darstellungen auf den Münzen mit der sogenannten kappadokischen Tiara dargestellt gewesen sein dürfte[16].

Entsprechend den örtlichen Gegebenheiten von Sockelanlage II liegt es durchaus im Bereich des Möglichen, dass zunächst auf der Plattform nur die Dexiosis zwischen Mithras und Mithradates Kallinikos aufgestellt war. Die zweite mit Antiochos und Mithras wurde vielleicht erst später hinzugefügt, als Antiochos nach den Worten des Nomos bei Sockelanlage III das Hierothesion verschönte und erweiterte, wobei er dann mit dem Kult seines Vaters auch „die berechtigte Teilhabe des eigenen Gedenkens" verbunden hat[17].

Wenn aber die Dexiosis-Reliefs von Vater und Sohn mit Mithras ihren gemeinsamen Standplatz auf Sockelanlage II gehabt haben, also einem besonders dominierenden Platz innerhalb des Hierothesion von Mithradates Kallinikos, möchte ich mein früheres Urteil nicht nur wiederholen, sondern sogar noch bekräftigen und folgern, dass es sich nicht nur „um eine bedeutungsvolle Geste" handelt, sondern

[15] *Arsameia* a. O. 98.

[16] Vgl. zu diesem Problem auch die Ausführungen von Jörg Wagner in: Sondernummer KOMMAGENE a. O. 55 mit Abb. 44.

[17] Vgl. den Nomos in *Arsameia* a. O. Zeilen 66ff. und 95ff.

wir einen sichtbaren Beweis der Persönlichkeit des Königs Antiochos I. von Kommagene vor uns haben, der nicht hoch genug gewertet werden kann.

Die glückliche Entdeckung einer weiteren Dexiosis durch Jörg Wagner in dem Hinterland von Besni in Sofraz Köy gibt der Diskussion über das Problem „Mithras in Kommagene" neue Aspekte. Denn glücklicherweise ist nicht nur die Darstellung der Dexiosis nahezu unversehrt erhalten geblieben, sondern auch die auf der Rückseite und den beiden Nebenseiten eingemeisselte Dedikationsinschrift[18].

Die Stele, die jetzt im Museum von Gaziantep aufbewahrt wird, ist aus Basalt gefertigt und war anscheinend in einem Temenos für den Kult der Könige von Kommagene aufgestellt, die nach der Inschrift auf dem Nemrud Dağ allenthalben im Lande eingerichtet waren (vgl. Z. 97). Wir kennen bereits eine Reihe dieser τεμένη (Temene), also Heiligtümer für den Königskult, die mit den Hierothesia im Lande als eine eindrucksvolle Dokumentation der Einheit von Götter- und Königskult gestaltet waren[19].

Nach der eindeutigen Interpretation von Wagner gehört die Dexiosis von Sofraz Köy an den Beginn der Reihe. Der mit der Strahlenaura dargestellte Gott ist nach der Inschrift (Z. [illegible]ff.) der (Gebete) erhörende Apollon; ihm und seiner göttlichen Schwester, der Artemis Diktynna, hat Antiochos den Temenos geweiht, d. h. der Synkretismus griechisch-persischer Religion ist von Antiochos I. noch nicht vollzogen. Apollon hält in seiner linken Hand nach herkömmlicher Weise den Lorbeerzweig, während Apollon-Mithras-Helios-Hermes (so auf dem Nemrud Dağ s. Abb. 4) und Mithras-Helios-Apollon-Hermes (in Arsameia am Nymphaios) mit dem Baresman dargestellt [illegible].

[18] Ich konnte das neue Dexiosis-Relief mit liebenswürdiger Erlaubnis des Entdeckers erstmalig bei dem Second International Congress for Mithraic Studies bekannt machen und in Diapositiven vorführen. Es ist inzwischen von Wagner in der Sondernummer KOMMAGENE u. ID. 54ff. publiziert worden (das Dexiosis-Relief Abb. 77, die Inschrift Abb. 83 a-c; eine deutsche Übersetzung der Inschrift S. 57f.). Die ausführliche Publikation ist in der „Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik" 20, 1976, 201ff. erschienen (J. Wagner und G. Petzl, „Eine neue Temenos-Stele des Königs Antiochos I. von Kommagene")

[19] Vgl. die Aufstellung *Arsameia* a. O. 88ff., dazu kommen jetzt noch die Heiligtümer (τεμένη) von Çaputlu Ağaç (Dörner, *Ist. Mitt.* 19/20, 1969/1970, 287f. Taf. 54) und auf der Akropolis von Seleukeia am Euphrat/Zeugma, entdeckt 1972 von Jörg Wagner; veröffentlicht in seiner Publikation: *Seleukeia am Euphrat/Zeugma. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B (Geisteswissenschaften)* 10, 1976, 117ff. Beide Reliefs stellen eine Dexiosis zwischen Antiochos und Herakles dar.

Interessant ist in der Dedikationsinschrift die Angabe, dass die Kultstätte neben Apollon auch Artemis geweiht sei, und zwar Artemis Diktynna, von Kreta als Göttin des Wildes bekannt. Es entzieht sich noch unserer Kenntnis, ob ihr Kult erst von Antiochos eingeführt oder ob ihre Verehrung bereits früher in Kommagene bestanden hat. Jedenfalls erscheinen jetzt auch die Stiftungen von Antiochos für den Tempel der ephesischen Artemis, von denen uns eine Ehreninschrift Kunde gibt, in einem neuen Licht[20].

Nun haben sich bei den Ausgrabungen in Arsameia am Nymphaios zwei Anlagen gefunden, die eine Besonderheit im kommagenischen Raum darstellen, nämlich die grosse Felsenhalle und der grosse Felsgang[21]. Wenn auch Waldmann versucht[22], die grosse Felsenhalle als letzte Ruhestätte des Mithradates Kallinikos zu erweisen, so spricht der gesamte Befund der Ausgrabungen dagegen, und nach wie vor spricht alles für die Richtigkeit des durch Wolfram Hoepfner geführten Nachweises, dass auf der Höhe des Plateau für Mithradates Kallinikos ein monumentaler Grabbau nach Art des Mausoleum von Halikarnassos errichtet worden war[23].

Die Felsenhalle dagegen mit der grossen, dahinter liegenden Felsenkammer bietet sich doch geradezu als Prototyp der späteren Mithräen an, wofür mir vor allem auch der geheimnisvolle Zugang zu sprechen scheint.

Was nun den grossen Felsengang unmittelbar bei Sockelanlage III anbetrifft, so können wir mit Bestimmtheit sagen, dass er keinesfalls für irgendwelche praktischen Zwecke angelegt war, etwa als Wassergang oder gar als Fluchtweg! Wie ich bei der Publikation gezeigt haben, ist die ganze Anlage ein Meisterwerk hellenistischer Technik; der Gang führt 158,1 m tief in einem Neigungswinkel von zunächst 35° und am Ende von nahezu 45° in das Innere des Burgberges hinein, und der Endpunkt liegt ca. 75 m unter der Erdoberfläche.

Dass diese monumentale Anlage in den Bereich der Mithrastheologie hineingehört, habe ich in der Publikation zu erweisen gesucht[24]. Es handelt sich jedenfalls bei dieser Anlage bestimmt

[20] *OGIS* 405

[21] *Arsameia* a. O. 110ff. (Felsenhalle) und 129ff. (grosser Felsgang).

[22] Waldmann, *Kultreformen* a. O. 111f.

[23] Hoepfner, 4.4.1965, 220

[24] *Arsameia* a. O. 141ff.

nicht um eine „sinnlose Anlage"[25]! Da wir aber bisher keine schriftlichen Zeugnisse über Sinn und Zweck der Anlage besitzen, wäre es umso notwendiger, unsere bisherigen Erkenntnisse zu erweitern. Dazu bietet sich in erster Linie die Erforschung eines weiteren Felsgangs in den Hierothesia von Gerger, also von Arsameia am Euphrat, an, eine Aufgabe, die auf unserem Arbeitsprogramm für Kommagene an bevorzugter Stelle eingereiht ist.

[25] So beurteilt in völlig unverständlicher Weise H. Schlumberger, *Der hellenistische Osten* (*Kunst der Welt*, Baden-Baden 1960) 43 dieses antike Wunderwerk.

SUSAN B. DOWNEY

SYRIAN IMAGES OF MITHRAS TAUROCTONOS

The worship of Mithras was very popular in Italy and the western provinces of the Roman Empire, but the present evidence suggests that Mithras was not widely worshipped in Syria. There is evidence of the worship of Mithras at Dura-Europos (*Corpus*, Nos. 34-70)*, Arsha-wa-Qibar (*Corpus*, No. 71), Sahin (*Corpus*, No. 72), Sidon (*Corpus*, Nos. 74-87), Seeia (*Corpus*, Nos. [illegible], 89), and Lattakieh-Tartous (*Corpus*, No. 90), as well as in the newly discovered Mithraeum in Caesarea. Only in Dura and Caesarea[1] is the architecture of the Mithraeum known, though at Sidon niches are mentioned[2], and one of the two identical tauroctone reliefs from Seeia was found near the entrance to a grotto[3]. Only seven Syrian tauroctones are known—two at Dura-Europos, one each from Arsha-wa-Qibar, Sidon, and Caesarea, and the two identical ones from Seeia. The fragmentary relief from Lattakieh-Tartous shows only the radiate head of Mithras in a Phrygian cap. The Caesarea medallion is too small to have been the main cult relief on the Mithraeum. The two reliefs from Dura

* The full *Proceedings of the First International Congress of Mithraic Studies* were not available to me during the preparation of this paper.

The following abbreviations are used in the notes:

Campbell, *MII* = Leroy A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, Leiden 1968.

Cumont, *Dura Mithraeum* = Franz Cumont, "The Dura Mithraeum", E.D. Francis, ed., *Proceedings of the First International Congress of Mithraic Studies*, pp. 151-214.

Dura Report VII VIII = M.I. Rostovtzeff, F.E. Brown, and C.B. Welles, eds., *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Preliminary Report on the Seventh and Eighth Seasons of Work*, New Haven 1939.

Vermaseren, *Corpus* = M.J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, The Hague, 1960.

Will, *Relief cultuel* = Ernst Will, *Le relief cultuel gréco-romain* (*Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 183*), Paris, 1955.

[1] *Dura Report* VII VIII, [illegible] 64-80. The information about the Mithraeum at Caesarea is derived from the paper delivered by Professor Robert J. Bull at the Second International Congress of Mithraic Studies.

[2] Vermaseren, *Corpus*, *I*, p. 73, mon. 74.

[3] Will, *Syria* XXIX, 1953, p. 68.

are dated to A.C. 168 and A.C. 170/71[4]. The relief from Sidon was probably made in the second century A.C., though the sanctuary apparently continued in use until the fourth century[5]. There is no external evidence for the date of the reliefs from Seeia. Frothingham dates them before A.C. 106, when Syria became a Roman province, on the basis of the "non-Roman treatment"[6], but Will's date in the second century seems reasonable in view of their stylistic similarity to the Dura reliefs[7]. There is no evidence for the date of the reliefs from Arsha-wa-Qibar and Lattakieh-Tartous, but the style suggests a date in the second century A.C. at the earliest. The inscription from Sahin is dated to A.C. 208. Bull suggests that the vault at Caesarea was turned into a Mithraeum during the third century A.C., perhaps earlier[8]. Thus, all of the evidence for the worship of Mithras is apparently late.

The coast of Syria and Palestine is more closely linked in its culture and its art to the Greco-Roman west than to desert Syria[9]. Sahin, Sidon, Lattekieh, and Caesarea belong to coastal Syria-Palestine, Seeia, Dura, and Arsha-wa-Qibar to the desert area. It is not all at clear that the Mithraic monuments discussed here belong to one group rather than two. The dramatic difference in style between the elegant relief from Sidon on the one hand and the rather clumsy reliefs from Seeia, Dura, and Arsha-wa-Qibar strengthens the idea that we are dealing with two different cultural regions. The medallion from Caesarea is too small and the paintings too badly damaged to allow stylistic analysis.

Since more is known about the Mithraeum at Dura than about the monuments of other Syrian sites, it will be convenient to begin the discussion with Dura. The original building of the Dura Mithraeum is dated by the inscription of the smaller of the two cult reliefs to approximately A.C. 168[10]. The early relief, dedicated by the *strategos* Ethpeni, the commander of the Palmyrene archers stationed at Dura,

[4] *Dura Report VII/VIII*, pp. 83f.

[5] Ernst Will, *Syria* XXVII (1950), pp. 261-269, especially 264f., and *Syria* XXIX (1952), p. 71.

[6] *AJA* XXII (1918), pp. 61f.

[7] *Syria* XXIX (1952), p. 71.

[8] Bull, "The Mithraeum at Caesarea Maritima", p. 75.

[9] Henri Seyrig, *Syria* XX (1939), p. 180; Daniel Schlumberger, *L'Orient hellénisé* (Paris 1970), pp. 5f.

[10] *Dura Report VII/VIII*, pp. 63, 83f.

was followed in A.C. 170/71 by a second one dedicated by Zenobius, the *strategos* of the archers, probably the same Palmyrene archers[11]. Thus, the early Mithraeum was apparently built with the support of commander of a company of Palmyrene archers[12]. The building was reconstructed between A.C. 209 and 211 by a centurion of the *Legiones IV Scythica* and *XVI Flavia Firma*[13]. The late Mithraeum, ca. A.C. 240, involved little building but an extensive redecoration[14]. The organization of the Mithraeum—a long room with benches on either side and the cult reliefs set into a wall at the end—is that usual for Mithraea from one end of the Empire to the other[15]. The Dura building, however, was entirely above ground; it was perhaps basilical and might even have had a clerestory[16]. The above ground, basilical plan is unusual, though not entirely unexampled; the Walbrook Mithraeum in London is also above ground[17]. The use of an above-ground plan is probably to be explained by local conditions. Buildings at Dura seldom, if ever, had cellars, and the presence of a brook presumably made the construction of an underground structure at Walbrook impossible. The only other Syrian Mithraeum whose architecture is known is at Caesarea. There also the arrangement of the Mithraeum is of the standard type, though with some peculiarities due to its location in a vault originally built for another purpose[18].

At Dura not only the architecture but also the two tauroctone reliefs belong to the standard type, though there are some peculiarities which will be discussed below (pp. 140-143). The tauroctone reliefs occupied the cult niche, but they formed only a part of the decoration, at least in the two later periods. The early Mithraeum has been so thoroughly destroyed that it is impossible to form an idea of its decoration, but both the middle and the late Mithraea were elaborately decorated with paintings illustrating various aspects of Mithraic cosmology and theology[19].

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 83f.
[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 86-88.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 85-87.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 76-80.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. [illegible]; Cumont, *Dura Mithraeum*, pp. 163-165.
[16] *Dura Report* VII/VIII, pp. 80f.
[17] Vermaseren, *Corpus*, Mon. 814.
[18] Bull, "The Mithraeum at Caesarea Maritima", p. 75.
[19] *Dura Report VII/VIII*, pp. 89-91, 101-115; Cumont, *Dura Mithraeum*, pp. 169-194.

The existence in Dura in the late second century A.C. of a Mithraeum which differs in form and decoration only slightly from the Mithraea of Italy and the Western provinces naturally raises the question of the transmission of the worship of Mithras to Dura. The direct evidence indicates that the early Mithraeum was built by (or at least that the relief was dedicated by) a Palmyrene, and probably also the dedicant of the second relief. Zenobius, whose Semitic name was Elaeibas, was Palmyrene[20]. Therefore it has been assumed that the worship of Mithras was transmitted from Palmyra to Dura and that the Mithraism of Dura is an indication of its form at Palmyra[21], but since there is no unequivocal evidence of the worship of Mithras at Palmyra, it seems unlikely that this is the case[22]. It is more likely that Ethpeni and Zenobius learned of Mithras during military service, and in fact Campbell suggests that the first Mithraeum was built as a result of the return of Roman troops, including a troop of Palmyrene archers, to Syria in A.C. 165[23].

A key question is whether the worship of Mithras at Dura and in other Syrian cities differed from the form of Mithraism practiced in the Western provinces of the Roman empire; in other words, whether Syrian Mithraism differed from a somewhat hypothetical orthodoxy. The idea that there existed an orthodox form of Mithraism, both in worship and in its artistic expression, which was followed with only minor deviations in the many sanctuaries of Mithras in the Roman world, was formulated most clearly and in its strictest form by Cumont in *CRAI* 1945. He suggested that in the Flavian period, in which he dated the statue of Mithras by Criton the Athenian found at Ostia (*Corpus*, No. 230), "l'art mithraïque n'obéissait pas à une tradition hiératique partout respectée et n'était pas soumis à une norme ne tolérant plus que des variations accessoires n'excluant de graves écarts individuels[24]." Dura, he felt, showed the essential unity of Mithraism from one end of the Empire to the other, a unity which he considered impossible without a central authority, probably

[20] Cumont, *CRAI* 1934, pp. 92f.

[21] *Ibid.*; Cumont, *Dura Mithraeum*, p. 205; Rostovtzeff, *RM* XLIX (1934), p. 199; Will, *Syria* XXIX (1952), pp. 68f.

[22] Downey, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Final Report III, Part I, fascicle 1: The Heracles Sculpture* (New Haven 1969), pp. 81f.; Francis, in: Cumont, *Dura Mithraeum*, p. 162, n. 59.

[23] *Berytus* [illegible] (1954), [illegible].

[24] *CRAI* 1945, p. 412.

based in Rome. He envisaged an illustrated sacred book after which artists copied the images which adorned the shrines[25]. Rostovtzeff thought of a copy book (rather than a sacred book) of Western origin from which the accessory scenes in Dura and in many European Mithraea were copied[26]. He and Cumont both felt that in some respects the decoration of the Dura Mithraeum in periods II and III differs from a Western norm. Their discussion, then, is based on two concepts: first, the notion of a canonical form of Mithraism, and second, the idea of an East/West dichotomy. Both of these ideas are questionable.

The problem of the origins of Mithraism as it was known in the Roman Empire is confusing and is still subject to speculation. It is often considered that the mysteries of Mithras were formed in Asia Minor and passed from there to the West, carried largely by traders and soldiers[27]. The lack of early evidence for the mysteries of Mithras in Asia Minor has led to other theories, some of which were presented at the Second International Congress of Mithraic Studies[28]. Because of the relative proximity of Syria to Iran, some scholars feel that the new religion ought to have arrived there early, even though all of the evidence is late[29]. Though Will considers that the development of Mithraism in Syria paralleled that in the West[30], other scholars have found in the reliefs and to a lesser extent in the paintings of Dura, as well as in the other Syrian tauroctones, peculiarities which have led them to consider that, as Cumont put it in 1934, Mithraism arrived directly in Syria from Asia Minor, where it underwent for some time a separate course of development in a Semitic milieu. Cumont suggests that the Syrian and Mesopotamian tauroctones form a distinct group, differing from the European monuments in a number of ways. "The traits characteristic of and common to Syria and Mesopotamia are the absence of the scorpion and of wheat ears growing out of the tail of the bull, the change in the position of the

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 410, 420f.; *Dura Mithraeum*, pp. 206f.

[26] *RM* XLIX (1934), pp. 190f.; cf. Will, *Relief cultuel*, pp. 414f.

[27] For a summary of the question, cf. Will, *Relief cultuel*, pp. 144-169; Francis, "Appendix 13.1: Plutarch's Mithraic Pirates," in: Cumont, *Dura Mithraeum*, pp. 207-210.

[28] Cf. especially the papers of Pet Beskow and David MacDowell (pp. 7f. and 305f.).

[29] Cumont, *CRAI* 1934, p. 96; Rostovtzeff, *RM* XLIX (1934), p. 186.

[30] Will, *Syria* XXIX (1952), pp. 72f.

busts of Sol and Luna, ... and some peculiarities in the treatment of the bull and his killer[31]." Later Cumont added to this list the fact "that the bull has not yet been thrust to the ground and is still raises its hindquarters in the air by stretching its back legs[32]."

But do the Syrian tauroctones in fact form a distinct group? Again, it will be convenient to begin with Dura, since major support for the idea that Syrian Mithraism differed from a "canonical" form comes from certain modifications which were made in the Dura reliefs. The early Dura relief (CIMRM 37) shows Mithras tauroctonos within a simple rectangular field, a form of relief which is extremely widespread[33]. Mithras has pulled the bull to a halt, but it attempts to regain a standing position. The dog, as usual, leaps up to lick the blood (rendered in paint) which flows from the bull's wound. Originally the snake was depicted below the dog rather than coming from behind, the usual position[34]. The snake was removed, probably at the time of the rebuilding of the Mithraeum and in connection with a complete redecoration. The scorpion which on many tauroctone reliefs nips at the bull's testicles is missing, and the tail does not end in wheat ears as it often does[35]. The crow flies in from behind, as usual. The dadaphores who often flank the central scene are not present. In the upper corners of the relief the sun and the moon are represented by symbols: a rosette within a crescent for the moon and a rosette for the sun. The use of aniconic symbols rather than the busts of the sun and the moon which commonly appear in European reliefs is probably due to a continuation of the old Oriental traditional representation of the planets[36]. While on the European reliefs Sol is at the left and Luna at the right, here the crescent is on the left and the solar rosette on the right; these positions may also be connected with Mesopotamian tradition[37]. Both rosettes were smashed in antiquity, probably in order to remove the jewels which were set into them.

[31] Cumont and Rostovtzeff, *Dura Report VII/VIII*, p. 101.

[32] *Dura Mithraeum*, p. 168.

[33] Campbell, *Berytus* XI (1954), p. 10.

[34] Campbell, *MH*, pp. 86f., 86, see below, n. 38.

[35] Cumont, *CRAI* 1934, p. 96; *Dura Report VII/VIII*, pp. 99f., 101; Campbell, *MH*, p. 25.

[36] *Dura Report VII/VIII*, p. 98; Will, *Relief cultuel*, p. 274; Campbell, *MH*, p. 137.

[37] *Dura Report VII/VIII*, pp. 100f.; Cumont, *CRAI* 1934, p. 96; *Dura Mithraeum*, p. 169; Campbell, *MH*, p. 102.

The larger, later relief is more elaborate (CIMRM 40). The scene of the bull slaying is set into an architectural framework consisting of two columns supporting an arch. The tauroctone group is quite similar to that on the earlier relief, though the bull has been pressed closer to the ground. As in the earlier relief, the dog and the snake both leap up at the bull from the front[38]. In this case the snake was not removed in the remodelling. Beneath the bull's outstretched foreleg are seven small balls. The crow perches on Mithras' cloak instead of flying as he does on the earlier relief. Instead of aniconic images of the sun and the moon, busts of Sol and Luna stood in the upper corners of the field; these busts were removed in antiquity, but traces of Sol's radiate crown show that the sun was on the right and the moon on the left, as on the earlier relief[39]. The field to the right of the tauroctone group is occupied by the dedicant Zenobius and members of his family; this feature, which is without parallel on other Mithraic reliefs, is doubtless a reflection of the local custom of depicting dedicants on cult reliefs[40]. The arch above the tauroctone scene is decorated with the signs of the zodiac, beginning at the left with Aries and ending at the right with Pisces; in the center is the bust of a bearded, radiate god wearing a *calathos*. In the corners of the relief above the arch are two busts of indeterminate sex, in profile (most unusual for Dura), facing inward. These busts were covered with plaster, probably at the beginning of the second period of the Mithraeum, when the busts of Sol and Luna were removed[41]. Campbell identifies them as two of the four seasons[42], while Rostovtzeff and Cumont identify them as the sun and moon[43]. The presence of the busts of Sol and Luna in the corners of the field of the main scene throws doubt on the identification made by Rostovtzeff and Cumont; on the other hand, the representation of only two seasons also seems unlikely.

Thus, the second Dura relief is more complex than the first. The placement of the scene in an architectural setting, probably a grotto, is frequent in the reliefs of Middle Europe[44]. The presence of the

[38] Cumont, *CRAI* 1934, p. 96, and *Dura Mithraeum*, p. 168, states incorrectly that the snake is missing. See Frances' comments in *Dura Mithraeum*, p. 168, n. 99.

[39] *Dura Report VII VIII*, p. 96.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 100; Will, *Relief cultuel*, pp. 341.

[41] *Dura Report VII VIII*, p. 96, n. 11; Campbell, *MH*, p. 163.

[42] *Ibid.*

[43] Campbell, *MH*, pp. 2, 8; Cumont, *Dura Mithraeum*, p. 166.

signs of the zodiac on the vault of the grotto is especially common in Germany, but is also known in Rome and at Sidon[45]. The bearded, radiate bust in the center of the zodiac does not appear on the German monuments, but a similar bust, though not radiate, is placed at the crown of a vault on the tauroctone relief from Bologna; this god is sometimes identified as Jupiter Caelus[46]. Cumont calls the god on the Dura relief Baalshamin assimilated to the Jupiter Caelus worshipped in the West[47]; since Baalshamin is never radiate, as far as I know, and is apparently not associated with Mithras, this identification is unlikely. The use of a radiate figure in the top center of the relief might be an intrusion from local tradition, as seen on the Dura Nemesis relief[48], though the Bologna relief shows that such an image is not alien to Mithraic iconography. If the radiate bust is not Baalshamin, it might be Deus Aeternus, as Campbell suggests[49], or, less likely, Serapis[50], who wears a *calathos* but is not radiate. Since the only iconographic element in the Dura tauroctone which is unequivocally derived from local tradition is the presence of the dedicants, it seems best to interpret the elements of the tauroctone scene in terms of Mithraic rather than local Durene iconography.

It is difficult to identify the seven little blobs placed beneath the bull's outstretched foreleg. Campbell originally suggested that they represented primitive stone altars[51], and Cumont pointed out the parallel in the seven (?) painted altars around the painted tauroctone of the third period of the Dura Mithraeum, as well as to the presence of altars on certain Danubian reliefs[52]. However, the blobs on the Dura relief are the wrong shape for altars[53], whereas the altars on the Danubian reliefs are clearly shaped like altars and

[45] Will, *Relief cultuel*, p. 298; Campbell, *MH*, pp. 44f.; the Roman monuments are Vermaseren, *Corpus*, Mons. 390, 695.

[46] Vermaseren, *Corpus*, Mon. 693; Campbell, *MH*, p. 196.

[47] *CRAI* 1934, p. 95.

[48] Cumont, in: *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Preliminary Report of the First Season of Work*, P.V.C. Baur and M.I. Rostovtzeff, eds., (New Haven 1929), pp. 65-68, fig. IV.1.

[49] Campbell, *MH*, p. 47.

[50] Vermaseren, *The Excavations of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome* (Leiden 1965), p. 136; in *Corpus*, Mon. 693, he identifies the bust as Jupiter.

[51] *Dura Report VII/VIII*, p. 96.

[52] *Ibid.*, n. [illegible]; cf. Campbell, *MH*, p. 363.

[53] Cf. the altar on the second Dura relief; also *Dura Report VII/VIII*, Pls. XXXIII, XXXIV.

have flames rising from them; also, though their placement varies[54], none are crammed in beneath the bull's leg, as on the Dura relief. In the absence of good, identifiable parallels, it is impossible to identify the objects on the Dura relief, though presumably the number is significant (cf. the seven planets, seven Mithraic grades, the κλίμαξ ἑπτάπυλος). In certain respects the later Dura relief is closer to the European monuments than is the earlier.

It is time to return to the question of whether the Syrian tauroctones in fact form a group and represent a form of Mithraism different from that in the West. The number of tauroctone reliefs from Syria is so limited as to make generalizations dangerous, and in any case the reliefs differ considerably among themselves. Apparently the only trait common to all of the Syrian reliefs is the absence of wheat ears growing out of the bull's tail. But while it is true that wheat ears as a symbol of the generative power of the bull's death are very common on Western tauroctones, they are by no means universal. A check of Vermaseren's *Corpus* shows a roughly equal number of tauroctones with and without wheat ears, but in many cases the end of the tail is missing and in many others there is not sufficient information to determine whether or not they were present. Thus, wheat ears growing out of the bull's tail were by no means an essential part of Mithraic iconography. It may be that in Syria other gods, for example, Baalshamin, were responsible for the growth of vegetation and therefore this aspect of Mithraic belief was not emphasized.

In other respects the Syrian tauroctones differ considerably from one another. On the relief from Sidon (CIMRM 75) the bust of the moon is at the left and that of the sun at the right, as at Dura[55], but the signs of the zodiac which surround the tauroctone scene are arranged so that the scorpion is near the bull's genitals, though in a position to sting, which is unusual[56]. Perhaps the unusual position of the scorpion means that it is not beneficent. The dadophores are absent, as at Dura. The snake comes from beneath the bull to lick at its body, not necessarily at the blood. The small size and careless workmanship of the tauroctone medallion from Caesarea (figure 4)

[54] Top of grotto: Vermaseren, *Corpus*, Mons. 390, 670, 1816, 1973, 2237; upper and lower borders of relief: *Ibid.*, Mon. 368; at either side of Mithras' head: *Ibid.*, Mons. 1974, 2000.

[55] Campbell, *MH*, pp. 137f.

[56] Vermaseren, *Corpus* v. 1, p. 73; Campbell, *MH*, p. 26.

make analysis difficult. The dog and the snake are present, though the snake's body is almost vertical. It is not clear whether the raven and the scorpion were represented, but two indistinct protuberances in the positions normally occupied by these creatures suggest that they were. The dadophores are present. Two almost identical busts in the upper corners are presumably Sol and Luna; they differ from the busts on most tauroctone reliefs, including the later Dura one, in being virtually indistinguishable. In a lower register are scenes from the life of Mithras[57]. On the extremely crude relief from Arsha-wa-Qibar in northern Syria (CIMRM 71) the scorpion is missing, as at Dura, but the dadophores are present and the busts of Sol and Luna are in the positions which are normal in Europe. The snake comes from behind, as usual in Europe, but does not drink the blood[58].

At Seeia (CIMRM 88, 89) the bust of Sol is at the left, that of Luna at the right, as in the majority of tauroctone reliefs; in addition, the scorpion and the dadophores are present, though the broken relief preserves only one dadophore. The snake, however, drinks the bull's semen instead of its blood. Campbell argues that this emphasis on the seed rather than on the blood shows a strong Iranian component in Syrian Mithraism, but there seems to be no evidence to support his view[59]. The bull's tail droops down rather than curling up as it does on the majority of tauroctones[60]. In other words, the reliefs from Seeia differ from the majority of tauroctone reliefs in some ways, but they also differ from other Syrian reliefs. Frothingham took the major peculiarities of the relief known when he wrote as an indication that it belongs to a tradition "unattached to the Hellenistic-Roman matrix from which the Mithraic monuments of the imperial age were turned out in such numbers and with such uniformity[61]." Cumont's argument that Mithras was closely associated with Dusares at Seeia is based on false premises, as Will has demonstrated[62]. Thus, the various Syrian tauroctones do not exhibit con-

[57] Bull, "The Mithraeum at Caesarea Maritima," pp. 75-90.

[58] Cumont, *Syria* XIV (1933), pp. 382-384; Vermaseren, *Corpus*, Mon. 71.

[59] Campbell, *MH*, p. 86.

[60] Frothingham, *AJA* XXII (1918), pp. 56-58, 60f.; Cumont, *RHR* LXXVIII (1918), p. 200; Will, *Syria* XXIX (1952), pp. 67f.; Vermaseren, *Corpus*, Mons. 88, 89, p. 96.

[61] *AJA* XXII (1918), p. 57.

[62] *RHR* LXXVIII (1918), pp. 207-212; Will, *Syria* XXIX (1952), pp. 67f.

sistent traits which distinguish them as a group from the European tauroctones; on the other hand, intrusive elements from local, Syrian religion seem to be minimal.

In the early Mithraeum at Dura, so far as is known, the two tauroctone reliefs constitused the sole figural decoration. The situation is far different in the middle and late Mithraea. The pictorial decoration of the middle Mithraeum (figure 1) is poorly preserved but seems to have followed essentially the pattern known from the late Mithraeum. In both of these buildings the tauroctone reliefs were surrounded by paintings showing elements of Mithraic cosmology and episodes from the life of Mithras[63].

Apparently already in the middle Mithraeum, but certainly in the late Mithraeum, the cult reliefs were supplemented by a painted tauroctone above the niche. (figures 2, 3)[64]. Both of these paintings are very poorly preserved. It is clear that at least in the third period the dadophores flank the scene and the snake comes from behind the bull, but damage makes it impossible to determine whether the scorpion was present. Seven cypress trees and seven flaming altars are placed around the scene. A child emerges from one of the trees. Clearly the child is Mithras, but Cumont has suggested in addition a connection between this image and the relief of the child Malakbel emerging from a cypress on a Palmyrene altar in Rome[65]. Thus, the painted tauroctone clearly differs in at least some respects from the reliefs. In spite of the fragmentary state of the painted scene, the excavators concluded that it belonged to the "Western type": "While the cult bas-reliefs...gave a peculiar version of this scene, the painting conforms to the Western traditions[66]." They also connected the removal of the "uncanonical" busts of Sol and Luna from the later relief with the rebuilding of the shrine[67], thus implying that the builders were

[63] *Dura Report VII/VIII*, pp. 76-80.

[64] Campbell, *MH*, fig. 11, facing p. 176, reconstructs the scene in the middle Mithraeum as a tauroctone, while Pearson and Rostovtzeff, *Dura Report VII/VIII*, p. 101, fig. 36.1, call it "a painting of a bull attacked by various animals." As I know of no similar scene in a Mithraeum, I accept Campbell's suggestion. Late Mithraeum: *Dura Report VII/VIII*, pp. 111f., Pl. XVIII.2; Campbell, *MH*, fig. 12, facing p. 177; Cumont, *Dura Mithraeum*, pp. 177f.

[65] Cumont, *Dura Mithraeum*, p. 185.

[66] *Dura Report VII/VIII*, p. 111; cf. p. 101, and Rostovtzeff, *RM* XLIX (1934), p. 186.

[67] *Dura Report VII/VIII*, p. 101.

attempting to conform to a hypothetical Mithraic orthodoxy. But while Cumont and Rostovtzeff imply that the motive for the removal of the solar and lunar busts was a striving for "orthodoxy", Campbell suggests that the removal of the busts from the later relief and of the snake from the early relief was motivated by a change in Mithraic ideology connected with the introduction of the cult of Mithras *ephippos*, Mithras as the unconquered sun, to which cult the snake was originally alien[68]

But are the changes in the Dura reliefs really meaningful? It is hard to imagine that modifications in cult reliefs would not be meaningful, but harder yet to suggest a connected pattern in the changes. If the busts of the sun and moon were removed because of their "uncanonical" positions, then the even more "uncanonical" solar and lunar symbols ought to have been removed from the early reliefs, yet they were not. Likewise it is hard to understand why the snake should have been removed from only one relief[69]. While it is true that the snake is inconspicuous on the later relief, yet it is *there*, and it could easily enough have been chiselled off or covered with plaster. Again, if the removals had been inspired by a desire for a "canonical" image, it would have been possible to add a scorpion and wheat ears in plaster; in any case there is no evidence that either of these elements was present on the painted tauroctone of supposedly "Western" type. In short, it is difficult if not impossible to find a coherent pattern in the modifications of the reliefs.

In the later periods of the Dura Mithraeum the cult reliefs were framed by paintings above and on the sides; the decoration, both painted and sculptured, formed a coherent whole. In the soffit of the arch of the late Mithraeum were painted the signs of the zodiac[70], apparently arranged in the "eastern" order[71] Around the arch are scenes from the cosmogony and the life of Mithras[72]. These paintings have the effect of extending the reliefs in a more complex entity—"reliefs mithraiques à scènes multiples" which is widely dispersed throughout the Empire. It is most prominent in the upper Danube provinces,

[68] *MH*, p 182.

[69] Cf Francis in: Cumont, *Dura Mithraeum*, p. 168, n 99

[70] *Dura Report VII/VIII*, pp 102 110, fig. 36 b; Cumont, *Dura Mithraeum*, p. 181

[71] Campbell, *MH*, p 48.

[72] *Dura Report VII/VIII*, pp. 105-110; Cumont, *Dura Mithraeum*, pp. 169-181.

but is also known in Rome[73]. Will has classified this type of relief as Raetio-Rhine from the area where it is most common. While his Rhine type is in fact confined to the Rhine, the Raetian type is more widespread; the order of the scenes on the Dura relief is that of the Raetian type[74]. The wide dispersion of this type of image, with its concentration in the upper Danube provinces, raises the question of its transmittal to Dura, the only Syrian site where the type appears. It seems that this question cannot be resolved on the basis of the available evidence[75].

The painted decoration of the Mithraeum in period III is completed by the images of two *magi*[76] and by two nearly identical scenes of Mithras as a hunter[77]. Rostovtzeff considers that the Dura Mithraeum shows the mingling of two strains of Mithraism. In the scenes of the cosmogony and the life of Mithras the artist simply copied the images from a sketchbook of Western origin, keeping the "canonical" Western iconography. The tauroctone reliefs, on the other hand, represent an early, "Syrian" form of Mithraism[78]. Cumont also emphasizes the "canonical" nature of the cosmogony and the life of Mithras, which he feels prove that "the ἱερὸς λόγος which was taught to the initiates and whose episodes they learned to perceive illustrations from the 'sacred book' which could both instruct and edify the illiterate differed in no important respect at the eastern limit of the Roman empire from the revelation of the same mysteries in the spelaea of the West[79]."

A key element in Rostovtzeff's and Cumont's assessment of the Syrian component in Mithraism as known at Dura is the image of Mithras *ephippos*. Rostovtzeff feels that the image of Mithras as a hunter represents an eastern strain of Mithraism, since the rarity of the image in the West and the lack of a "canonical" form show

[73] Vermaseren, *Corpus*, Mon. 390, the Barberini Mithraeum.

[74] *Relief cultuel*, pp. 361-364, 373 f., fig. 71.

[75] See the discussion in Will, *Relief cultuel*, pp. 413-419. Will reopened this question in his paper at the Second International Congress of Mithraic Studies (cf. pp. 527 f.).

[76] *Dura Report VII-VIII*, pp. 110 f., Pls. XVI-XVII; Cumont, *Dura Mithraeum*, pp. 181-184.

[77] *Dura Report* VII-VIII, pp. 112-115, Pls. XIV, XV; Cumont, *Dura Mithraeum*, pp. 186-192.

[78] *RAI* XLIX (1934), pp. 186, 190-195.

[79] *Dura Mithraeum*, pp. 206 f.

that it was foreign to Europe[80]. Since images of Mithras as a hunter are rare everywhere, this argument seems weak. Cumont believes that this aspect of Mithras' complex personality was emphasized by the Palmyrene archers[81] and that the portraits of the Magi and the hunt of Mithras, which is reminiscent of the Persian royal hunts, "strongly emphasize the Iranian character which this cult has generally preserved and which is given further prominence by its Semitic setting so close to the Parthian frontier[82]." In view of the general absence at Dura of Iranian elements and of scenes of hunting in what little Parthian art is known in Iran, it seems unlikely that the paintings of Mithras as a hunter actually reflect Iranian ideas. The hunting scenes at Dura are purely secular[83]. Gods who ride on horse or camel back are, however, very prominent in Syrian religion, especially in the more rural areas. These gods are very similar in appearance; they are generally clad in some form of the local desert dress and carry the local armament. In spite of their similar appearance, these gods are distinct and bear various names, though many of them are called *GNY'* (Genneas), which is at times the equivalent of Allah, god. It seems that in the desert they are simply local gods, the protectors of the nomads and leaders of caravans[84]. In Syria, the rider god from Hama, who has sometimes been called Mithras *Ephippos*, is simply a more northern representative of the desert rider god type[85]. These gods do not hunt, but merely ride, and often are shown approaching an altar, thus the context is sacrificial. It seems that the image of Mithras as a hunter must be explained as part of Mithraic iconography as known in both West and East, though it is possible that the popularity of rider gods in Syria explains the prominence of Mithras *Ephippos* in the Dura Mithraeum.

[80] *RA* XLIX (1934), pp. 186, 190-195.

[81] *Dura Mithraeum*, p. 192.

[82] *Ibid.*, p. 207.

[83] Ann Perkins, *The Art of Dura-Europos* (Oxford 1973), pp. 65-67; M.I. Rostovtzeff, "Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art", *YCS* V (1934), pp. 262-272, states that there is Iranian influence on the hunting scenes at Dura.

[84] Seyrig, "Genneas," *Syria* XXVI (1949), p. 239.

[85] Dussaud, *Syria* V (1924), pp. 120f.; pl. XXI.4; *Syria* XXVI (1949), p. 278; Rostovtzeff, "Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art," *Yale Classical Studies* V (New Haven 1934), p. 225, fig. 42; Campbell, *MH*, p. 196; Cumont, *Dura Mithraeum*, pp. 191f.

Cumont attributed the changes in the Dura Mithraeum to the increased presence of the army at Dura[86]. However, even though it is clear that the majority of the worshippers at Dura were soldiers, many of these soldiers were probably Syrians from the XX Palmyrene cohort; there is thus no reason to attribute changes in the direction of orthodoxy to the army. In fact, it seems that Syrian Mithraic images do not exhibit traits which demonstrate a consistent form of Mithraism which differs from that in the West. Rather the images are iconographically in general like those throughout the Roman world, with a few local features such as the presence of the dedicants on the relief. What is truly local about the Mithraic images of Syria is style, not iconography.

[86] *Dura Report VII VIII*, pp. 83-89, Will, «*Syria* XXIX (1952), p. 70

H. J. W. DRIJVERS

MITHRA AT HATRA?

Some remarks on the problem of the Irano-Mesopotamian syncretism

The rôle of Mesopotamia is fundamental to Franz Cumont's theory about the origin and character of the Mithraic mysteries in the Roman Empire. For Cumont, the *magi* came from Mesopotamia to Asia Minor as founders of the mysteries: "leur culte avait été profondément influencé par les spéculations du clergé puissant qui desservait les temples de Babylone. La théologie savante des Chaldéens s'imposa au mazdéisme primitif.... Les divinités des deux religions furent identifiées, leurs légendes rapprochées et l'astrologie sémitique, fruit de longues observations scientifiques, vint se superposer aux mythes naturalistes des Iraniens; Ahoura-Mazda fut assimilé à Bêl, Anâhita à Ishtar et Mithra à Shamash, le dieu solaire[1]." This view implies that the doctrine of the Mithraic mysteries is essentially identical to theological dogmas supposedly held by Syrian priests. Cumont was well aware that this view of a mutual influence between Iranian and Babylonian religious traditions depended entirely on his own interpretation of western documents which he considered to be Mithraic and lacked any archaeological support: "Le problème n'aura chance de pouvoir être résolu que quand les fouilles nous auront fait connaître la civilisation et la religion composite de l'empire des Séleucides, où l'Orient et l'Occident s'affrontèrent[2]."

Through this theory the phenomenon of an Irano-Mesopotamian syncretism entered the discussion and served as a significant means of interpreting new evidence and reappraising data previously available. Starting from Cumont's views R. Dussaud thus interpreted some

[1] F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, 4e éd., Paris 1929, 136; Cumont often expressed this view, cf. "La théologie solaire du paganisme romain," *Mém. prés. par divers savants* XII, 2, 1913, 476s., *The Mysteries of Mithra*, N.Y. 1956, 10ff.; "Mithra en Asie Mineure," *Anatolian Studies presented to W.H. Buckler*, ed. W.M. Calder-J. Keil, Manchester 1939, 73; "The Dura Mithraeum," *Mithraic Studies*, ed. J.R. Hinnells, Manchester 1975, I, 155ff; cf. R. Gordon, "Cumont and the Doctrines of Mithraism," *Mithraic Studies* I, 228.

[2] Cumont, *Les religions orientales*, 271.

Luristan bronzes as documents of such an Irano-Mesopotamian syncretism[3]. In particular G. Widengren has championed Cumont's views: "So wurde von *Cumont* die Aufmerksamkeit auf die synkretistische Bewegung in Mesopotamien gelenkt, die seiner Meinung nach schliesslich zum Emporkommen der Mithrasmysterien, so wir sie kennen, führte ..... Wir glauben, dass er damit wesentlich recht behalten wird, wenn auch in Einzelheiten vieles nicht standhält[4]." In his attempt to substantiate this point, Widengren has frequently cited a relief from Hatra which represents Nergal accompanied by scorpions, snakes, and dogs (or, according to Widengren, wolves). He interprets these attributes along with other isolated archaeological evidence from Uruk and the Hauran as Mithraic symbols[5]. Widengren's descriptions of certain finds from Uruk and Hatra even give the impression that an actual Mithraeum established during the Parthian period has been discovered at Uruk. Indeed Widengren explicitly speaks of "Mesopotamia, where in Uruk in Parthian times a Mithraeum was found obviously possessing cult-reliefs of the bull-slaying god[6]." There is, however, no archaeological support for this statement or for Widengren's description of another relief from Hatra depicting a scorpion and a snake: "Both these animals are seen on the cult-reliefs from Hatra in Northern Mesopotamia where we also meet with the Ahrimanian and Mithraic animal, the wolf, as a sacred animal[7]." The evident conclusion implied by these descriptions is that several cult-reliefs with Mithraic representations exist at Hatra, providing proof for the real presence of the mysteries of the god. In fact there is only *one* relief on which a god is accompanied by these animals whose symbolic function is directly related to that of the god.

[3] R. Dussaud, "Anciens bronzes du Louristan et cultes iraniens," *Syria* 26, 1949, 196-229.

[4] G. Widengren, *Iranisch-semitische Kulturbegegnung in parthischer Zeit*, Köln-Opladen 1960, 10.

[5] G. Widengren, "Stand und Aufgaben der iranischen Religionsgeschichte," *Numen* II, 1955, 95f.; *idem*, *Iranisch-semitische Kulturbegegnung*, 23; *idem*, *Synkretistische Religionen*, *Handbuch d. Orientalistik* VIII, 2, 1961, 48, 54; *idem*, *Die Religionen Irans*, Stuttgart 1965, 229f.; *idem*, "The Mithraic Mysteries in the Greco-Roman World with special regard to their Iranian background," *La Persia e il mondo Greco-Romano*, *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* CCCLXIII, 1966, N. 76, 436, 440; for the cult of Mithras in the Hauran and its supposed relations to Dusares see F. Cumont, "Mithra et Dusarès," *RHR* 78, 1918, 207ss.; cf. Widengren, *Iranisch-semitische Kulturbegegnung*, 61f. Anm. 220 and F. Cumont, in *Mithraic Studies* I, 160.

[6] Widengren, "The Mithraic Mysteries," 436.

[7] *Id.*, 440.

Other scholars have also explained iconographical features of Hatrene monuments as evidence for the cult of Mithra in that city. J. Duchesne-Guillemin considered a relief of a sun-god on the lintel of a rectangular temple as a representation of Helios-Mithra, a view already expressed by K. Erdmann[8]. Several scholars have described this rectangular shrine as a fire temple: C. Hopkins[9], J. Duchesne-Guillemin[10], C. Colpe[11] and K. Brisch[12]. Brisch not only argues that the relief on the lintel is an image of Mithra as sun-god, especially as this sun-god is accompanied by eagles, a bull and griffins. Representations of bulls on the northern part of the central temple-complex at Hatra led F. Safar to consider that part Mithraic[13]. S. Fukai takes another relief of a sun-god in military dress to be a representation of Mithra. The relief discussed by Fukai comes from the so-called first temple at Hatra like the Nergal-relief with its supposedly "mithraic" symbolism: "There is no doubt about this being the image of the sun-god Mithra[14]."

The Nergal-relief with its scorpions and snakes plays an important rôle in A.D.H. Bivar's reconstruction of the nature of the Mithraic mysteries. On the one hand, Bivar argues, iconographic links exist between the representations of Nergal and the so-called lion-headed figure in Roman Mithraism, on the other hand "the religion of the Roman Mithraists ..... remained essentially a blend of extremely ancient—indeed, pre-Zoroastrian—Iranian elements with the formidable cult of the Babylonian deity Nergal[15]." Bivar accord-

[8] J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *La religion de l'Iran ancien*, Paris 1962, 228, cf. K. Erdmann, *Das iranische Feuerheiligtum*, Leipzig 1941, 25 and K. Schippmann, "Die iranischen Feuerheiligtümer," *RGVV* 31, Berlin 1971, 46ff.

[9] Cl. Hopkins, "The Parthian Temple," *Berytus* 7, 1942, 6f.

[10] J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *La religion de l'Iran ancien*, 228.

[11] C. Colpe, *Überlegungen zur Bezeichnung "iranisch" für die Religion der Parther-zeit*, *ZDMG*, *Suppl.* 1, 1969, 1015; cf. M.A.R. Colledge, *The Parthians*, London 1967, 132.

[12] K. Brisch, "Das parthische Relief mit dem Sonnengott aus Hatra," *Jahrbuch preussischer Kulturbesitz* 1967, 243-245.

[13] F. Safar, *Sumer* 24, 1968, 5; *Sumer* 25, 1969, 4-k, cf. B. Aggoula, "Remarques sur les inscriptions hatréennes II," *MUSJ* 47, 1972, 58, n. 5.

[14] S. Fukai, "The Artifacts of Hatra and Parthian Art," *East and West* 11, 1960, 159-161 and Pl. 19, cf. H. Ingholt, *Parthian Sculptures from Hatra. Orient and Hellas in Art and Religion*, New Haven 1954, 23f.; D. Homès-Fredericq, *Hatra et ses sculptures parthes. Étude stylistique et iconographique*, Istanbul 1963, 55, nr. 38.

[15] A.D.H. Bivar, "Mithra and Mesopotamia," *Mithraic Studies II*, 289; an analogous interpretation gives J. Duchesne-Guillemin, "Ahriman et le Dieu Suprême," *Numen* 2, 1955, 192; *Mithraic Studies II*, Pl. 4a.

ingly regards the religion of the Roman Mithraists as centered upon a god of death due to the strong influence which the cults of Semitic underworld deities like Nergal exercised on the Iranian cult of Mithra. This Irano-Mesopotamian syncretism thus derives from the period of the Median kingdom when the Assyrian empire strongly impinged on Iran[16]. From a formal standpoint Bivar is suggesting the same correlation between Roman Mithraism and a supposed Irano-Mesopotamian syncretism as F. Cumont does; on the other hand, Bivar's different characterisation of this syncretism brings about a new characterisation of the nature of Roman Mithraism. In both Bivar's and Cumont's views the rôle of Mesopotamia is crucial to an understanding not only of the iconography but also of the religious conceptions of Roman Mithraism[17].

Another Syrian relief, representing a horse-riding god accompanied by sun, moon, a snake and a *thymiaterion* found near Hama, is often considered an example of Mithras Ephippos. According to Cumont the type was popular in Syria and this relief is a particular modification representing Mithra as the protector of the Roman cavalry[18]. M.I. Rostovtzeff[19], R. Dussaud[20] and Leroy A. Campbell[21] express the same opinion. Once again such a relief has been taken to exemplify the product of Irano-Mesopotamian or Irano-Syrian syncretism.

All these interpretations are based on the conviction that in Mesopotamia there was once a cultural phenomenon whereby Iranian and Semitic beliefs had been syncretised. This *a priori* assumption was a guiding principle in the interpretation of archaeological remains in Syria and Mesopotamia that have come to light in such enormous quantity. Such an assumption is understandable insofar as Mesopotamia was an integral part of Iran in Parthian and Sassanian times. The capital of the Parthians was located in Mesopotamia and it

[16] Bivar, *Mithraic Studies II*, 285f.

[17] The same opinion expressed by H. Hombach, *Mithraic Studies II*, 353; cf. J.R. Hinnells, *Mithraic Studies II*, 299: "But perhaps the most relevant material for Mithraic symbolism is that from ancient Mesopotamia and its expression in astrological thought."

[18] F. Cumont, "The Dura Mithraeum," *Mithraic Studies I*, 191f.; cf. R. Dussaud, *Syria* 5, 1924, 120f., Pl. II, 4.

[19] M.I. Rostovtzeff, "Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art," *YCS* 5, 1935, fig. 42.

[20] R. Dussaud, *Syria* 26, 1949, 228.

[21] Leroy A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, *EPRO* 11, Leiden 1968, 196, 199 and fig. 13.

would be strange indeed if no traces remained of religious influence exerted by the Parthians on their Semitic subjects. F. Cumont himself stressed the important rôle to be played by excavations in this region in order to resolve the problem of this Irano-Mesopotamian syncretism and R. N. Frye has recently expressed the same opinion: "the key to many problems in contacts between Iran and the Mediterranean world lies underground in Mesopotamia[22]." Systematic excavations carried out in Hatra and other Syrian and Mesopotamian sites now afford a better insight into the character of the culture that once flourished there and provide the appropiate framework in which all archaeological finds can and ought to be interpreted. A relief does not exist in isolation but expresses a whole religious tradition and a material and spiritual culture. It finds its interpretation only within this cultural framework. The study of the cult and mysteries of Mithra(s) is especially in need of so simple, but often neglected an approach[23]. Since most of the Hatrene monuments in question are interpreted as Mithraic our first task is to survey the culture and religion of this famous desert city of North Mesopotamia in order to see the true character of its temples, reliefs, and other archaeological remains. It is against this background that evidence for the cult of Mithra in Mesopotamia must be reconsidered including the monuments from Uruk, the horserider relief from Huma and the reliefs from the Hauran. The relevance, extent, and limitations of an Irano-Mesopotamian syncretism can then more clearly, if tentatively, be defined.

Between 1906 and 1911 W. Andrae, director of the German excavations at Assur, performed an archaeological survey in the neighbouring city of Hatra and published his results in 1908 and 1912[24]. Andrae and his collaborators stayed for only a few days in the ruins of the city and yet the care and detail of their observations is remarkable. For the first time insight was gained into the architecture, art, religion, and language of Hatra. Hatra flourished in the second

[22] R. N. Frye, "Problems in the study of Iranian religions," *Religions in Antiquity, Essays in Memory of E. R. Goodenough*, ed. J. Neusner, *Suppl. Numen* XIV, Leiden 1968, 588.

[23] Cf. R. N. Frye, *op. cit.*, 586

[24] W. Andrae, "Hatra. Nach Aufnahmen von Mitgliedern der Expedition der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft, I," *WVDOG* 9, Leipzig 1908. II, *WVDOG* 21, Leipzig 1912.

century and first half of the third century A.D. and, by defying the attacks of Trajan and Septimus Severus earned legendary fame[25]. Since Andrae's publication Hatra has played a rôle in discussions of so-called Parthian art and Iran's influence on Mesopotamian culture and religion in general[26]. Later excavations at Dura-Europos and Palmyra brought [illegible] light reliefs and sculptures comparable to the finds [illegible] Hatra. It is therefore scarcely surprising that the Iraq Department of Antiquities started an ambitious program of excavations at Hatra [illegible] 1951 with the intention [illegible] restoring one of the most important Mesopotamian cities from the Parthian period[27]. Together with Palmyra and Dura-Europos, and to a lesser extent Edessa, Hatra forms the 'pièce de résistance' of every publication on Parthian culture and art and its influence on the hellenistic Orient[28]. It is considered a link between the material and spiritual cultures of the Roman West and the Iranian East in the transitional region [illegible] Mesopotamia[29]. The excavations indeed yielded many sculptures and reliefs and more than three hundred Aramaic inscriptions in a local form of Aramaic cursive script[30]. Moreover they revealed

[25] For the history of Hatra *vide* J.T. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux (Palmyre, Hatra, Tyr) et des thiases sémitiques à l'époque romaine*. Paris 1972, 353ss., B. Aggoula, "Remarques sur les inscriptions hatréennes [illegible]," *MUSJ* 47, 1972, 80ss., H.J.W. Drijvers, "Hatra, Palmyra und Edessa. Die Städte der syrisch-mesopotamischen Wüste in politischer, kulturgeschichtlicher und religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung," *ANRW* II, 8, 799-906. Hatra was taken by Shapūr I between April 240 and April 241 A.D., cf. A. Henrichs-L. Koenen, "Ein griechischer Mani-Codex (P. Colon. inv. [illegible] 4780)," *Zeitschrift f.papyr. u. Epigraphik* 5, 1970, 120, 125-132.

[26] See in general M.I. Rostovtzeff, "Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art," *YCS* 5, 1935, D. Schlumberger, "Descendants non-méditerranéens de l'art grec," *Syria* 37, 1960, 131-166, 253-318, [illegible] Schlumberger, *L'Orient hellénisé. L'art grec et ses héritiers dans l'Asie non-méditerranéenne*. Paris 1970; M.A.R. Colledge, *The Parthians*. London 1967.

[27] Fuad Safar, "Hatra and the first Season of Excavation 1951," *Sumer* 8, 1952, 3-16, Naji al-Asil, "The Growth of Human Civilisation in Mesopotamia: from Hassuna to Eridu and on to Hatra," [illegible] November 10, 1951, 762-765; November 17, 1951, 806-807, December 18, 1954, 1115-1117, December 25, 1954, 1160-1161.

[28] Cf. the publications cited in n. 26 and R. Ghirshman, *Iran. Parthes et Sassanides*. Paris 1962, J.M. Rosenfield, The dynastic Arts of the Kushans, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967, esp. 154ss.

[29] Cf. J.B. Ward-Perkins, "The Roman West and the Parthian East," *Proceedings of the British Academy* LI, 1965, 175-199, E. Will, "La Syrie romaine entre l'Occident gréco-romain et l'Orient parthe," *Huitième congrès intern. d'arch. class.* (Paris 1963), Paris 1965, 511s.

[30] [illegible] Homès-Fredericq, *Hatra et ses sculptures parthes*, Istanbul 1963, gives a catalogue of known sculptures which should be completed by later publications:

the nature and function of the buildings in the centre of the city which Andrae had believed was a royal palace. In fact the central complex within a walled rectangular area was now seen to consist of several temples where the most important deities of the city were worshipped. Although an official *final Report* of the excavations has not yet been published, so much is known from preliminary publications that a reliable sketch of Hatra's religion is now possible. Our sources are restricted to sculptures, reliefs, and somewhat stereotyped inscriptions; we have no more direct knowledge of myths and rituals[31]. In this respect the study of Hatrene religion is exactly comparable to that of nearly every Near Eastern religion during the Greco-Roman period, not least to the study of Mithraism in the Roman Empire.

The central temple complex at Hatra occupies a large area (*ca.* 437

Wathiq al-Salihi, *The sculptures of divinities from Hatra*, Diss. Princeton Univ. 1969, S. Downey, "Notes sur une stèle de Hatra," *Syria* 45, 1968, 105-109; *eadem*, *The Hercules Sculpture. The Excavations at Dura Europos, Final Report III, part 1, Fasc. 1*, New Haven 1969, 83-96. Heracles in the divine milieu of Hatra: *eadem*, "A Stele from Hatra," *Sumer*, 1974, 179-183, *eadem*, "A Goddess on a Lion from Hatra," 30, 1974, 175-178; Wathiq al-Salihi, "Hercules-Nergal at Hatra," *Iraq* 33, 1971, 113-115, *idem*, "Hercules-Nergal at Hatra (II)," *Iraq* 35, 1973, 65-68, J.M.C. Toynbee, "Some Problems of Romano-Parthian Sculpture at Hatra," *JRS* 1972, 106-110. the forewords of *Sumer* often mention important finds and sometimes give a picture of them. Wathiq al-Salihi, "Hatra. Aspects of Hatran Religion," *Sumer* 26, 1970, 187-193 also mentions unpublished sculptures for example of Heracles and Allat. Nearly all inscriptions were published for the first time by Fuad Safar in *Sumer* and afterwards republished by other scholars: nos. 1-27: Safar, *Sumer* 7, 1951, 170-184, republished by A. Caquot, *Syria* 29, 1952, 89-105; nos. 28-42: Safar, *Sumer* 8, 1952, 183-195, Caquot, *Syria* 30, 1953, 234-244, nos. 1-42 together Safar, *Sumer* 9, 1953, 7-20, nos. 43-57: Safar, *Sumer* 9, 1953, 240, 249, Caquot, *Syria* 32, 1955, 49-58, nos. 58-78: Safar, *Sumer* 11, 1955, 3-14, Caquot, *Syria* 32, 1955, 261-271, nos. 79-105: Safar, *Sumer* 17, 1961, 9-35, Caquot, *Syria* 40, 1963, 1-11, nos. 106-206: Safar, *Sumer* 18, 1962, 21-64, Caquot, *Syria* 41, 1964, 251-272; nos. 207-213: J. Teixidor, *Sumer* 20, 1964, 77-80; nos. 214-230: Safar, *Sumer* 21, 1965, 31-43, H. Degen, *WO* 5, 1970, 222-233, nos. 231-280: Safar, *Sumer* 24, 1968, 3-32, H. Degen, *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 23, Leiden 1975, 402-422; nos. 281-292: Safar, *Sumer*, 27, 1971, 3-14, nos. 293-294: Wathiq al-Salihi, "Hatra-Excavations in Group of Tombs 1970-1971. Preliminary Report," *Sumer* 28, 1972, 17-20, nos. 295-335: Wathiq al-Salihi, *Sumer* 31, 1975, 171-188. See further: B. Aggoula, "Remarques sur les inscriptions hatréennes," *Berytus* 18, 1969, 85-104, *idem*, "Remarques sur les inscriptions hatréennes II," *MUSJ* 47, 1972, 3-80, *idem*, "Remarques sur les inscriptions hatréennes III", Syria 52, 1975, 181-206. F. Safar-M.A. Mustafa, *Hatra. The City of the Sun God*, Bagdad 1974 (in arabic) gives a summary of the results of the excavations until then, and has good photographs besides.

[31] The frescoes published by Hafidh al-Dumubi, "Ritual Scenes in the Fifth Temple at Hatra," *Sumer* 26, 1970, 143-162, however, may yield important information for the knowledge of temple ritual.

by 322 metres) and is divided by a wall into two parts, a western court and an eastern court. In the western court the temples are constructed in the form of two *īwāns* with smaller *īwāns* on both sides. At the northern end of this complex two other *īwāns* were added to the previously existing ones. At the rear of the southern *īwān* there is a rectangular temple which several scholars have identified as a fire temple (*vid. supr.* p. 153). The so-called hellenistic temple is situated in the eastern court, now completely reconstructed by the Iraq Antiquities Department[32]. All the inscriptions indicate that the great *īwāns* form a temple dedicated to the so-called triad of Hatra, consisting of Marên ('our Lord'), Martên ('our Lady'), and Bar-Marên ('the Son of our Lords', that is of Marên and Martên)[33]. The building of this temple complex was begun in the beginning of the second century A.C. and undoubtedly continued over a long time. The rectangular temple in the rear of the southern *īwān* was built by king Sanatruq I who was already reigning at Hatra by the year 176/77 A.C.[34]. This temple was dedicated to one god alone, Šamš. According to all evidence Šamš, the sun-god, was the most important god of Hatra. Dio Cassius (*Hist.* 68,31; 76,11-13) explicitly mentions the cult of the sun-god of Hatra and praises the richness of his temple (*id.* 66,10)[35]. Coins from Hatra bear the legend *ḥṭr' dšmš* ('sacred area of Šamš') from which the origin of the city's name derives[36]. One of two inscriptions written in the typical cursive Hatrene script and found at Dura Europos contains a dedication to Šamš and deals with an offering of hundred denars by a certain Malkion[37]. As has already been mentioned, a triad coexisted with Šamš in the

[32] Cf. Foreword, *Sumer* 17, 1961, [illegible]1. Foreword, *Sumer* 21, 1965, 7 and [illegible]. 7, 8 in the Arabic part; J. Kruniè, "Hatra: l'architecture des temples au centre de la ville, questions relatives à leur reconstitution," *RA*, 1964, 15-19.

[33] Cf. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux*, 334ss.; A. Caquot, *Syria* 29, 1952, 114ss.; Ingholt, *Parthian Sculptures*, 27ss.; Aggoula, *Berytus*, 18, 1969, 101s.; Wathiq al-Salihi, *The Sculptures of Divinities*, 116ss.; all these scholars have different opinions on the identity of the members of the triad.

[34] According to inscriptions 79, 82 and 199; cf. Safar, *Sumer* 24, 1968, 7. For a different opinion: Aggoula, *MUSJ* 47, 1972, 56ss.; Milik, *Dédicaces*, 362.

[35] Cf. Caquot, *Syria* 29, 1952, 114s.; Wathiq al-Salihi, *The Sculptures of Divinities*, 121, and *Testimonium* 41.

[36] J. Walker, "The Coins of Hatra," *Num. Chron.* [illegible], 1958, 167-172; cf. Caquot, *Syria* 29, 1952, 114; Milik, *Dédicaces*, 362.

[37] Cf. Caquot, *Syria* 30, 1953, 245-246; Ingholt, *YCS* 14, 1955, 131-137; Milik, *Dédicaces*, 333; *cf.* J. Naveh, "Remarks on Two East Aramaic Inscriptions", *BASOR* 216, Dec. 1974, 9-11.

central temple complex, a fact which implies that together they occupied the central place in Hatra's religion. As we shall see, however, the exact identity of the members of the triad and its relation to the cult of Šamš remain uncertain. The attested inscriptions and the iconography of the Hatrene sculptures have led to differing opinions on this subject and the whole question now requires thorough reexamination[38].

Three hundred and thirty-five inscriptions have so far been published and many more still await publication. The character of these inscriptions is for the most part somewhat stereotyped and follows the form of *memento*-texts: 'Let N.N. be remembered before the god(s).' Building-inscriptions have also been found mentioning architectural constructions; other texts accompany statues of royalty, priests, and nobles; some mention gifts to the temple and others contain titles of civil and religious functionaries. As a whole, however, though they comprise the only written sources on Hatra's social and religious life, they yield regrettably scant information. In eight inscriptions the triad occurs alone, as is the case in one inscription in Hatrene script found at Dura Europos[39]. Three of these texts were excavated in the smaller temples outside the central complex; three others are from the central temple (nos. 89, 235, 281) and two from the so-called hellenistic temple in the east court of the central complex near the *propylaea* leading to the temples of the west court[40]. In eight more inscriptions the triad is mentioned together with other deities, for example, Ba'al-shamēn, Atargatis, Allāt, and Shahiru. Of these inscriptions five come from different temples, the remaining three from the central temple complex[41]. Marēn is frequently invoked alone; the majority of these inscriptions come from the central temple complex, especially from its southern *īwān*, implying that this part of the great temple was especially devoted to the cult of Marēn. The evidence of the hellenistic temple suggests a similar situation. Eighteen inscriptions from this sanctuary are now available of which thirteen are invocations of Marēn, one mentions '*lh*' 'the god', undoubtedly Marēn, three are

[38] Cf. the authors cited at n. 35 and J. Hoftijzer, *Religio Aramaica*, Leiden, 1968, 52ss.

[39] Cf. du Mesnil du Buisson, *Inventaire des inscriptions palmyréniennes de Doura-Europos*, Paris 1939, 38s.; Caquot, *Syria* 30, 1953, 244-245, Milik, *Dédicaces*, 334ss.

[40] Inscriptions nos. 26, 90, 93 are from smaller temples, nos. 160 and 173 are from the hellenistic temple; for the hellenistic temple *vide Sumer* 21, 1965, 7.

[41] Inscription no. 25 is from the Ba'alshamēn temple, nos. 29 and 30 from temple 4; no. [illegible] from temple 3, nos. 74, 75 and 82 from the central temple and 151 from the hellenistic temple.

invocations of the triad, and one is a *memento*-text to Marên *nśr'* 'Our Lord, the Eagle.' Marên thus also held a dominant position in this temple which was most probably dedicated to him[42].

Like Marên, Bar-Marên is mostly invoked alone; we possess nineteen inscriptions dedicated to him or mentioning special cultic functionaries of his temple. Most of the inscriptions of Bar-Marên come from the northern *liwân* of the central complex which was most probably designated for the practice of his cult[43]. In sharp contrast to the numerous inscriptions dedicated to Marên and Bar-Marên there is only one which mentions Martên (no. 138), a graffito from *liwân* 7 with the reading *mrtn*, namely Martên, 'Our Lady.' It is thus likely that Marên and Bar-Marên are by far the most important deities of the Hatrene pantheon and that Martên in comparison with them was but a relatively shadowy goddess.

There are two inscriptions that call Bar-Marên son of Šamš. Inscription no. 107 is the first:

'n' ... br 'bygd br	I, ... son of Abigad son of
gdy br 'bygd br kby dy	Gaddai son of Abigad son of Kabbai, who
nn bny rpšmš 'drvt	belong to the B'nê R'phašamš helped
šmš 'lh' rb' 'bd	Šamš, the great god, the benefactor
bt' byt hdy' 'lv' dy	with the elevated house of joy of
sgyl hykl' rb' dy bn'	S'gyl, the great temple, which has built
brmryn šmš 'bwhy 'l	Bar-Marên for Šamš, his father for
hyy w'l hyy nn dy rhym ly klh	my well-being and for the well-being of everyone who is my friend[44].

This inscription was found in room 4 of the central temple complex north of the southern *liwân*. For the purposes of the present article

[42] Nos. 147, 149, 152, 154, 159, 161, 167, 171, 174, 175, 178, 181, and 184 invoke Marên; 169 mentions '*lh'* = the god; 155 is a *memento*-text to Marên *nśr'*.

[43] Cf. Safar, *Sumer* 21, 1965, 31 n.; Wathiq al-Salihi, *The Sculptures of Deities*, 8; the southern *liwân* is likely to be of an earlier date than the northern *liwân*; its construction already started in the beginning of the second century A.C., cf. Aggoula, *MUSJ* 47, 1972, 55ss.

[44] I follow Milik's reading, cf. *Dédicaces faites par des dieux*, 377-379; 386-388; 392-394, for a discussion of the problems connected with this inscription; cf. Aggoula, *Berytus* 18, 1969, 97ss.; R. Degen, "New Inscriptions from Hatra (231-280)," *JEOL* 23, 1975, 409, for a discussion of the word *zgyl* in l.6.

the many problems presented by this text do not require detailed discussion. It is clear that Bar-Marên is called son of Šamš who is also identified with Marên. Bar-Marên has something to do with building activities, a fact which can explain his close ties with sculptors and architects in other inscriptions. The name of the great temple of Šamš was perhaps *sgyl*, a word whose etymology is unclear, but which is perhaps a reminiscence of *esangila*, the great temple of Marduk at Babylon[45]. It is also noteworthy that this inscription connects the great temple with Šamš and Bar-Marên, but does not mention the triad.

Inscription no. 280 was found on the east wall of a room situated near the entrance of the great temple. It is written in black ink; to the right of it is a drawing of a so-called *semeion*, a banner, consisting of four medallions with eagles and on top a sun-disc[46].

smy' dy hny 'qlt'	Banner of the followers
dy brmryn br šmš	of Bar-Marên, the son of Šamš
'lh'	the god.

The expression which is translated here as 'followers,' derived from the Greek ἀκόλουθος, may be the name of a tribe or clan; in all likelihood it designates a religious association having special links with Bar-Marên.

From these two inscriptions we may conclude that Marên is Šamš and Bar-Marên his son. There are, however, two other inscriptions which draw a clear distinction between Marên and Šamš. The first (no. 74) is a graffito on a marble slab of the pavement of the southern *liwân* in the central complex. Most probably the first two attested lines form the end of the text. The continuation of the inscription reads as follows:

[45] The word *sgyl* or *sgl* with a defective writing occurs in inscriptions nos 202, 225, 240, 244, 245, 246, and 107; Degen, *JEOL* 23, 1975, 409, considers *sgyl* to be the name of the great temple in Hatra. Aggoula, *Berytus* 1969, 98: "SGYL désigne une partie de la construction", *MUSJ* 1972, 40, gives the meaning 'théâtre' and promises p. 14, n. 2 a forthcoming study on *sgyl*. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux*, 386 connects *sgyl* or *sgwl* with the Akkadian word *sagullu* (= herd) and the Hebrew *segullah* (= property); *sgyl* as a name of the great temple or a building construction is the best explanation: for *esangila* vide E. Dhorme, *Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie*, Paris 1949, 140; cf. A.R. Millard, *JSS* 21, 1976, 174ss., who draws attention to the occurrence of this term in an Aramaic inscription from the oasis Teima in North Arabia.

[46] Cf. Aggoula, *MUSJ* 1972, 26ss., Degen, *JEOL* 23, 1975, 422, for the *semeion* vide Caquot, "Note sur le *Semeion* et les inscriptions araméennes de Hatra," *Syria* 32, 1955, 59-69; S. Downey, "A preliminary Corpus of the Standards of Hatra," *Sumer* 26, 1970, 195-225; Milik, *Dédicaces*, 407ss.

3 *dkyr nšry lṭb wlšnpyt*	May NŠRY be remembered for well and good
qdm mrn nšrh w šmš	before Marēn, the Eagle, and Šamš
wmr'th wbrh wsmyt'	and his lady and his son and the banners
kwlhwn.....	all..... (etc.)[47].

A clear distinction is thus made between a god Marēn *nšr'* 'Our Lord, the Eagle', and Šamš, the Marēn of the triad. It is also remarkable that inscription no. 82, a building inscription from the southern *liwān* dated 177/78 A.C. and mentioning Sanatruq I, makes the same distinction between Šamš the sun-god and the Marēn of the triad:

..... *šnt 488*	..... in the year 488 (177/78 A.C.)
..... *snṭrwq mlk'*	(has built?) Sanatruq, the king
..... *šmš 'lh'*	(...servant of?) Šamš the god
... *nṣrw mry' lmrn wmrtn*	(the great, son of?) Naṣru the lord for Marēn and Martēn
wbrmryn 'lt wsmyt'	and Bar-Marēn, Allāt and the banners[48].

Regardless of all proposed emendations of this text, one conclusion at least is clear, that on the one hand Šamš is mentioned as a single, individual god, and, on the other, this same god is called Marēn when he functions as a member of the triad. In inscription no. 74 a god Marēn *nšr'*, 'Our Lord, the Eagle,' is invoked, followed by Šamš who is thus evidently distinguished from the eagle-god. After Šamš the inscription then invokes his lady and his son, not Martēn and Bar-Marēn, which would be expected to follow an invocation of Marēn. That is also a clear indication of a 'functional' distinction between Šamš, the sun-god, and Marēn, the first member of the triad.

Four other inscriptions speak of Marēn *nšr'* ("Our Lord, the Eagle"). Inscription no. 79 found in front of sanctuary II originally belonged to a statue of king Sanatruq II, the last king of Hatra. It was offered to him by friends on the occasion of his birthday. In this inscription the donors either express their special reverence for Marēn *nšr'* or

[47] For a detailed discussion of this inscription *vide* Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux*, 401-404.

[48] *Ibid.*, 360ss.; Aggoula, *MUSJ* 1972, 37ss.

invoke him[49]. Inscription no. 88 is a memento-text, *qdm mrn nšr'* ('before our Lord, the Eagle'), similar to inscription no. 155 from the hellenistic temple. Inscription no. 232 is a collection of five texts inscribed on a small fire-altar; one of them reads as follows:

mrn nšr'	Our Lord, the Eagle,
šḥqth	You have smiled (?)
mn byth	from your temple (house)
lmn dlṭrh	on him who will watch over it[50].

Some conclusions can be drawn from these inscriptions, but certain problems are posed by them which require discussion. In the first place it is clear that the god Marēn, Our Lord, the first member of the triad, is Šamš, the sun god, who, like Bar-Marēn, his son, is also venerated apart from the triad. When the sun god is considered primarily as a member of the triad he is called Marēn; when he is invoked as an individual deity his traditional name Šamš is used. In all likelihood therefore the central temple complex was built for the cult of Šamš and his son as the most important gods of Hatra. Inscription no. 74 (*vid. supra* p. 162) is the only instance of a text that makes a distinction between Marēn *nšr'* ('Our Lord the Eagle') and Šamš. The great majority of the texts mentions Marēn and a few speak of Marēn *nšr'* ('Our Lord the Eagle'). It is thus unclear whether Marēn designates the sun god Šamš or the Eagle-god; exact interpretation is impossible since the whole context of the relevant inscription is in most cases unknown. It is tempting to resolve the problem by positing an identity between Šamš, Marēn, and the Eagle-god, as F. Cumont would have done. In Cumont's opinion the eagle is the bird of the sun and symbolises the sun, especially in Syrian cults[51]. According to Cumont these cults underwent a solarisation in Greco-Roman times, so that the sun is the nucleus of their theology and cult[52] which facilitates their assimilation with the Persian Mithra. This view of the

[49] Cf. Caquot, *Syria* 40, 1963, 2ss.; Aggoula, *MUSJ* 1972, 30ss.; the interpretation of this inscription depends on the meaning of *b* in *bmrn* in l.9; Caquot *et alii* consider *bmrn* to be an invocation of Marēn; Aggoula connects the preposition *b* with a verb *'hd* which he reconstructs in l.7, in this reconstruction he is not to be followed.

[50] Cf. Degen, *JEOL* 23, 1975, 404ss., whose reading I follow; Aggoula's interpretation, *MUSJ* 1972, 10ss. is completely wrong.

[51] F. Cumont, "L'aigle funéraire d'Hiérapolis et l'apothéose des empereurs," *Études syriennes*, Paris 1917, 35-118; *idem*, *Lux perpetua*, Paris 1949, 294ss.

[52] F. Cumont, "La théologie solaire du paganisme romain," *Mém. prés. par divers savants* XII, IIe partie, Paris 1913, 447-479.

Syrian cults must now be rejected in light of Henri Seyrig's thorough investigation of solar cults in Syria[53]. Seyrig has argued convincingly that solar cults in Syria are traditional and for the most part derived from the semi-nomad Arabic population of the Syrian desert. The Syrian Zeus is the ancient god of thunderstorms and rain — Hadad, Ba'alshamên, Teŝub—and gradually develops the functions of a cosmic deity whose power manifests itself in sun, moon, and stars. As such his primary manifestation is the sun which, however, by itself is never identified directly with this cosmic deity. The eagle is not the bird of the sun, but symbolises the cosmic deity and as such represents, for example, the Palmyrene gods Bêl and Ba'alshamên[54]. Both gods are escorted by sun and moon, especially in their iconography, but the sun is never unambiguously symbolised by the eagle. Some few instances which might appear to suggest the contrary can be interpreted otherwise[55]. In accordance with this general Syrian practice Šamš and the Eagle-god or, in other words, the Marên of the triad and Marên *nšr'*, are thus identifiable as two distinct deities in Hatra's pantheon. The first is the traditional Arab sun god, the second the god of heaven, giver of rain and fertility. Such a conclusion is completely congruent with literary sources which discuss Arab cults. Aristobulos, one of the companions of Alexander the Great, reports that the Arabs venerate only two gods, Heaven and Dionysos, as well the visible heaven and its celestial bodies and especially the sun[56]. A similar account is attested from written reports of the pagan religion of Edessa in North Mesopotamia. In a long sermon from the *Doctrina Addai* a legendary record of the beginnings of Christianity in Edessa[57]—the apostle Addai attacks the pagan gods venerated in that city: "Who is this Nebo, an idol made by human hands, that you worship? And Bêl whom you honour? Behold, there are among you which worship Bat-Nikkal, like the

[53] H. Seyrig, "Le culte du soleil en Syrie à l'époque romaine," *Syria* 48, 1971, 337-373.

[54] Cf. H. Seyrig, "Bêl de Palmyre," *Syria* 48, 1971, 111.

[55] Cf. H. Seyrig, "Le culte du soleil," 371ss.

[56] Aristob., F 55, 20 (Jacoby II, 3.1) = Arrian., *Anab.*, VII, 20.1; Aristob., F. 56, 11 (Jacoby II, 3.1) = Strabo, XVI, 1.11; cf. Seyrig, "Le culte du soleil," 342; M. Höpfner in: H. Gese-M. Höpfner-K. Rudolph, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer*, Stuttgart 1970, 279, reluctantly identifies a deity *Nsr* (= eagle) with a sun god, one example of many who consider the eagle as the bird of the sun, all due to Cumont's scientific influence.

[57] Cf. H.J.W. Drijvers, "Edessa und das jüdische Christentum," *VigChr.* 24, 1970, 4-33; W. Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum*, Tübingen 1934, 6ff.

inhabitants of Harran, your neighbours, and Tar'ata, like the people of Mabbug [= Hierapolis], and the Eagle, like the Arabs: the Sun and the Moon too, like others, who are like you...[58]." Strong Arab influence on the population and culture of Edessa is also evident: the dynasty characteristically bears Arab personal names and has strong ties with the desert people, for example, at Sumatar Harabesi and the ruler of Arab (*šlyt' d'rb*) who resided there[59]. Likewise the sun was worshipped at Edessa with a temple near the southern city gate which was called 'the gate of the temple of the sun' (*byt šmš*). We may assume that at Hatra, as at Edessa, Šamš and the Eagle are two distinct deities, although both are called Marēn. Along with the god of Heaven Aristobulos mentions Dionysos. The iconography of Hatrene religion may elucidate this reference: a bronze head of Bacchus-Dionysos was found at the excavation, decorated with vine-tendrils and grapes and the inscription on its neck is a dedication to Bar-Marēn (inscription no. 222)[60]. The dedication to Bar-Marēn seems to identify this god with Bacchus-Dionysos[61]. In addition this head has been found in front of the northern *īwān* of the central complex, assigned to Bar-Marēn. This evidence suggests that at Hatra Bar-Marēn is a deity comparable to Dusares, the god of the Nabataeans, who was also identified with Dionysos[62]. He is a "dieu-fils" with special authority over vegetation, fertility, and cattle, and connected with particular professions, for example, those of architects and sculptors who receive their instruction from Bar-Marēn through dreams[63]. The functions of this deity can be compared with those of Nebo and the young god Hermes at

[58] *The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle*, ed. G. Phillips, London 1876, 23f. (transl.), 24, 1.15ff. (text), cf. C. Winckworth, "On heathen deities in the Doctrine of Addai," *JTHS* 25, 1924, 402ff.; Drijvers, "Die Götter Edessas," *Festschrift F. K. Dörner*, *EPRO*, Leiden 1976, 263-283.

[59] Cf. J.B. Segal, "Anat. Studies III," 1953, 106f.; Drijvers, "Some new Syriac inscriptions and archaeological finds from Edessa and Sumatar Harabesi," *BSOAS* 36, 1973, 11s.; the alleged connections between Sumatar Harabesi near Edessa and Hatra, as stated by Aggoula, *MUSJ* 1972, 33ss., are very unlikely. I shall deal this and other problems in a forthcoming monograph on the religions of Edessa.

[60] Safar, *Sumer* 23, 1967, pl. and *Sumer* 21, 1965, 38 and Pl. III; cf. Aggoula *MUSJ* 1972, 43s., who mentions an unpublished coin which represents Bar-Marēn as Dionysos.

[61] Wathiq al-Salihi, *The Sculptures of Divinities*, 146s., however, denies any connection between the mask and Bar-Marēn, whom he wrongly identifies with Šm.

[62] Cf. D. Sourdel, *Les cultes du Hauran à l'époque romaine*, Paris 1952, 59ss.; *Wörterbuch d. Mythologie* I, cf. H.W. Haussig, Stuttgart 1965, 433ss.

[63] Inscription no. 106; cf. Caquot, *Syria* 41, 1964, 252; Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux*, 388-391.

Baalbek-Heliopolis[64]. We do not know his actual name, but his character is generally clear: when Bar-Marên appears as a member of the triad he is represented with a radiate halo around his head and a crescent behind his shoulders, that is, as the son of sun and moon[65].

The most important deities of Hatra's pantheon are thus Šamš, the sun god, the Eagle-god, who is the god of heaven, and Bar-Marên, the young god assimilated to Dionysos. Such a conclusion is in complete accordance with the description of the religion of the Arabs given by Aristobulos and our other sources for the knowledge of their cults. In comparison with these deities and the conceptions connected with them the formation of the triad as an astrological entity is secondary and must be ascribed to the second century A.C., the date of the building of the temple. The central complex was built for Šamš and Bar-Marên and not for the triad as such; Marên *nšr'* had a temple of his own and the goddess Martên was in all probability a moon goddess whose character and personality were but vaguely defined. In one sculpture she is represented with two bearded snakes rising from her shoulders[66]. Compared with such other female deities as the Arab goddess Allât and the Syrian Atargatis, Martên is of minor importance at Hatra. This relationship provides a further indication of the artificial character of the triad, whereas Šamš and Bar-Marên are indigenous gods with a cult of their own. It is difficult to establish the influence under which the triad was formed. Baalbek and its triad, or Babylon, are plausible starting-points for the stimulus for the formation of the triad. In any case the formation of triads with astrological significance was a common enough practice in Syria and Mesopotamia during the first centuries A.C.[67].

[64] cf. H. Seyrig, *Syria* 31, 1954, 86s.; *Syria* 37, 1960, 248s.; *Syria* 39, 1962, 211; *Syria* 40, 1963, 25-30; *idem*, "La triade héliopolitaine les temples de Baalbek," *Syria* 10, 1929, 314-356; "Nouveaux monuments de Baalbek et de la Beqaa," *BMB* 16, 1961, 109-135; "Bas-relief de la triade de Baalbek trouvé à Faeidiq," *BMB* 12, 1955, 25-28; S. Ronzevalle, "Jupiter Heliopolitain Nova et Veteri," *MUSJ* 21, 1937; R. Dussaud, "Temples et cultes de la triade héliopolitaine," *Syria* 23, 1942, 33-77.

[65] Cf. the plates nos. 52, 54, 99 in Wathiq al-Salihi, *The Sculptures of Divinities*.

[66] Cf. Wathiq al-Salihi, *The Sculptures of Divinities*, 125, cf. the moon goddess from Hatra in Berlin, K. Brisch, "Das parthische Relief mit dem Sonnengott aus Hatra," *Jahrbuch preussischer Kulturbesitz*, 1967, fig. 56; in Assur, Nanai is called Martên, cf. Malik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux*, 347; the goddess Artemis in Ephesos is called Martên in the Syriac *Acts of John*, ed. W. Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, London 1871.

[67] Cf. Seyrig, "Bêl de Palmyre," *Syria* 48, 1971, 97-100.

The predominantly Arab character of the Hatrene religion and cults is evident from the preceding discussions. Moreover there may have been a 'theological' influence from Babylon or from the West-Semitic area which expressed itself in the formation of the triad. Indigenous Mesopotamian gods were also worshipped at Hatra, especially Nergal to whom a special temple was dedicated[68]. In the religious iconography strong influence from Mesopotamian traditions can be detected, for example, in the winged deities that continue an iconographical tradition originating in the land between the two rivers. Deities from the West Semitic area like Atargatis, the Dea Syra from Hierapolis, and Ba'alshamén, the Lord of Heaven, were worshipped at Hatra and had temples of their own[69]. Ba'alshamén was called the great god, creator of the earth and was probably designated by the title *Mar'lahê* ('Lord of the Gods'), similarly attested at Palmyra[70]. The religion of Hatra must be considered a continuation of ancient Mesopotamian cults closely connected with the religious tradition of the desert-dwelling Arabs and containing an admixture of certain West Semitic elements. Exactly the same characteristics can be detected in the religion of Palmyra, Dura Europos, and Edessa, other cities of the same region which flourished in the same period as Hatra and open to the same cultural and religious influences[71]. How strong this indigenous religious tradition was can be understood from a Latin inscription found at Hatra and dating from after 238 A.C. It is a dedication to *Deo Soli Invicto* later characterised in the same inscription as *Religio*

[68] Shrine 10 was dedicated to Nergal, from which the inscriptions nos. 67-73 come; cf. Caquot, *Syria* 32, 1955, 263-269, cf. Wathiq al-Salihi, "Hercules-Nergal at Hatra," *Iraq* 33, 1971, 113-115; S. Downey, "A New Relief of Nergal from Hatra," *Sumer* 26, 1970, 227-229, Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux*, 166ss.

[69] Cf. the inscriptions 14-27, A. Caquot, *Syria* 30, 1952, 97-105 and the inscriptions 48-52, Caquot, *Syria* 32, 1955, 53s., Drijvers, "Monotheismus und Polytheismus in der haträtischen Religion," in: C. J. Bleeker-G. Widengren-E. J. Sharpe (eds), *Proceedings of the XIIth International Congress of the IAHR, Suppl. Numen* XXXI, Leiden 1975, 240-249.

[70] According to the Hatrene inscription from al-Sa'adiyé, cf. Caquot, *Syria* 40, 1963, 12-14; Teixidor, *Syria* 41, 1964, 273-279, Milik, *Dédicaces*, 400; cf. M. Gawlikowski, "Nouvelles inscriptions du Camp de Dioclétien," *Syria* 47, 1970, 316ss. for the 'Lord of the Gods' (= Ba'alshamén) at Palmyra.

[71] Cf. C. B. Welles, "The Gods of Dura-Europos," *Festschrift F. Altheim*, Berlin 1970, 50-65, H. Seyrig, "Remarques sur la civilisation de Palmyre," *Syria* 21, 1940, 328-337; Drijvers, "Die Götter Edessas," *Festschrift F. K. Dörner*, *EPRO*, Leiden 1976, 263-283.

Loci, namely, Šamš, the most outstanding god of Hatra[72]. No single trace of Iranian or Parthian influence on the religion of Hatra can be found. There are no Iranian deities attested at Hatra, Palmyra, or Dura Europos apart from the Mithraeum, or in Edessa.

This summary offers a background of prevailing traditions in whose context the remaining religious monuments from Hatra should be interpreted. We have already remarked (p. 153) that some monuments of Hatrene religious iconography have been considered in relation to the cult of Mithra, in particular the symbols on the lintel of the rectangular temple of Šamš (Fig. 1), part of which is now in the Museum for Islamic Art in Berlin[73]. The whole lintel is divided into three parts, a central one flanked on both sides by an identical scene. At the centre of the middle part of a bust of Šamš, the sun god to whom the temple was dedicated. He is flanked by two standing eagles with their heads turned towards him. The eagles are the birds of the heavenly vault. Next to the right-hand eagle a bull's head is flanked by a griffin with right paw uplifted and turned towards the bull's head. To the left is a Medusa, a *gorgoneion*, similarly flanked by a griffin. Both ends of the lintel show the same *gorgoneion* flanked by two griffins. The combination of a bust of Šamš with two eagles is clear: it is the sun god supported by the heavenly vault symbolised by the eagles. The relation of a bull's head, a so-called *bukranion*, and the *gorgoneion* to the sun god, however, requires explanation. The bull is usually the animal that represents the heaven and as such is the symbol of heavenly deities like Hadad, Ba'alshamên, Jupiter Heliopolitanus, and Tešub[74]. In Mesopotamia also the bull is a symbol for the deity

[72] Cf. D. Oates, "A Note on three Latin Inscriptions from Hatra," *Sumer* 11, 1955, 39-43; A. Maricq, "Les dernières années de Hatra: l'alliance romaine," *Syria* 34, 1957, 288-296; Caquot, *Syria* 32, 1955, 272; Milik, *Biblica* 1, 357.

[73] K. Brisch, "Das parthische Relief mit dem Sonnengott aus Hatra," *Jahrb. preussischer Kulturbesitz* 1967, 237-249; cf. H. Seyrig, "Genneas et les dieux cavaliers en Syrie," *Syria* 26, 1949, 232, n. 10 for all the literature on this lintel. F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, Paris 1926, 231s. gave an eschatological interpretation of the scenes on this lintel.

[74] Cf. *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* I, 209 for Tešub. Hadad is called *rimu qarnu* = horned bull or *rimu rabû ša šamê u erseti* (= tall bull of heaven and earth); cf. *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, 255, 264, for Jupiter Heliopolitanus *vide*: O. Eissfeldt, "Tempel und Kulte syrischer Städte in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit," *AO* 40, 1941, Pl. V, 1; Seyrig, *Syria* 1929, Pl. LXXXIII, 1, for Ba'alshamên, e.g., a relief from Dura Europos, A. Perkins, *The Art of Dura-Europos*, Oxford 1973, 98, and Pl. 38; R. Collart-J. Vicari, *Le sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre I*, Rome 1969, 210s. and Pl. CIII, 5.

Iškur Hadad who is called "bull", "large bull", or "bull of heaven[75]." The *gorgoneion* is known mainly from the Greco-Roman world where this terrifying head has infernal characteristics and usually belongs to the underworld, the region in which the three Gorgons live[76]. The *gorgoneion* on the left of the sun god possibly represents the underworld since it occupies a position opposite the bull of heaven. In that case the whole central scene is a cosmological representation of the sun between heaven and underworld. This view is in complete accordance with the symbolical meaning of the griffin which in the Mesopotamian area belongs both to Hadad and to Nergal, the deity of the underworld[77]. A terrifying composite animal, the griffin can function in a wide variety of symbolic representations as the Mesopotamian iconography demonstrates. It has both a protecting and an apotropaic function and sometimes serves as the riding-animal of a god. Several of these functions are combined, for example, when griffins draw the chariot of the Palmyrene god Malakbêl in his function as sun-god in the reliefs on two well-known altars of the god[78]. Other reliefs, fragments of a cult-niche, represent Malakbêl flanked by two griffins with their right paws uplifted[79]. In summary, then, all elements of the central part of this lintel have a symbolic cosmological function and represent together the sun god as the central figure between heaven and underworld, namely, the two extremes of the sun's daily journey. Indeed, the fact that *gorgoneion* and *bukranion* are brought into so close a relation with the sun god while the griffins have their place only at the extremities, may indicate that sun god, *bukranion*, and *gorgoneion* belong together and represent a coherent symbolical theme.

Jupiter Dolichenus also has the bull as symbol, cf. P. Merlat, *Jupiter Dolichenus*, Paris 1960, 54ss. on Jupiter Dolichenus and related heavenly deities.

[75] Cf. *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* I, 79 s.v. 'Himmelsstier.'

[76] Cf. P. Grimal, *Dictionnaire de la mythologie grecque et romaine*, Paris 1958, 168 s.v. "Gorgone." B. Goldman, "The Asiatic Ancestry of the Greek Gorgon", *Berytus* 14, 1961 - 63,1 - 23 and Cl. Hopkins, "The Sunny Side of the Greek Gorgon", *Berytus* 14, 1961 - 63,23 - 35 confirm the views expressed here.

[77] Cf. A. M. Bisi, "Il Grifone. Storia di un motivo iconografico nell'antico oriente mediterraneo," *Studi Semitici* 13, Roma 1965, 64ss.

[78] F. Cumont, "L'autel palmyrénien du musée du Capitole," *Syria* 9, 1928, 101-110, Pl. XXXVIII; J. Wais, *Studia Palmyreńskie* IV, Warszawa 1970, 24ss., fig. 19, II. Collart-J. Vicari, *Le sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre I*, 1969, 222ss.; II, Pl. LIX, 2; CVIII, 1; J. Wais, *Studia Palmyreńskie IV*, 1970, 34ss., fig. 27.

[79] Cf. H. Seyrig, *Syria* 22, 1941, 39–44, II. H. III; Collart-Vicari, *Le sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre I*, 168s.; II, Pl. XCIX, 2, 3; Morehart, *Berytus* 12, 1956-57, 64ss., fig. 18, 19.

The usual function of a *gorgoneion* in the Greco-Roman world is apotropaic and as such it occurs on sarcophagi and buildings of all kinds; it is also used as a powerful amulet. The griffin has the same protecting and apotropaic sense. Both Gorgon-heads at the ends of the lintel flanked by the two griffins can plausibly be thought to have this same apotropaic function, a function particularly understandable in the context of a temple[80].

In K. Brisch's opinion the griffin on the central part of the lintel is engaged in killing the bull. In that case we would be dealing with a kind of tauromachy or a mythical animal-struggle. The only support for this supposed tauromachy derives from the fact that the griffin is represented with its right paw uplifted, but this mythical animal is normally so represented, for example, on a altar from Nabataean Abda, on the plinths of cult-niches from Palmyra, and on another representation from Petra[81]. The more plausible conclusion is that the uplifting of a paw has no specific meaning in this context except to emphasize the general impression of protection.

So far all indications point towards an interpretation of this lintel in an almost purely Semitic context, mingled only with some syncretistic elements from the Greco-Roman world, a normal phenomenon in the iconography of Semitic religions at that period. Already in 1952 when the first inscriptions and sculptures from the Iraq excavations were published, A. Caquot was struck by "l'absence apparente de tout élément oriental, iranien. Nous sommes à Hatra dans un monde purement sémitique..."[82]. Until now this first impression is fully corroborated by all other finds of inscriptions and sculptures. Thus it is highly improbable that the sun god and the bull on the lintel of the Šamš—temple have anything to do with the cult of the Iranian Mithra. There is no reason to follow F. Safar[83] in calling those two northern parts of the central temple complex, which were perhaps later additions, a Mithraic shrine simply because they are decorated with bull's heads. These two *liwāns* may well have been dedicated to the cult of Hadad or Ba'alshamēn whose animal is also the bull.

The second monument supposedly associated with the cult of

[80] Cf. F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, Paris 1942, 228(5), 339.

[81] Cf. N. Glueck, *Deities and Dolphins*, London 1965, 20, Pl. 8, Pl. 167a, b; 226; cf. J. Leibovitch, "Le griffon dans le Moyen-Orient antique," *Atiqot* I, 1955, 75-88.

[82] Caquot, *Syria* 29, 1952, 118.

[83] F. Safar, *Sumer* 24, 1968, 5; *Sumer* 25, 1969, i-k.

Mithra is the so-called Nergal or Hades relief (Fig. 3) that shows scorpions, snakes, and dogs as the accompanying animals of the deity[84]. It comes from the small temple no. 1 discovered outside the central temple area during the first campaign in 1951 and published for the first time in the *Illustrated London News*[84a]. Since then several scholars have discussed the relief, but is has never been subjected to a special investigation[85].

It was originally embedded on the back wall of room 13 of this house-temple. Directly in front of it an altar was found with inscriptions that mention a man called KNZYW. On one side of the altar there appears the image of a god in relief with a long beard, abundant hair, clad in Iranian dress. In his right hand he holds above his head a double axe of a peculiar form and in his left hand two snakes[86]. We may assume, in view of the topological relation between relief and altar, that both represent the same god. Although some other solutions have been suggested, it is reasonably certain that the relief represents the god Nergal, whose name is attested in Hatrene inscriptions and to whom a temple was dedicated[87]. At Hatra the pertinent information is as follows: from temple 10 we have an inscription written along the border of a bronze plate: *NRGL klb'* ('Nergal the dog'); another possibility is understanding *klb'* not in apposition, but as the second part of a genitive construction which should be translated 'Nergal of the dog.' It is, however, more straightforward to interpret *klb'* as appositional to Nergal. Inscription no. 71 comes from the same temple, a *memento* -text written on an alabaster socle belonging originally to a Heracles statue and calling on *NRGWL klb'* (Nergōl the dog'). A small marble sculpture of a

[84] The best picture is in D. Schlumberger, *L'Orient hellénisé*, 140.

[84a] *ILN*, November 17, 1951, 807, fig. 11.; *Mithraic Studies* II, Pl. 4a.

[85] Cf. *Sumer* 8, 1952, 13-16; Ingholt, *Parthian Sculptures*, 32-33; Fukai, "The Artifacts of Hatra and Parthian Art," 136-159; Schlumberger, *L'Orient hellénisé*, 139; Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux*, 165ss.

[86] Cf. Caquot, *Syria* 29, 1952, inscriptions 6-9, 93s.; *ILN*, November 17, 1951, fig. 10; Ingholt, *Parthian Sculptures*, 15-17 and Pl. III, 3; cf. J.T. Milik, *Syria* 44, 1967, 297-299; Aggoula, *MUSJ* 47, 1972, 68ss. and 74ss., denies the religious character of room 13 and considers it a shop, wrongly, in my opinion, for the interpretation of the relief and the altar, however, it does not make any difference.

[87] A. Caquot considered the god as Hadad, *Syria* 29, 1952, 115f., like Safar, *Sumer* 8, 1952, 15; shrine 10 was dedicated to Nergal, the inscriptions 67-73 are from there; perhaps shrine 8 and 9 were dedicated to Nergal too, cf. inscriptions 60 and 214 and Milik, *Dédicaces*, 167; Aggoula, *MUSJ* 1972, 68ss.

recumbent dog found in the same temple bears the following text on the socle: *tlrt klbn* '[illegible]' *šdrm dy 'bdytyh lš(drp'?)*—'three dogs that I Šad-ram made for Šadrafa (?)' (or: 'for the lady'?)[88]. On the lid of a marble cult chest from the same shrine three dogs are sculptured. The accompanying inscription is not complete: the only legible words are... "*bd INRGL*...'—'...has made for Nergal[89].' A sculptured incense altar from this shrine bears a representation of a male bearded deity with long hair, comparable to the deity on the altar from shrine 1. In his right hand he bears a double axe and in his left hand he holds a rope connected to an animal, most probably a dog. The three other sides of this altar bear images of dogs. A remarkable feature of this piece is that the deity is nearly nude, except for a *chlamys* over his shoulders. Nudity is characteristic of Heracles-sculptures found in great quantity in the same shrine. The deity on this altar wears jewelry otherwise worn only by Heracles[90]. The conclusion is obvious that in Hatra Nergal was identified with Heracles, a syncretism that is confirmed by another fact: in the North gate of the city a large Heracles statue was found in a cult-niche in which an inscription mentions the god Nergal[91]. This inscription gives Nergal the epithet *dlšpt'* which also occurs in other inscriptions (nos. 81, 145, 279, inscription of Sa'diya), and can be translated 'chief of the guard(s)'[92]. It is also noteworthy that in Nineveh the North gate was called the Nergal-gate, because Nergal functioned as guardian of this gate and kept off the evil powers that, according to traditional belief, used to come from the North.

The lintel of the entrance of shrine 9 is inscribed with a text

[88] Inscription no. 72; the reading *šdrp'* was suggested by Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux*, 166 and would be of interest in regard of a possible syncretism between Nergal and Shadrafa.

[89] Inscription no. 73; it is noteworthy that most of the cult banks from Hatra are decorated with representations of Hercules or scenes connected with this deity which was identified with Nergal; cf. S. Downey, "Cult Banks from Hatra," *Berytus* 16, 1966, 97-109.

[90] This incense altar was published by Wathiq al-Salihi, "Hercules-Nergal at Hatra," *Iraq* 33, 1971, 113-115, who, however, calls it a miniature column, and by S. Downey, "A New Relief of Nergal from Hatra," *Sumer* 26, 1970, 227-229, for the jewelry *vide* S. Downey, "The Jewelry of Hercules at Hatra," *AJA* 72, 1968, 211-217; "Addendum," *AJA* 76, 1972, 77-78, for a related type of Heracles *vide* *Sumer* 30, 1974, e and [illegible], 6b.

[91] Wathiq al-Salihi, "Hercules-Nergal at Hatra (II)," *Iraq* 35, 1973, 65-68.

[92] Cf. R. Degen, "New Inscriptions from Hatra (nos. 231-280)," *JEOL* 23, 1975, 421f.; Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux*, 396ss.

(no. 60) which most probably reads 'rz'...*INRGL*, like the foundation text on the lintel of shrine 8 (no. 214) where the same expression occurs[93]. A possible interpretation of the word 'rz' in this context is 'meeting-place of a *thiasos*' (temple à mystères), since the usual meaning of 'rz' is 'mystery'[94]. So far it is clear that Nergal was associated with the dog as his sacred animal—or was himself called 'dog,' perhaps in combination with his function as a guardian—and was identified with Heracles. It is also remarkable that Nergal is frequently represented with three dogs[94a]. The god likewise seem to be represented on a stele in the Istanbul museum with the images of a *semeion* or standard in the centre, on the right of which a dog is sitting on a pedestal in left profile, and, to the left, a god stands with the upper part of his body naked, a lance in his right hand and his left hand resting on the hilt of a sword[95].

The syncretism of Nergal and Heracles also occurs in the religious iconography of Palmyra, as H. Seyrig has demonstrated on the basis of the tesserae[96]. Nergal is sometimes accompanied by a goddess sitting between two animals (on tesserae 234 and 236, probably lions). Other tesserae show a standing goddess with a lance in combination with Nergal (tesserae 233 and 235). The goddess is Atargatis, the Dea Syra, or a related type of deity[97].

Returning to the Nergal relief from the Hatrene shrine, we may note that it shares some characteristics in common with other pieces from Hatra. The central figure is a deity with a beard and long hair, with two horns on his forehead and crowned by an eagle with outstretched wings like the deity on the column from shrine 10.

[93] Cf. Caquot, *Syria* 32, 1955, 263, who suggested already the reading 'rz' and connected it with the Syriac word *Rāzā* (= mystery). Degen, *WO* 5, 1970, 223, gave the reading 'dz' and connected it with the Latin word *aedes* (= house, temple) an interpretation which is not satisfying.

[94] *Vide*, Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux*, 167, Aggoula, *MUSJ* 47, 1972, 65-68.

[94a] A lid of a marble cult chest decorated with three dogs and dedicated to Nergal, cf. Caquot, *Syria* 32, 1955, 269 (inscription no. 73), the incense altar from shrine 10 published by Wathiq al-Salihi and S. Downey, cf. n. 90.

[95] Cf. Ingholt, *Parthian Sculptures*, 35f., pl. VII. 3; Homès-Fredericq, *Hatra et ses sculptures parthes*, 56, no. 34, Pl. IV. 1; Downey, "A preliminary Corpus of the Standards of Hatra," *Sumer* 26, 1970, 201, no. 6 and note 8 (not 35); the deity on a stele in the Iraq Museum no. 56719 and identified by Wathiq al-Salihi, *The Sculptures of Divinities from Hatra*, 138ss as Verethragna is without any doubt Nergal.

[96] Cf. H. Seyrig, "Héraclès-Nergal," *Syria* 24, 1945, 62-80.

[97] H. Ingholt-H.Seyrig-J. Starcky, *Recueil des tessères de Palmyre*, Paris 1955, cf. Seyrig, "Héraclès-Nergal," 18ss.

He has a double axe in his uplifted right hand, one blade of which is replaced by a snake. The double axe may be compared to the weapon which the bearded deity on the altar from shrine 1 bears in his right hand. His left hand rests on the hilt of a Persian dagger and he is girded with a snake-like rope to which three dogs are connected. An image of a young lion is visible between the legs of the dogs. The tail of the dog is in fact formed by a snake. Snakes rise from the waist of the deity on the right and the left and again from his shoulders; another snake rests on his feet. To his right a standard, or *semeion*, is represented, like the one on the stele in the Istanbul museum where the standard occupies the central position. Near the foot of the standard a snake and a scorpion are represented. To the left of the deity a goddess sits between two lions, with fishes (dolphins?) at her feet and a sacred standard in her right hand. She is crowned by an eagle with outstretched wings. This goddess is undoubtedly Atargatis, who may be Nergal's companion at Hatra as on some Palmyrene tesserae. A small statuette of Atargatis from Hatra is now in the Istanbul museum and can be compared with the goddess on our relief[98]. Between Nergal and Atargatis two snakes are visible and above them a scorpion.

Dogs, snakes, scorpions, lion, a double axe, and a sword are the god's attributes and as such require explanation that brings them into a coherent pattern which characterises the godhead.

The Mesopotamian godhead Nergal has several aspects. First of all he is the ruler of the realm of the dead and the underworld, as his name expresses. He is, however, also a deity who causes epidemics and, because he is also a life-giving god, one who is able to cure them. He has the character of a warrior and makes war against hostile countries[99]. Nergal also has close connections with other deities

[98] Cf. Ingholt, *Parthian Sculptures from Hatra*, Pl. VI, 1 and p. 38; cf. other Atargatis sculptures with dolphins: N. Glueck, *Deities and Dolphins*, pl. 11, 23b, 1, 2, 3; and 315ss., 359ss.

[99] See in general E. Dhorme, *Religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie*, 40-43, 51, E. von Weiher, *Der babylonische Gott Nergal*, *AOAT*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1971, and W.G. Lambert's critical review, "Studies in Nergal," *BiOr*, 30, 1973, 355-363; M.K. Schretter, *Alter Orient und Hellas. Fragen der Beeinflussung griechischen Gedankengutes aus altorientalischen Quellen, dargestellt an den Göttern Nergal, Reschepb, Apollon*, Innsbruck 1974, 25-110; J.B. Curtis, "An investigation of the Mount of Olives in the judaeo-christian Tradition," *HUCA* 28, 1957, 151ss. "Some Features of the Personality of Nergal," gives only scanty and one-sided information in so far as needed for his main argument.

with whom he is sometimes identified, for example, with Meslamta'ea, another god of the underworld who was worshipped together with Nergal at Kutha; with Ninurta, brother of Nergal, a warrior—god and also a vegetation god who overcomes mythical enemies in the mountains, including the seven-headed Hydra[100]. Nergal is closely connected with Erra, a warlike god of the underworld, who causes pestilential epidemics and is associated with Ningizzida, likewise an underworld deity whose symbol is the snake or Hydra[101]. At the present state of our knowledge, while we can collect all sources about Mesopotamian deities, we are not always able to interpret them as a coherent complex, even supposing that we are entitled to assume that there was something like a rational theological conception in this area of Mesopotamian culture. "The attributes of one god have to be evaluated against those of other gods and goddesses;" it will then be clear "how far Assyriology is from the stage where a history of religions could be written[102]." The first impression from all our sources, however, is that Nergal is a militant life-defending deity who rules the underworld that belongs to the well-ordered human world, defends the human world against its enemies, has something to do with illnesses and their cure, and represents the ambiguity of human life.

We have only scanty information regarding Nergal's iconography and the pictorial representations of the deities related to him, but on the whole they confirm the god's character as we have summarised it. On the other hand, we must recognize that a clear connection between iconographical and literary information about certain deities is not consistently available. This fact has important consequences for the interpretation of our sources and is one of the major problems in the study of Mesopotamian religion. As the interpretation of the Nergal relief depends on the meaning of its pictorial symbols, we are therefore justified in taking the available iconographic information as our starting-point.

The only god in the Mesopotamian area who is represented with two snakes rising from his shoulders is Ningizzida, the protector of

[100] For Ninurta *vide* Dhorme, *Religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie*, 102-109, 128ss.; *Wörterbuch d. Mythologie* I, 114f.

[101] Cf. *Wörterbuch d. Mythologie* I, 63f.; 112f.; E. Douglas van Buren, *Iraq* 1, 1934, 60-89; Lambert, *BiOr* 1973, 356 stresses the close relation between Nergal and Erra.

[102] Lambert, *BiOr*, 1973, 356-357.

Gudea of Lagaš, and represented as such on a seal of Gudea[103]. On this seal Ningizzida is accompanied by Dumuzi with whom, according to the myth of Adapa, he functions as guardian of the gate of heaven. On a bas-relief at Berlin the god wears a long beard and a horned crown; two snakes grow out of his shoulders[104]. Ningizzida is a god like Dumuzi who dwells temporarily in the underworld, brings fertility and, in particular, is a healing god, son of Ninazu 'Lord physician.' The healing aspect of Ningizzida also appears in two intertwining snakes on a cult-vase of Gudea[105]. It is noteworthy that the iconographical characteristics of Ningizzida are likewise found on the Nergal relief: the god is bearded, wears a horned crown and two snakes rise from his shoulders. On the other hand these features occur on the Palmyrene tesserae of Shadrafa who was also a healing god with a militant character[106]. On the tesserae dedicated to him two snakes, or a snake and a scorpion, are rising from his shoulders, and two intertwining snakes even occur[107]. Two bas-reliefs of Shadrafa are known from Palmyra, representing the deity with a lance in his right hand and a snake winding around it. He is dressed in military costume with shield and sword, and accompanied by snakes and scorpions[108]. On a beam from the *peristylium* of Bêl's temple at Palmyra Shadrafa is among the gods who fight the Hydra-like monster[109]. The Palmyrene

[103] Cf. H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals. A documentary Essay on the Art and Religion of the Ancient Near East*, London 1939, fig. 37, cf. *Wörterbuch d. Mythologie* I, 112; J. Starcky, "Autour d'une dédicace palmyrénienne à Šadrafa et à Du'anut," *Syria* 26, 1949, 73 and n. 2.

[104] Cf. Contenau, *Manuel d'archéologie orientale*, Paris 1947 I, 95, fig. 43; II, 738, fig. 520, cf. Dhorme, *Religions*, 135.

[105] See the picture in H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, London 1954, Pl. 51b; Dhorme, *Religions*, 120, *Wörterbuch d. Mythologie* I, 112.

[106] Cf. A. Caquot, "Chadrapha. A propos de quelques articles récents," *Syria* 29, 1952, 74-88; J. Starcky, "Autour d'une dédicace," 67vs.

[107] Ingholt-Seyrig-Starcky, *Recueil*, tesserae, 317, 326, 327, 319, 320.

[108] Cf. R. Collart, "Nouveau monument palmyrénien de Shadrafa," *Museum Helveticum* 13, 1956, 209, fig. 1; Collart-Vicari, *Le sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre* I, 225s.; II, Pl. CVIII, 4; H. Seyrig, *Berytus* 3, 1936, 137, Pl. XXX; Morehart, *Berytus* 12, 1956-57, 63s. fig. 14, 15; H. Seyrig, "Quatre images sculptées du musée d'Alep", Syria 48, 1971, 115-120 published *inter alia* a relief from Mabbug-Hierapolis representing Shadrafa with a lance in his right hand and a snake winding around it and flanked by two lions! These lions can be considered a link between the iconography of Shadrafa and Mesopotamian Nergal and thus the whole representation of Shadrafa confirms our views.

[109] Cf. H. Seyrig, "Bas-reliefs monumentaux du temple de Bêl à Palmyre," *Syria* 15, 1934, 168s.; Starcky, "Autour d'une dédicace," 72, fig. 8.

Shadrafa has the character of a healing god, characterised by snakes and scorpions, and of a warrior fighting a mythological monster. The combination of snakes and scorpions also occurs on the Nergal relief and is one of its most conspicuous traits, thus linking [illegible] with the iconographical tradition surrounding both Ningizzida and Shadrafa, and accentuating the healing and militant character of the deity.

The warrior qualities [illegible] Shadrafa appear too on the so-called stele of Amrith, ancient Marathus, on the Phoenician coasts. The stele, now in the Louvre, dates from the 5th or 4th century B.C.E. and depicts a god in Egyptian dress standing on the back of a lion that is itself represented as standing on the top of mountains. The deity holds a *harpé* in his uplifted right arm and a young lion [illegible] his left hand grasping [illegible] by its hind-legs[110]. The standing deity is Melqart, the god [illegible] Tyr, who like Nergal was identified with Heracles[111]. The inscription on the stele, however, identifies the standing deity with his *harpé* and young lion as Shadrafa, a reading adopted a long time ago by Clermont-Ganneau and now confirmed by J. Starcky[112]. Although some egypticising elements are present on the stele of Amrith, the stele as a whole should be compared [illegible] the iconography of Nergal with whom Melqart has much in common[113]. If our interpretation [illegible] Shadrafa is convincing this deity belongs to the same type of militant bringers of fertility who are at the same time healing and protecting gods and are connected with the underworld.

The lion that occurs on the stele of Amrith and on our Nergal stele [illegible] distinctive for the iconography [illegible] Nergal in the Mesopotamian area. The symbol of the god is a mace ending in a lion's head that occurs on the *kudurru*[114]. A seal from Larsa pictures a god with his right

[110] Cf. R. Dussaud, "Melqart," *Syria* 25, 1946-48, 222ss. and fig. 4; Starcky, "Autour d'une dédicace," 68ss.; Seyrig, "Héraclès-Nergal," 69ss.; *Wörterbuch d. Mythologie* I, 227f.

[111] Seyrig, "Héraclès-Nergal," 69ss.; Herodotus II, 44 already attested this syncretism.

[112] Clermont-Ganneau, *CRAI* 1903, 375ss., 531ss., *Recherch. d'archéol. orient.* IV, 1901, 333; J. Starcky, "Autour d'une dédicace," 68. [illegible], however [illegible] Caquot, "Chadrapha," 87ss.

[113] Seyrig, "Héraclès-Nergal," 73ss. gives all arguments for this identification.

[114] *Vide* von Weiher, *Uruk*, 45 and Pl. I, 1-4. Von Weiher, Pl. I, 3 is identical with [illegible] Calmeyer, "Zur Genese ost-iranischer Motive [illegible] Der leere Wagen," *Arch. Mitt. aus Iran, NF* 7, 1974, 49-77, [illegible] 17, 4, cf. 74, n. 112, where the author states: "die Gottheit [illegible] unsicher: Seidl, *BaM* 4, 1968, 33ff. Taf. 19c Nr. 48." Calmeyer draws attention [illegible] the standard in the chariot of Sargon [illegible] and other kings that symbolises Nergal as a warrior god, [illegible] 77, *vide* esp. [illegible] Pomponio, "'Lowenstab' und 'Doppel-

foot on a foe stretched on a mountainside. He holds a sickle-sword or *harpè* in his lowered left hand an a mace with two branches ending in lions' heads in his right hand. The accompanying text is a dedication to Nergal who is thus identified as the deity represented on the seal[115]. A deity on a Old Babylonian seal with a triple-headed mace and his right foot on a lion has similarly been considered to represent Nergal[116]. A seal from the time of Shulgi pictures Nergal with a long beard and a horned crown, and, in his right hand, a three-headed mace[117]. Other representations on seals of deities with a mace or sicklesword in their lowered left hand also seem to depict Nergal since his name is mentioned in the seal-texts[118]. Other Akkadian seals with Heraclean deities in all likelihood, however, represent Ninurta and not Nergal[119]. In any case the lion, the mace, and most probably the sickle-sword are the pervasively characteristic features of Nergal. On the Hatrene Nergal stele the lion is linked with the three dogs; the god's weapons are a double axe that may be interpreted as a substitute for the double-headed mace, and the sword that replaces the *harpè*. Although the sword does not occur in any of the known older iconography of Nergal it is a common theme in literary sources; especially in the area of the Kassites. Nergal's name is written with the sign *UGUR* = *nam-sa-ru* = 'sword,' so that the god can indeed be considered a 'sword-deity,' a war-god[120].

The dog is the only remaining symbol that requires explanation. One possible account has been suggested by M.K. Schretter: "Die

Iowenkeule'. Studio su due simboli dell' iconografia mesopotamica", *Oriens Antiquus* 12, 1973, 183-208

[115] E. Porada-F. Basmachi, *Sumer* 7, 1951, 66-68, A. Parrot, *Glyptique mésopotamienne*, Paris 1954, no. 260; W. Nagel, *AfO* 18, 1957-58, 323, fig. 1, Von Weiher, *Nergal*, 46, Seyrig, "Héracles-Nergal," 74, n. 1., the examples adduced by Bivar, in *Mithraic Studies II*, 283, Pl. 8c, 9a belong in this context.

[116] D.J. Wiseman, *Cylinder Seals of Western Asia*, London, no. 43, a seal from the British Museum no. 103314, cf. H.O. Thompson, *Mekal. The god of Beth-Shan*, Leiden 1970, 94f.; E. Douglas van Buren, *Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art*, *AnOr.* 23, Roma 1945, 177f.

[117] Cf. Ch.-F. Jean, *La religion sumérienne*, pl. XII, fig. 41; Thureau-Dangin, *Inscriptions de Sumer et d'Accad*, 278 s.; cf. Dhorme, *Les religions*, III, 52: Nergal appears here as Meslamta'ea.

[118] A. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, Berlin 1940, Pl. 66; Von Weiher, *Nergal*, 46f. and the seals mentioned, III-IV, 11-15

[119] H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals. A documentary Essay on the Art and Religion of the Ancient Near East*, London 1939, Pl. XIXa; XXc, 106f., cf. too Seyrig, "Héracles-Nergal," 13, n. 4

[120] Cf. Von Weiher, *Nergal*, 41 s. 45, 70, where the relevant texts are to be found.

stark mit Herakles verknüpfte Gestalt des Höllenhundes in ihren verschiedenen Ausgestaltungen dürfte ihren Vorwurf in der altmesopotamischen Dämonologie haben, vgl. z.B. die in der 'Unterweltsvision eines assyrischen Kronprinzen' (von Soden, *ZA* 43, 1936, 1ff.) geschilderten Mischwesen.[121] Nergal's dog or dogs would thus be the result of his syncretism with Heracles. Nevertheless it is remarkable that Heracles in the Hatrene iconography is never represented with a dog and that Nergal himself is called 'dog' in the Hatrene texts. This fact plausibly indicates that the dog belongs to Nergal's own identity and is not coincidental. H. Ingholt suggested that the dog represents Gula, the goddess of healing who is usually depicted as a sitting dog; Gula was Ninurta's wife and this warlike deity shows great similarity to Nergal[122]. Ingholt tried, however, to interpret the dog in an astrological context. Moreover, in Hatra, we are not dealing with simply one dog, but actually with three, and in the inscriptions dogs or sometimes three dogs are mentioned. Further material is also available regarding a 'Lord of the dogs' and his cult, for example at Harran[123]. The dog has a guardian function and can be related to the epithet of Nergal *dhipt* 'chief of the guards[123].' Moreover, Nergal is also a hunter and the dog may thus represent the hunting animal. It should be noted that a panel from Beth-Shan, representing a lion and a dog in two different positions is linked with the cult of Mekal, the god of Beth-Shan, who is identical with Nergal, as the etymology of Mekal's name may suggest[124]. The three dogs on our Nergal relief may have been influenced by Greek conceptions regarding Cerberos, the dog of Hades, but the snake-like tail indisputably links them with the other characteristic qualities of Nergal.

We may thus conclude that the Nergal relief from Hatra depicts the deity with all his qualities as the militant guardian of human life,

[121] Schretter, *Alter Orient und Hellas*, 235 n. 62; Ingholt, *Parthian Sculptures*, 36, where he suggests that the relief with a standard (*tzemeion*) flanked by a god and a sitting dog could represent Ninurta and Gula.

[122] Cf. P.S. Landersdorfer, "Die Götterliste des Mar Jacob von Sarug in seiner Homilie über den Fall der Götzenbilder," *Programm des Kgl. Gymnasiums im Benediktinerkloster Ettal für das Schuljahr 1913/14*, München 1914, 13, 32ss., Vandenhoff, "Die Götterliste des Mar Jakob von Sarug in seiner Homilie über den Fall der Götzenbilder," *OrChr. N.S* 5, 1915, 242; Ingholt, *Parthian Sculptures*, 37.

[123] Cf. A. Rowe, *PEQ* XCIII, 1961, 160, who adduces examples from Assyria; H.O. Thompson, *Mekal. The God of Beth-Shan*, 88.

[124] For a discussion of the etymology of the name Mekal *vide*, Thompson, *op. cit.*, 180-192, who does not reach firm results; for the identity in character of Mekal and Nergal, *vide* Thompson, 117-127.

not only as god of the underworld but also as a healing god and a warrior against the enemies from abroad. The iconographical elements are only comprehensible in their mutual relationships from this Mesopotamian background where Nergal's different characteristics form an organic whole. There is no question of any influence from the cult of Mithra, especially since the scorpion and the snake have a different symbolic significance in the Western cult of Mithras[124a]. On the other hand, there is no clear indication that this Mesopotamian cult influenced Roman Mithraism in any way. Nergal's character is entirely different from that of both Roman and Iranian Mithra. The occurrence of the snake and the scorpion on this relief therefore cannot be considered an instance of an Irano-Mesopotamian syncretism.

Another well-known instance of this supposed Irano-Mesopotamian syncretism makes the situation still clearer, namely, the hunter relief from Hama[125] (Pl. XV, fig. 3) According to Cumont such a solar god existed in Syria prior to Mithra's arrival. To support his argument, he cited the Palmyrene rider-gods: "On several bas-reliefs found on the edge of the desert he (i.e. the mounted solar god) wears the typical costume and armour of the Palmyrene cavalry, that is to say, his accoutrement is of Persian origin"[126] Assuming assimilation between Mithra and the rider-god Cumont concluded "that the sculptor has adopted a type popular in Syria before his time and modified it to represent Mithra as the protector of the Roman cavalry." The relief from Hama would thus represent a Mithra *ephippos* surrounded by specific Mithraic symbols, but is *au fond* a stele of a mounted Syrian solar god. Two points are essential for the consideration of this kind of assimilation: what was the character of the mounted Syrian gods and what did the symbols accompanying them signify? The hunter-relief from Hama depicts a horseman in oriental costume, wearing a cuirass decorated with a gorgoneion and a *paludamentum*

[124a] Cf. the convincing arguments in support of an astrological interpretation of the various symbols on the bull-slaying scene adduced by S. Insler, "A New Interpretation of the Bull-Slaying Motif," see introd. note to J.D.G; the alleged relations between the iconography of Nergal and the lion-headed figure as stated by Bivar, in *Mithraic Studies II*, 275ss., will be discussed elsewhere.

[125] Cf. R. Dussaud at Ch. Virolleaud, "Les travaux archéologiques en Syrie en 1922-23," *Syria* 5, 1924, 120s., Pl. 31, 4, cf. H. Seyrig, *Syria* 14, 1933, 256; F. Cumont, "The Dura Mithraeum," *Mithraic Studies* I, 181; M.I. Rostovtzeff, "Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art," *YCS* 5, 1935, fig. 42, Leroy A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, *EPRO* 11, Leiden 1968, 186 and Fig. 13.

[126] Cumont, in *Mithraic Studies I*, 191

across his shoulders. He has a whip knotted [illegible] his right wrist, a bow and a quiver attached [illegible] the saddle. On the stele the busts [illegible] sun and moon are represented in the upper left and right corners. In front of the horse a *thymiaterion* is visible and beneath the feet [illegible] the horse a snake. The position of sun and moon is the one normal in Mithraic iconography. Leroy A. Campbell, who tentatively accepts Cumont's and Rostovtzeff's interpretation [illegible] the relief as Mithraic remarks that this god is not exclusively a solar god on account of the presence of Luna and Sol[127].

Today about twenty reliefs are known which portray horse- [illegible] camel-riding gods. Most of them derive from the Palmyrene region and its rural sanctuaries, but some have also been found at Dura Europos and other places on the edge of the Syrian desert[128]. They often occur in pairs, like Arṣu and Azizu, Abgal and Ashâr, Ashlâm and Ashâr, Shalman and 'RGY' [illegible] have Arabic names, and are mostly dressed in indigenous costume though some wear Parthian dress. They are equipped as soldiers with sword, lance, bow, and quiver. On several reliefs that picture these deities a *thymiaterion* is also represented with or without the dedicant [illegible] the stele whose name is sometimes mentioned in the accompanying inscription[129]. On some reliefs symbols occur which place the gods in a cosmic context. One relief from Khirbet-Semrîn in the Palmyrene portrays the horse-riding

[127] Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography*, 196

[128] Seyrig gives a nearly complete list, *Syria* [illegible], 1970, [illegible], cf. *Syria* 26, 1949, 61, n. 7; all extant reliefs of these gods are to be found in Drijvers, *The Religion of Palmyra, Iconography of Religions*, Leiden 1976, *vide* H. Seyrig "Gennéas et les dieux cavaliers en Syrie," *Syria* 26, 1949, 240-257. [illegible] Schlumberger, *La Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest*, Paris 1951, [illegible] XXI, 1, 2, 3, 4, XXII, 1, 2, 3 (Horseriding gods from Khirbet Semrîn), XXVII, 3, XXXIV, 1, XXXVII, 3, XXXIX, 4, 5-6, XXXXI, 1 (a lion-riding god); A. Perkins, *The Art of Dura-Europos*, 96-98, Pl. 39 (relief of Atadu and Ša'd(r)); J. Starcky, "Bas-relief palmyrenien inédit, dédié aux génies Šalman et 'RGY'," *Semitica* 3, 1950, 45-52; Seyrig, *Syria* 47, 1970, 81, fig. 4 (relief [illegible] Arṣu and Azizu); K. Michalowski, *Palmyre. Fouilles polonaises 1960, 1962*, 138, fig. 153 (relief of Azizu); J. Starcky, "Relief dédié au dieu Mun'im," *Semitica* 22, 1972, 57-65, Pl. [illegible]; A. Perkins, *The Art of Dura-Europos*, [illegible] 40 (camel-rider): the oldest known example is an alabaster dish representing a horse-riding god, which was found in a tomb enclosed within the sanctuary of Ba'alshamên at Palmyra, cf. R. Fellmann, "Le tombeau près du temple de Ba'alšamên, témoin de deux siècles d'histoire palmyrénienne", *Palmyre. Bilan et Perspectives*, Strasbourg 1976, 220 and Pl. I, 1.

[129] For example Schlumberger, *Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest*, Pl. XXI, 1, 2, 3; XXII, 1: *thymiaterion* with the dedicant, XXVII, 3, XXXIV, 1 *thymiaterion* with the dedicant; XXXVII, 2, *thymiaterion* without the dedicant, like Perkins, *The Art of Dura-Europos*, Pl. 40.

gods Abgal and Ashâr to the right and left of a *thymiaterion* and dedicant. In the upper right and left corners of the relief a rosette or star is represented in a crescent and above the head of the dedicant a winding snake symbolises the vault of heaven. The rosette is a symbol of a star or the sun[130]. A relief of a camel-riding god from Dura Europos pictures the god on his camel turned to a *thymiaterion* without a dedicant. A rosette with four leaves is depicted above the head of the camel to the right of the deity. A crescent on a standard is depicted to his left. The rosette is most probably again a symbol of the sun[131]. A horse-riding god on a relief from Khirbet Ramadane is portrayed in front of a *thymiaterion* without any dedicant. Above the *thymiaterion* an eagle symbolises the heaven[132]. The eagle with a crown in its beak is depicted on a fragmentary relief from Khirbet Marzouga[133]. The same eagle with a crown in its claws and a laurel in its beak accompanies the horse-riding god on the stele from Djubb el-Djerrah[134], and is also present on a stele of Ashada and Sa'd(r) from Dura Europos[135]. Two rosettes in the upper left and right corners of the so-called Genneas-stele from the Louvre may likewise represent heavenly bodies[136].

The function of these mounted gods should be explained from their cultural setting, namely, the milieu of the semi-nomadic desert dwellers of Syria in need of protection on their long journeys through the desert. In the first place these gods therefore have a protecting function as armed escort of the caravans and isolated travellers[137]. They have no solar character and, despite arguments to the contrary, the horse has nothing to do with the sun: "le cheval ...n'est pas un attribut mythique, c'est le reflet d'un milieu social... le dieu est à cheval pour les besoins de son action, mais n'est pas nécessairement un dieu cavalier par nature[138]." Solar gods in Syria are always represented with the nimbus or other solar attributes and there is no attested relief of a mounted god with such a decoration[139]. The cosmic

[130] Schlumberger, *Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest*, 56, no. 18, Pl. XXII, 1.

[131] Seyrig, *Syria* 1970, 80, fig. 3; Perkins, *The Art of Dura-Europos*, 98ss. Pl. 40.

[132] Schlumberger, *Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest*, 77, no. 6, Pl. XXXVII, 2.

[133] Schlumberger, *Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest*, 84, no. 5, Pl. XXXIX, 5-6.

[134] Seyrig, "Genneas et les dieux cavaliers en Syrie," *Syria* 26, 1949, 232, Pl. XI.

[135] A. Perkins, *The Art of Dura-Europos*, Pl. 39; Rostovtzeff, *YCS* 5, 1935, fig. 40.

[136] Seyrig, "Genneas," 234, Pl. XII.

[137] Seyrig, "Les dieux armés et les Arabes en Syrie," *Syria* 47, 1970, 82s.

[138] Seyrig, "Genneas," 242s.

[139] Seyrig, "Genneas," 239; *idem*, "Le culte du soleil en Syrie à l'époque romaine," *Syria* 48, 1971, 337-373, esp. 345-351.

setting in which these divinities are placed reflects their function as escorts where sun, moon, and stars are guiding principles whose aid is needed and sought. A combination of both aspects can be found in the cult of Azizos and Monimos at Edessa who, according to Julian the Apostate, escort the sun on its daily course[140]. The fragmentary marble relief of Castor, depicted as an armed horseman, from Khirbet Semrîn, where Abgal and Ashâr may have been assimilated to Castor and Pollux, perhaps reflects a similar cult[141].

The horse-riding god on the Hama relief belongs to this category of mounted deities with a protecting and escorting function that has no relation to the cult of the sun, but sometimes appears in a cosmic setting. The *thymiaterion* is a normal attribute on these reliefs and the sign of the dedicant. Dussaud's interpretation of the *thymiaterion* "le pyrée.....marque que le dieu solaire atteint le point culminant de sa course"[142] lacks any support.

All these parallels make it clear that the stele from Hama does not represent a hunting solar god identified with Mithra, but is instead an image of a divine horse-riding escort who belongs to the Arab population of the Syrian desert. A Mithraic interpretation is therefore absolutely excluded.

Two final instances of a supposed Mesopotamian cult of Mithra during the Parthian period demand brief discussion. In 1954 H. Lenzen claimed to have discovered a Mithraeum at Uruk-Warka. The building is a hall with an *apsis* and benches surrounding the walls. In their original situation these benches were about two metres wide so that it is doubtful if they were ever used for sitting. In later building phases the width of the benches is also too great for such use. Were the benches designed for reliefs and sculptures to rest upon them as in some of the Hatrene temples? In any case it is extremely doubtful that this building was ever used as a Mithraeum[143]. Widengren's

[140] Drijvers, "The Cult of Azizos and Monimos at Edessa," *Ex Orbe Religionum, Studia Geo Widengren oblata*, Leiden 1972, 355-371, cf. Starcky, "Relief dédié au dieu Mun'im," *Semitica* 22, 1972, 57-65, esp. 62sq.

[141] Cf. Schlumberger, *Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest*, 56, no. 17, Pl. XXI, 4; Seyrig, "Gennean," 236; *idem*, *Syria* XLIII, 1970, 81

[142] R. Dussaud, *Syria* 5, 1924, 120.

[143] Cf. H. Lenzen, *MDOG* 87, 46ff., Tafel 1 a, b; Abb. 8-13; *idem*, XIV. *Vorläufiger Bericht über die von dem Deutschen Archäologischen Institut und der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft aus Mitteln der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft unternommenen Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka, Winter 1955/56*, *ADOG* 3, 1958, 18-20, Tafel 19b-25b; cf. Colpe's doubts, in *Mithraic Studies I*, 394, n. 111, and Bivar, in *Mithraic Studies II*, 280f.

claim that "in Uruk in Parthian times a Mithraeum was found obviously possessing cult-reliefs of the bull-slaying god" has no support in archaeological evidence. In the building alleged to be Mithraic no reliefs, sculptures or other cult objects were found: "unsere Erwartung, dass weitere Untersuchungen Kleinfunde oder gar Inschriften erbringen könnten, die uns Aufklärung über die Zweckbestimmung dieses Gebäude geben könnten, hat sich nicht erfüllt[144]." Nearly thirty years earlier elsewhere a fragmentary clay-mould was found with the body of a bull and two legs of a person on the back of this bull which bears some resemblance to the attitude of the bull-slaying Mithras. There is, however, no evidence of any dagger, or of any other characteristically Mithraic symbols. It may be an image of a bull with a human being on its back, for example, seizing the bull's horns; all characteristic features of a cult-relief of the bull-slaying god are absent. Moreover, the mould is rather small (11 by 7,5 cm., its original size perhaps 11 by 11 cm.), much smaller than the usual measurement of a Mithraic cult-relief. The only prudent conclusion from this evidence is that no Mithraeum existed at Uruk in Parthian times.

Another of Widengren's suggestions which connects the cult of Mithras with that of the Nabataean god Dusares as an Irano-Mesopotamian syncretism is also very doubtful[145]. At Sî' in the Hauran two Mithraic reliefs have been found[146]. The first was found as a pavement slab in front of the temple of Dusares, and its originally provenance is unknown: "le lieu de la découverte, le temple de Dusarès, ne revêt ainsi—malgré Cumont aucune signification particulière[147]." The second, very similar to the first, was found near the entrance of a cave, perhaps the Mithraic *spelaeum*, from which the first relief may have been removed. The second relief bears a Latin inscription *DIS* (viz. *Deo invicto Soli*) an indication that, in Sî', the cult of Mithras belonged to the Roman inhabitants, namely the soldiers. Cumont's conclusions, based on the discovery of the first relief are not confirmed by the second one: the *spelaeum* was situated at a considerable distance from the Dusares-temple and there is no indication of any cultic relations with Mithras. We can only

[144] Lenzen, XIV; *Vorläufiger Bericht*, 20. In this context Lenzen mentions the clay-mould, found in 1928/29, Tafel 45a, *Mithraic Studies II*, Pl. 7e.

[145] Widengren, *Iranisch-semitische Kulturbegegnung*, 88, n. 220; Widengren follows F. Cumont, "Mithra et Dusarès," *RHR* 78, 1918, 207ss.

[146] Vermaseren, *CIMRM* 88, 89.

[147] E. Will, "Nouveaux monuments sacrés de la Syrie romaine," *Syria* 29, 1952, 68.

conclude that the cult of Mithras in Syria is in no substantial way different from its practice in other provinces of the Roman Empire and mainly belonged to the religious practice of the Roman legions[148].

Our investigation has afforded no evidence to support any hypothesis of Irano-Mesopotamian syncretism as a fundamental phase in the development of the Mithraic mysteries and their religious conceptions. On the contrary, all religious documents from Syria and Mesopotamia show clear signs that they represent an unbroken indigenous tradition and should be interpreted and explained within and from that tradition. We may observe a certain influence from the West Semitic area and a syncretism with Greco-Roman deities, but no sign of Iranian religious influence in the theological conceptions or their cultic and iconographical representation in the religions of the big cities in the Syrian-Mesopotamian desert can be substantiated.

In the architecture of that area, however, there is Iranian influence; moreover, Iranian words entered Aramaic dialects spoken in Syria and Mesopotamia and the Iranian dress was in fashion for the upper classes[149]. It is very doubtful that the special characteristics of so-called

[148] Cf. E. Will's conclusions, *Syria* 29, 1952, 72ss.: "l'évolution du mithraïcisme en Syrie, à la lumière des dernières découvertes, semble avoir été très semblable à ce qu'elle fut dans les autres provinces de l'Empire." Cumont also gave Mithraic interpretations of other monuments and inscriptions from Syria that cannot stand criticism, e.g., he considered the θεὸς Ἐπιφανὴς οἰκουμένης, of a bronze ex voto to the god of Baitokaikai to be Mithra, in reality he is Ba'alshamên, cf. *IGLS* VI, no. 4027.

[149] On Iranian influence in the architecture cfr. H. Seyrig, "Ornamenta palmyrena antiquiora," *Syria* 21, 1940, 64-115, *passim*; *idem*, "Remarques sur la civilisation de Palmyre," *Syria* 21, 1940, 115-124, on Parthian influence on the dress of the upper classes: H. Seyrig, "Armes et costumes iraniens de Palmyre," *Syria* 18, 1937, 4-31; *idem*, "La grande statue parthe de Shami et la sculpture palmyrénienne," *Syria* 20, 1939, 177-183; on Iranian words, G. Widengren, *Iranisch-semitische Kulturbegegnung*, 25ss.: "Die sprachlichen Verhältnisse:" there are only very few Iranian words in the Aramaic dialects of Syria-Mesopotamia, as Widengren himself states, p. 32. In dealing with the question of Iranian words in Syriac it is of the greatest importance, if the words in question occur already in Official Aramaic of the Achaemenid Empire or if they are later borrowings connected with the spread of Christianity in the Sassanian Empire: *vide* also D. Harnack, "Parthische Tuel, vornehmlich in den Inschriften aus Hatra. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des parthischen Staates," in: F. Altheim-R. Stiehl, *Geschichte Mittelasiens im Altertum*, Berlin 1970, 492-549 and R. Schmitt's critical review, *WZKM* 67, 1975, 31-91, esp. 85ss.. M.A.R. Colledge's expositions on this subject, *The Parthians*, 102ss. are rather superficial and partly wrong: the alleged relation between the Palmyrene tomb-towers and the Zoroastrian 'towers of silence' does not exist as the Palmyrene towers are a development of a Semitic tradition, cf. M. Gawlikowski, *Monuments funéraires de Palmyre*, Warszawa 1970, 9ss.

Parthian art have anything to do with Parthia itself. The real Iranian influence in Syria and Mesopotamia and its results therefore requires fresh investigation. Perhaps this influence was limited to external signs in this area. The situation in Commagene is not comparable with that in Mesopotamia where the indigenous tradition was much older and stronger. In any case we cannot establish any historical links between Mesopotamian cults and Roman Mithraism[150]. There was, to be sure, a certain typological similarity. Cults at Hatra and Palmyra had some characteristics that made it easier for their adherents to embrace the cult of Roman Mithras. Palmyrene soldiers knew the cult of Malakbêl, their own Sol Invictus, and venerated mounted protector gods. There is therefore no question of an Irano-Mesopotamian syncretism, but only of the interpretation of unknown religious symbols by means of known ideas.

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[150] Colledge, *The Parthians*, 107s., only repeats Cumont's views without any argument, the alleged Mithraic figure from Beirut published by R. D. Barnett in *Mithraic Studies II*, 466ff. and Pl. 32a, b, requires a new investigation in the light of our conclusions, as Barnett did not try to connect it with indigenous religious iconographical traditions but assumed without further question that it was Mithraic, though there are significant differences between this bronze figure and the Mithraic lion-headed figure. The same is the case with a gold piece published by Déonna, "Bleu solaire du Musée de Genève," *RA* 1912, 354ss., that shows similarity to the iconography of Shadrafa. The alleged evidence for direct Zoroastrian influence in the Dura Mithraeum in the figures of the two Magi, whom Cumont, in *Mithraic Studies I*, 182ff. supposed to be Zoroaster and Ostanes, is too M. Speidel, "Parthia and the Mithraism of the Roman Army," (p. 479ss.) is completely unproven. These two persons represent in all likelihood two *patres patrum* or other Mithraic dignitaries in a costume also worn by the Palmyrene priests and aristocrats who are also represented with a roll. That implies that these figures are pictured in the parade dress of the Syrian aristocracy which was borrowed from the Parthians and may therefore represent local officials of the Mithraic community. Wearing an Iranian dress is no proof for Iranian religious influence! One point deserves further research: Palmyrene soldiers had a strong part in the cult of Mithras at Palmyra, cf. Franzen in *Mithraic Studies II*, 424ss., 430ss., who assumes that they were converted to Mithraism during their service to the Roman army, so that there is no direct relation between Palmyrene religious conceptions and the cult of Mithras.

JACQUES DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN

IRAN AND GREECE IN COMMAGENE

Commagene lies North of the Upper Euphrates within a great curve of the river where it marks the border between Anatolia and Mesopotamia. In Mesopotamian times it was called Kummuh, of which Commagene is a Greek adaptation.

Just across the river was the land of Mitani. Mitani was inhabited by the Hurrites, whose presence and influence spread far to the SW and the NW. Tablets in the Hurrite language have been found at Ras Šamra, the ancient Ugarit, on the Mediterranean coast of Syria opposite the isle of Cyprus. They date from the 14th century B.C. Some of them have music noted according to Babylonian musical theory. This most ancient of all musical scores has recently been interpreted in an article published by my wife in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 1975, p. 159 sq.

To the NW, the Hurrites expanded both culturally and politically into Anatolia. The Hittites adopted religious beliefs and ceremonies and the technique of horse-training from the Hurrites, who for some time dominated them. The Hurrites in turn were ruled by a minority with a language indistinguishable from Sanskrit, the language of the Aryas of India. Sanskrit terms of hippology thus became current in Hittite.

In the 14th century a peace-treaty was concluded between the Hittite emperor Suppiluliuma and his vassal of Mitani Šatiwaza (formerly read Ma-, then Kur-tiwaza). At the end of this treaty each of the two parties invokes as guarantors his own gods : on the Mitani side are named Mitra and Varuna

Indra

The (2) Nasatya.

These are well-known gods of Vedic India : Mitra and Varuṇa are the great sovereign gods, Mitra coming first in the pair although he is the less important of the two, simply because in Sanskrit the shorter term in a compound always comes first ; the real order being, then, Varuṇa and Mitra.

Indra is the god of war and of the warrior-class of the kṣatriya. The Nasatya are healing gods and are invoked in peril.

We shall refer to this list of gods later. Now to return to Commagene.

The country's highest summit is the Nemrud Dagh (Turkish for Mount of Nemrod). It is a truly remarkable place, not only as the highest point in the Taurus mountains but because it is crowned by a funerary tumulus adorned with colossal statues, a monument of Graeco-Iranian syncretism and the cult of god-kings, half a century before Christ.

It was first descried less than a century ago by the German road-engineer Sester, a self-made man, and was explored in the following years by two German archaeologists, Humann and Puchstein, as well as by the Turk Hamdy Bey who devoted a book to it in 1883, whereas the result of Humann and Puchstein's excellent work did not appear until 1890.

Around the tumulus they had discovered, on two terraces, statues of gods and heroes, reliefs of a king shaking hands with gods (the so-called δεξίωσις), a sort of sculptured horoscope, and several inscriptions, the longest of which designated the place as Antiochos' ἱερο-θέσιον, a word not met before in Greek literature or epigraphy.

This inscription aroused immense interest and was studied by numerous scholars, amongst whom my countrymen occupy an honourable place: it was quoted by Franz Cumont, the author of the two volumes *Textes et Monuments relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra*, because Mitra is named in it, and Charles Michel, Professor at the University of Liège at the beginning of this century, included it in his *Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques*.

In Germany, Eduard Norden had recognized in it the most remarkable specimen of Hellenistic solemn prose and reproduced extracts of it in his *Antike Kunstprosa*.

It appears from the inscriptions and the sculptures that Antiochos, not content with adorning his own tomb with portraits of ancestors, and with representing himself in the act of δεξίωσις, put his own statue among divine colossi and, above all—since, as Bickerman writes, "rien n'empêchait dans les mœurs grecques de se proclamer dieu; la difficulté était de se trouver des fidèles"—instituted sacrifices and banquets and made endowments for the priests and girl-musicians who, on this high ground, were to maintain his cult perpetually.

This Antiochos is otherwise little known. His titles, revealed in an inscription in Ephesus, include that of θεός. According to ancient testimonies—Cicero cites him in his letters—he practised towards

Rome and the Parthians a shrewd policy of balance, the only one feasible for a small buffer-state between the Big Two at the time. He had to do successively with Lucullus, Pompey and Antony, the latter once besieging his capital at Samosata, out of lust for its treasures...

There has been speculation about the origin, in such a mountainous and apart from its forests—hardly fertile country, of these riches, the reality of which is put beyond doubt by the erection of such a huge monument the tumulus alone, 42 meters high, absorbed more than 250,000 cubic meters of stone—and by the founding of frequent and lavish ceremonies. One source of wealth was trade, favoured by the situation of the country at crossing points over the Euphrates between Mesopotamia and Anatolia; a second, even better source was probably industrial, since Iupiter Dolichenus, the god of one of the chief towns of the country, Doliche, was said to be *natus ubi ferrum nascitur*. The existence of an iron industry has recently been proved by archaeology from metallurgic installations.

Antiochos was conscious of mixing Greek and Iranian traditions. He boasts in his inscriptions of having erected the divine images with all the art taught by the *παλαιὸς λόγος Περσῶν* and *καὶ Ἑλλήνων* and he knows that all his ancestral gods, *πατρῴους ἅπαντας θεούς*, come from Persia, from Macedonia and from Commagene. But can we discover the reasons behind the choice of Antiochos' gods, who all but for Commagene, a personification of the country—bore both Greek and Iranian names: Zeus Oromasdes

Apollo Mithra Helios Hermes

Artagnes Herakles Ares?

Artagnes was the Iranian god of war, Varəθrayna in the Avesta, Behram in Persian.

The gods represented almost always wear a headgear marking them as Iranian. Zeus-Oromasdes and Apollo-Mithra-Helios-Hermes wear the Persian (or Armenian) tiara. Only Herakles is often naked, Greek fashion, but in the other instances he is dressed and wears a pointed tiara, probably Iranian. On the whole, the three gods look like Greek gods in Iranian attire. We shall return to them later.

What, in the beliefs professed by Antiochos and in the cult he instituted, is of an Iranian character?

He speaks somewhere of his personal Tyche in terms that could apply to his *x'arənō*, the Iranian term for royal Fortune, but which, nevertheless, have, I think, nothing specifically Iranian.

When speaking of his birth, he says "the birth of my body", implying that his soul already existed before. This could be his *fravaši* but, again, this is not specifically Iranian since the belief in the preexistence of the soul was current in Greece, witness Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics.

When Antiochos expects his soul, at his death, to rise towards the heavenly thrones of Zeus-Oromasdes, πρὸς οὐρανίους Διὸς Ωρομάσδου θρόνους, we are tempted to see there, with Cumont, a reflection of the Iranian belief in the soul's being led (by Vohu Mano) to the golden throne of Ahura Mazdā. This seems to have no exact counterpart in Greece. The opinion on this subject of the great scholar H. Dörrie, author of *Der Königskult des Antiochos von Kommagene im Lichte neuer Inschriften-Funde*, Göttingen 1964, seems fluid, for we read p. 54 "Wie sollte man sich die Apotheose anders vorstellen, als dass der Vergöttlichte unter die Götter aufgenommen wird? Da man sich seit alters die Apotheose des Herakles gerade ebenso vorstellt, kann an Hand dieses Details nicht entschieden werden, ob eine Iranische Komponent vorliegt". This is leaving out of account the characteristic detail of the throne of Oromasdes, a detail which Dörrie then remembers when writing, p. 190, dass "der einzige Zug echter Religiosität, der in diesen Texten erkennbar wird, weist nach Persien: die Seele eines Königs steigt nach dem Tode zum Throne des Zeus Oromasdes empor".

What did Antiochos promise to the faithful?

As Dörrie observes, there is here something contrary to what was usual in late Antiquity. Generally, underneath the concrete, obvious sense of a text, poetical or otherwise, an allegorical one, loftier and more moral, was often looked for and sometimes discovered. In the Commagene hierothesia it is the other way round, Dörrie says in substance. The faithful are addressed in a lofty language, they are promised a good life (βίον ἀγαθόν), the fulfilment of their hopes (ἐλπίδας ἰδίας) or of their pious acts (ἀγαθῶν ἔργων). But we soon become aware of the fact that the king only cares for his own immortality, for the perpetuation of his cult, and that he promises nothing to anyone in the hereafter. The ὅσια ἔργα are but acts of partaking in the cult, i.e. in the sacrifices and banquets. The βίος ἀγαθός, Dörrie concludes, is what we in familiar language call the good life, la dolce vita; the hopes only refer to good food, good drink —and the rest; for Dörrie suspects the girl-musicians appointed by the king of prostituting themselves. The text, it is true, foresees that

these slaves will bear children who shall be taught music in order to succeed their mothers. But is this enough to make us consider them the chance fruits of sacred prostitution? If Nemrud Dagh had been, among other things, a temple of love, would not this be reflected in its pantheon, from which Aphrodite is conspicuously absent?

But let us close the parenthesis.

Towards the end of the great inscription [in its Arsameia and Gerger versions], two phrases occur which do not fit with a strictly cultic, coarsely sensual interpretation of the text. The last two sections of the great inscription deal successively with the criminals who will not respect the hierothesion and with the honest people who, on the contrary, will take part in the cult with just prayers, holy sacrifices, etc. These are told, as an encouragement, to consider Oromasdes-Zeus as a benevolent fellow-fighter in their good actions, εὐμενῆ συναγωνιστὴν ἀγαθῶν ἔργων. Now if it were only a question of partaking of sacrifices and banquets, if such were the meaning of ἀγαθῶν ἔργων, would one need a fellow-fighter, συναγωνιστήν? Must we not see here an allusion to the fights of moral life? This would seem to be confirmed by the second occurrence of this term συναγωνιστής: "Consider", the faithful are told, "these statues of benevolent divinities as sincere messengers, ἀψευδεῖς προφῆτας, of a fortunate life, εὐτυχοῦς βίου, and as fellow-fighters in your τόλμῃ ἀγαθῇ, a term which I hesitate in translating: good audacity, laudable endeavour? but which would certainly be totally out of place, like the συναγωνισταί, if it were only a question of carousing.

Now this idea of invoking divine assistance in a moral fight, though it seems natural to us because of our Christian heritage, was by no means so to the Greeks. "Soviel ich sehe, writes Dörrie, p. 125, ist innerhalb griechischer Ethik nie der Gedanke aufgetaucht, dass ein verdienstliches Werk einer Heldentat gleiche, die darum auf Beistand der Götter rechnen kann". If this idea does not come from Greece, then, should we not turn to Iran, to the great Mazdaean drama of the fight of gods and men against evil?

Let us look at the cult instituted by Antiochos. This cult, involving incense-burning, coronation of statues, sacrifices with common meals and the participation of musicians, has not a single specifically Iranian trait; no magians, no fire-altar, no sacred twigs, no sacred liquor. Only the garments are Persian and the king repeatedly insists that the priest shall be clad in the Iranian fashion—as if this was all there was Iranian to it!

We must therefore ask ourselves if the Commagene gods (except of course for the local deity) ought not to be explained first of all as Greek or Macedonian gods with a slight Iranian varnish.

The gods of the Seleucids were those of the kings of Macedonia: the two principal ones were Zeus and Apollo. Seleucus was indeed deified by his son under the name of Zeus Nikator and his son was in turn deified as Apollo. Then came Herakles: his characteristic epithet *kallinikos* was born by several Seleucids and by the father of our Antiochos. Herakles was also (with Zeus and Athena) one of Alexander's favourite gods, and *the* favourite god of the Greek kings of Bactria, who represented him on their coins either seated (on coins of Euthydemos) or standing (coins of Demetrios).

As may be seen in the table (fig. 1), the gods of Commagene, named in the Nemrud Dagh inscription, are none other than the three principal Graeco-Macedonian gods. But then why are there three Greek correspondents to Mithra and two to Artagnes (Verethraghna), as if the starting point had been on the Iranian side, an Iranian pantheon of three gods being given, to whom equivalents in Greek were looked for, and found in various numbers: one for Ormazd, Zeus; two for Artagnes: Herakles and Ares; three for Mithra: Apollo, Helios and Hermes?

Some scholars sought the solution in the direction of the Iranian religion of Zurvan, the god of time.

Hans Heinrich Schaeder and other iranologists interpreted the gods named by Antiochos as a manifestation of Zurvan, the four-faced god of Time: but there was disagreement as to which gods. According to Junker, Zurvan's four aspects are designated by the four names

Apollo Mithra Helios Hermes.

According to Schaeder, followed by Nyberg, Christensen and others, Zurvan's four aspects are represented respectively by the three gods and the goddess:

Zeus Oromasdes
Apollo Mithra Helios Hermes
Artagnes Herakles Ares
Commagene my all-nourishing country.

But why, if those were Zurvan's four aspects—be it as four different gods or as four names of one—why was Zurvan himself not named? As Arthur Darby Nock the Hellenist wrote in the *Harvard Theological Review*, 1934, p. 8: "Why is this divine unity so veiled"?

Nock's objection seems to have escaped the notice of Dörrie, who, citing in his book the scholars who from Meyer to Schaeder and my countrymen Bidez and Cumont thought they had found Zurvan in the Nemrud Dagh inscription, says that their thesis was almost generally accepted, adding in a foot-note that only F. Krüger, *Orient und Hellas in den Inschriften des Königs Antiochos von Kommagene*, Greifswald 1937, p. 29, "hieran vorsichtige indes nicht grundsätzliche Kritik übt". Dörrie's ignorance of Nock's criticism is the more surprising as he knew Nock's work on the phrase σύνναος θεός. More excusable perhaps is his ignorance of the refutation offered in a book on *La Religion de l'Iran ancien*, published only two years before his. You will permit me to quote myself—une fois n'est pas coutume—since he does not do it : "On a prétendu déceler la présence de Zurvan sur le monument de Commagène, dans trois passages de l'inscription. Mais la distinction qui est faite dans deux d'entre eux, entre *aion apeiros* et *chronos apeiros*, ne doit rien à l'Iran". This was perhaps a little succinct, but one could not say it was not grundsätzlich. I meant, of course, that if *aion apeiros* and *chronos apeiros* were translations of Iranian *Zurvan akarana* "Infinite Time" and *Zurvan darəγō.x'aδāta*, why should a difference of epithets, *akarana* and *darəγō.x'aδāta*, be replaced by one of substantives, *aion* and *chronos*, qualified by the same epithet?

It is therefore agreed that the Nemrud Dagh deities cannot be interpreted as reflexes of a religion of Zurvan. The way is free for other hypotheses.

Georges Dumézil, a few years after promulgating his theory of the Indo-European tripartition of the gods and so-called "functions", applied this, in his book *Jupiter Mars Quirinus*, 1941, to the Commagene pantheon. He noticed the remarkable correspondence between this pantheon and the list in the Mitanni treaty : the first two gods represent the function of sovereignty, the third one the warrior function, and Commagene, "my all-nourishing country, is not a bad substitute for the ancient Nasatyas, gods of health.

After Dumézil's book was published, however, work resumed in Commagene for the first time since the publication of Humann and Puchstein's book began to produce results, bringing to light new documents which have repeatedly modified the data of the problem, as I shall now try to show.

We now have no less than four or five hierothesia : one dedicated to Antiochos on Nemrud Dagh; one to royal ladies at Karakuş—per-

haps one also at Sesōnk; one ■ his father Mithradates Kallinikos at Arsameia on the Nymphaios; one to his grandfather Samos and his great-grandfather Ptolemaios at Arsameia on the Euphrates (Gerger).

The different hierothesia show the same great inscription by Antiochos, with some variations in the pantheon, some ■ which we shall comment on later.

Moreover, the one at Arsameia on the Euphrates, Gerger, mentions the fact that the sanctuary is built on the precincts of Argendene, a goddess otherwise unknown, but apparently some local equivalent of the goddess Commagene of Nemrud Dagh. And in ■ place called Ancoz further down the river between Arsameia and the capital Samosata there has been found, besides a basalt fragment with a short Greek inscription, one with an inscription in hieroglyphic Hittite containing the name of Kubaba, the fertility goddess later called in Phrygia Kybebe or Κυβέλη, perhaps yet another name of the same deity. The site at Ancoz was not another hierothesion, but only a temenos.

Other τεμένη existed elsewhere ■ Commagene, notably at its capital Samosata (the birth-place ■ Lucianos) where two inscriptions were found, one of which has the same gods as on Nemrud Dagh; moreover a relief found at Adıyaman but probably transported from Samosata nearby shows the ■ing with a naked god, probably Helios.

Last not least, in 1974 at Sofraz (south-east of Bahasna/Besni) a stele was unearthed near a Turkish minaret; it shows Antiochos and Apollo and has a complete inscription ■ the utmost importance; but we must leave a more detailed treatment of this document until we have spoken ■ two major books published before the Sofraz discovery.

One ■ the book by Dörrie, already mentioned, *Der Königskult des Antiochos von Kommagene im Lichte neuer Inschriften-Funde*, Göttingen 1964; the other is Helmut Waldmann's *Die kommagenischen Kultreformen unter König Mithradates I. Kallinikos und seinem Sohne Antiochos I.*, Leiden 1973. They differ as to the chronological sequence of the different versions of the great inscription.

Dörrie's chronological reconstruction is based upon the relationship between Arsameia on the Nymphaios and Nemrud Dagh. He thinks that, like the town Arsameia itself, with its hierothesion dedicated to Mithradates Kallinikos, the father of Antiochos, the great inscription found there was anterior to its Nimrud Dagh version. There are several differences ■ the pantheon. At Arsameia we find instead of the

goddess Commagene, Hera Teleia; and Artagnes, the Iranian god of war, has only one Greek equivalent there, namely Herakles, whereas on Nemrud Dagh he has two, Herakles and Ares.

Dörrie thinks he can explain why in the Commagene version Hera has yielded to Commagene and the name Ares been added. The reason was suggested to him by a new interpretation of the relief with the so-called horoscope offered by O. Neugebauer and H. B. von Hoesen in their book *Greek Horoscopes*, Philadelphia 1959. These two scholars, taking account of the traditional position of the vernal point according to the Babylonians and consequently of a shift in the limits of the zodiacal signs (compared with the actual situation in the 1st century B.C.), have shown that the planetary configuration represented on the relief, with Jupiter, Mars and Mercury, as well as the moon, in the constellation of the Lion can only have occurred at the time of Antiochus on July 7 62, i.e. long after his coronation and *a fortiori* his birth. This astral event may very well have been interpreted by Antiochos as a signal from heaven if, by identifying himself with the Lion (or Alpha of the Lion: Regulus) he understood the coming together in this constellation of Jupiter, Mars, Mercury and the Moon as the visible proof of his own divinization.

This gives the reason, Dörrie submits, why Ares was introduced on Nemrud Dagh: because the name designated a planet (Mars), just like Zeus (Jupiter) and Hermes (Mercury). Secondly, if Hera was discarded,—to be replaced by all-nurturing Commagene—it was, according to Dörrie, because there was no planet named after her.

Moreover, the planetary conjunction of July 7 62 may also have been the motive, Dörrie writes, behind Antiochos' erection of his hierothesion. This would fit nicely with the arrangement of the five colossi on each of the two terraces of Nemrud Dagh, for these represent from right to left (as recently shown by the American scholar J. H. Young):

Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, the Moon (Commagene) and Antiochos.

But whatever we think of this last suggestion, which seems very plausible, we cannot *ohne weiteres* accept the reason adduced for the addition of Ares and the suppression of Hera. For there was no need to add the name Ares as that of a planet, since, according to a school of astronomers, inspired by the Chaldaean doctrines, the planet Mars bore the name not of Ares but of Herakles; this is attested by several Greek and Latin authors, quoted by F. Cumont in his article "Les Noms des Planètes chez les Grecs", *L'Antiquité classique*, 4, 1935,

p. 15. Similarly, Hera cannot have been discarded for not designating a planet since, according to the same authors, Hera was another name of the planet Venus. In this case, however, Dörrie might answer that Hera had no place on Nemrud Dagh because the planet Venus did not participate in the configuration of the "horoscope". But before discussing the problem any further we must see how the terms have been altered as a result of recent research and discoveries.

Helmut Waldmann, in his book already mentioned, published in 1973, arrives at a double conclusion. Firstly, the initiator of the Graeco-Iranian syncretism in Commagene was not, according to him, Antiochos, but his father Mithradates Kallinikos, who already had statues of Mithra, Artagnes, etc. erected at Samosata, at Arsameia on the Nymphaios and on Nemrud Dagh. This conclusion has been disproved, as we shall see later, by the Sofraz discovery.

Waldmann's second conclusion, on the contrary, seems unassailable. It concerns the chronological order of the inscriptions. In order to prove that the great Nemrud Dagh inscription is anterior to all others, Waldmann makes use of no less than seven different arguments, frequency of itacism, assimilation of ex. phrasing, abridgments, etc. We don't have time to go into all these, but at least one of them, already adduced by an Italian scholar, Musti, in 1966, seems sufficient. Antiochos says, on Nemrud Dagh as well as at Arsameia and at Gerger, that he has had the law engraved on stelae, on inviolate stelae, ἐν στήλαις ἀσύλοις. This fits perfectly with Nemrud Dagh and the τεμένη, where the text is on stone slabs, στῆλαι, but not with Arsameia, where the text is engraved on the rock face. Obviously the Arsameia version is a copy, unadapted to the new location, of the Nemrud Dagh text.

That the inscriptions in the temene at Samsosata follow in time the Nemrud Dagh's accords with the fact that their purpose was to spread all over the country the royal cult instituted on Nemrud Dagh. It is to be noted that in the inscription Sx the gods are the same as on Nemrud Dagh, except for Commagene, and that the one called Sy has Hera instead, and no more Ares.

Then come the Arsameia inscriptions. The great one at Sockelanlage III, a version of the great Nemrud Dagh inscription, also has Hera. How can we account for this variation? I think, at this stage of our inquiry, in the following manner. Antiochos built the Nemrud Dagh hierothesion as a national monument; hence the presence of

a deity personifying the country. And since this goddess was seated beside Zeus, there was no room for Hera, his usual πάρεδρος or παραστάτις who everywhere else is named along with Zeus (just as, in the Sofraz inscription, as we shall see presently, Apollo is accompanied with his sister Artemis).

The Sofraz relief, discovered two years ago, represents Antiochos with the god Apollo-Helios *not dressed as Mithra*. The inscription on the back and the two sides of the stele does not mention any Iranian names: only Apollo and Artemis *Diktynna*. Concerning the latter, Jörg Wagner in his contribution to a recent *Sondernummer*, entitled *Kommagene*, of *Antike Welt, Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Urgeschichte*, published in 1975, writes that we are not surprised to find Artemis honoured in Commagene since an inscription of Antiochos found in Ephesus, as I said before, was probably connected with the great Artemision there; and, secondly, that the epithet Diktynna was especially appropriate to a land of forests such as Commagene; thirdly, that the cult of Apollo and his sister were also attested in Commagene in the imperial period.

The most interesting point about the Sofraz monument is that it reflects a phase in Antiochos' religious attitude as yet untouched by Graeco-Iranian syncretism. That this was an early phase in his thirty years of reign is corroborated by two facts. On the one hand he calls himself in this inscription simply king, *basileus*, not as in all his other, great king, *basileus megas*. On the other hand, he boasts of being the first to adopt the κιτάρις, which as J. Wagner justly remarks, p. 58, points to the Armenian tiara (the one represented on the relief) and to the "noch bestehende politische Abhängigkeitsverhältnis von Tigranes von Armenien".

This discovery entails the elimination of the first of Waldmann's two theses. As Wagner writes: "So werden die von Waldmann ohne hinreichende Begründung vorgelegten Rekonstruktionen der von Mithradates I. Kallinikos über das ganze Königreich verstreut errichteten temene durch den Neufund vollends unhaltbar".

This of course removes the ground under Waldmann's explanation of the grouping of the names Mithra Apollo καὶ Helios Hermes in several incriptions, as resulting from the desire, on the part of Antiochos, to compromise with his father's own syncretistic views.

But Waldmann's second thesis remains unscathed: the great inscription on Nemrud Dagh is the original version of the foundation charter of the syncretistic royal cult in Commagene, two subsequent versions

of which are found in other hierothesia. The *ordo* of gods on Nemrud Dagh is therefore part of the first manifestation of Graeco-Iranian syncretism in Commagene, and it *can* be explained as reflecting the old tetrad of Aryan gods attested in the Mitani treaty.

Admittedly, between the Mitani evidence and the Commagene one the distance in time is enormous ; we certainly need something to bridge the gap. Well, we only have to look in Iran. Which were the principal gods in Iran in the time of Antiochos?

The answer is found not in sacred books undated and prone to reflect religion as it should be, not as it actually is, but on the coins of the Parthians and their successors the Sasanians, and other contemporaneous data. They were

Ohrmazd, Mithra, Varhran, Anahita.

The only point in need of an explanation is why Anahita was dropped, when she had a Greek equivalent, Artemis, who was present, as we have seen, in Commagene : at Sofraz. Was it perhaps to avoid confusion with Artemis of Ephesus whose cult was too particular? Or because Artemis-Anaïtis was connected with prostitution? More probably she was eliminated because she could not be seated beside Zeus Oromasdes. This is why she was replaced, on Nemrud Dagh by Commagene my all-nurturing country, and elsewhere by Hera.

To recapitulate. We can distinguish the following phases in the development of the religious situation under Antiochos.

1. At the beginning of his reign, when still calling himself simply basileus and following the religion of his mother Laodike, a descendant of Alexander, he pays homage to Apollo and Artemis Diktynna.

2. After the astral event of July 7, 62, he creates, in consultation with astrologers-magi, the Nemrud Dagh hierothesion. There, in order to constitute a pantheon reflecting both his Macedonian and his Iranian origins, they start from the four principal Iranian gods—as attested on Parthian coins, etc.- and they find Greek equivalents for them. To Oromasdes they equate Zeus; to Mithra they find a triple equivalent, not only Apollo but also the two astral gods Helios and his close companion Hermes (the planet Mercury). Perhaps some influence of a Semitic solar triad attested at Palmyra and Hatra is involved. Anyhow a special priest is attached to this quadruple god Mithra Apollo Helios Hermes. To Artagnes they find as equivalent, besides the usual one, Herakles, the more specifically astral Ares (the planet Mars).

Anahita is discarded for the reasons we have just stated. Still another

reason may be because a deity was needed to represent the moon. A personification of Commagene is chosen both to replace Anahita and to continue the tradition of the ancient fertility goddess Kubaba, not to speak of the local Argandene.

3. In a third phase at Arsameia and elsewhere this pantheon is slightly modified for reasons not quite clear: Commagene, perhaps in order to reserve her for the central national sanctuary of Nemrud Dagh, is replaced by Hera. Ares is dropped, perhaps on account of his purely astral role by the side of the very popular Herakles.

There remains to assess the bearing of the Commagene documents on the vexed question of the origins of the Roman Mithra Mysteries.

The importance of Mithra in Commagene is obvious. For one thing, as Elmar Schwertheim remarks in the special number of *Antike Welt*, Mithra is the only god to have a special priest attached to him—at Arsameia on the Nymphaios (Sockelanlage II); secondly, the king calls himself δίκαιος, a favourite epithet of Mithra; thirdly, the King wears the costume of Mithra, and his necklace. Moreover, we have seen how the Nemrud Dagh institution was influenced by astrology, which played such a prominent role in the Roman Mysteries too.

Nothing specifically mithraic has been found at Arsameia either in the Felsengang or in the Felsenkammer, and moreover, although the inscriptions speak abundantly of the cult, there is not the slightest allusion in them to mysteries.

The origin of the Mithra mysteries remain shrouded in mystery.

Fig. 1

Graeco-Macedonian	Commagene	Semites	Iran	Mitani
Zeus	Zeus Oromasdes		Ohrmazd	Varuna
Apollo	Apollo Mithra		Mihr	Mitra
Herakles	Herakles Artagnes		Varhragn	Indra
Hera	Commagene		Anahita	2 Nasatya
Athena	Hera			
Artemis	Kubaba			
	Argandene			

MARCELLE DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN

UNE STATUETTE ÉQUESTRE DE MITHRA

La statue équestre que j'ai l'honneur de vous présenter — admirez l'habileté du modelé, le port majestueux du cavalier et la vigueur réaliste de sa monture (fig. 1) —, est conservée dans la grande villa pompéienne récemment construite face au Pacifique, à Malibu, au nord de Los Angeles, pour abriter les collections du Musée Paul Getty.

Elle n'a encore fait l'objet d'aucune étude ni publication, ayant été acquise à la suite d'une fouille clandestine. Le docteur Jiří Frel, le distingué conservateur de la section antique du musée, attira notre attention sur cette pièce unique, lors de notre première visite, en avril de cette année et, apprenant que nous allions participer à un congrès consacré au dieu Mithra, il eut l'amabilité de proposer que nous la fassions connaître au monde savant à cette occasion. C'est ce que je vais faire succinctement.

M. Frel a eu la gentillesse de nous procurer deux photos et, au cours de notre seconde visite, d'extraire l'objet de sa vitrine et de l'examiner avec nous. La statuette, qui ne mesure que 61 millimètres de hauteur, a été fondue en bronze en deux pièces, le cavalier et sa monture, ensuite soudés ensemble par du plomb, ce à quoi un faussaire n'aurait probablement pas songé, mais qui, me dit M. Frel, était d'usage courant dans l'Antiquité.

La physionomie du cavalier, joues rebondies et chevelure ondulée sous le bonnet phrygien, est d'un jeune homme, ce qui concorde avec le caractère de dieu jeune — enfant ou adolescent — encore récemment mis en lumière par le professeur Martin Schwartz, dans l'interprétation qu'il a présentée au premier Congrès Mithra des termes *Cautes* et *Cautopates*. Plus précisément, la figure joufflue du jeune cavalier s'apparente par le style aux portraits qui nous sont conservés du jeune Caracalla (selon Jiří Frel) ou d'un prince, frère de Commode, dont on peut voir le buste au tome II, pl. lv, de Bernouilli, *Römische Ikonographie*. Ceci permet de dater approximativement notre statue de la fin du 2e s. ou du début du 3e siècle.

Le cheval est du type aryen décrit par A. Martin dans l'article *equus* du dictionnaire de Daremberg et Saglio. Le culte de Mithra paraît avoir en tout temps fait une place spéciale au cheval. Le dieu

était censé donner de nombreux chevaux à ceux qui l'adoraient; et la grande fête des *Mihragān*, connue depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'au temps de Biruni, comportait l'immolation de quantité de ces animaux.

Dans l'Avesta, Mithra est décrit comme allant en char; l'idée de le faire monter à cheval n'apparaît que plus tard et est peut-être due à des Iraniens nomades, Scythes ou Parthes. En tout cas, Mithra est représenté à cheval sur quatre reliefs de Germanie et sur deux fresques de Dura-Europos, à quoi il faut peut-être ajouter un relief de Hama, dont nous allons reparler (fig. 3).

Sur presque tous ces monuments, Mithra est figuré chassant des bêtes sauvages, soit à l'aide d'un arc :

à Dura-Europos (la plus claire des deux fresques; toutes deux reproduites en couleurs dans les Actes du premier Congrès Mithra : *Mithraic Studies*, II, 1975, Plate 24);

à Dieburg (Vermaseren, mon. 1247);

à Osterburken (Vermaseren 1292; courtesy of Badisches Landesmuseum);

ou d'un lasso :

à Rückingen (Vermaseren 1137).

Fait exception le relief de Neuenheim (Vermaseren 1289), où Mithra tient dans la main droite ce qui passe généralement pour un globe (comme c'est le cas du Mithra du relief du Viale Manzoni (Vermaseren 334), mais qui est peut-être une patère.

C'est certainement une patère, coupe à libation, que tient en sa main droite le personnage équestre du relief de Hama — quelle que soit l'identité de ce personnage.

Notre statuette, exemple unique de Mithra cavalier en ronde bosse, le montre tenant, lui aussi, de la main droite une telle coupe, reconnaissable à son *umbo* central.

La main gauche (fig. 2) devait tenir les rênes, faites en un matériau périssable.

Que signifie ce geste? Pourquoi montrer quelqu'un tenant solennellement, à bout de bras, une coupe à libation, sinon pour suggérer l'acte même de verser la liqueur sacrificielle?

La patère, en grec φιάλη, était l'instrument nécessaire de toute libation. On en a diverses représentations. Nous venons de la voir dans la main du cavalier solaire du relief de Hama. Elle figure aussi sur un bronze de Spire étudié par A. Menzel, *Römische Bronzen*, 1960, fig. 12, et qui montre un prêtre portant une couronne radiée et ayant en main une patère. L'objet seul est figuré parmi les insignes et

emblèmes mithraïques : dans l'un des mithraea d'Ostie, le Mitreo di Felicissimo, Vermaseren 299, il est au nombre des insignes du Pater ou de Saturnus, avec la faux, le bonnet phrygien et la baguette (fig. 4). Becatti l'a bien reconnu comme une patère, et à sa suite Vermaseren dans le Corpus, I, p. 141. Je ne sais pourquoi le même Vermaseren, dans son petit livre *Mithra, ce dieu mystérieux*, paru quatre ans plus tard que le *Corpus*, en 1960, y voit au contraire un anneau. L'objet est trop grand pour cela. C'est bien une patère, avec son *umbo* central.

En cherchant un texte qui pût expliquer notre statuette, je suis tombée sur un passage de l'Avesta susceptible d'en être utilement rapproché.

Il s'agit là, au paragraphe 11 du Yašt à Mithra, non pas directement de Mithra lui-même, mais de guerriers lui offrant sacrifice : «Nous faisons sacrifice à Mithra», dit le texte, «auquel les guerriers font sacrifice

barəšaēšu paiti aspanqm».

Ce dernier vers (qui n'est pas le dernier de la strophe ; nous verrons la suite tout à l'heure) a prêté à différentes interprétations, toutes réunies par le dernier éditeur du Yašt, le professeur Ilya Gershevitch, dont je vous traduis la note (p. 169 sq.) :

Wolff donne «sur les dos des chevaux», Lommel «sur le dos», Darmesteter de même. Hertel a «sur les cous de leurs destriers», imaginant les guerriers debout à côté de leurs chevaux ; de même Herzfeld donne «(debout) au cou de leurs chevaux». Pagliaro traduit «sur le cou de leurs chevaux» mais comprend que «la divinité est invoquée pour exercer sa bénéfique influence sur l'animal qui doit conduire les guerriers à la victoire». Hertel insiste sur le fait que *barəšu* ne signifie pas «dos», mais «cou». En fait, conclut Gershevitch, il signifie «crinière», comme le montrent ses correspondants d'autres dialectes iraniens, cf. arménien *bul* et *barš*, sogdien *βuš*, baloci *buśk*, pašto *wraṣ*, ossete *barc*, etc. Et il traduit «whom the warriors worship at the manes of their horses», ce qui me paraît (ou plutôt à mon mari, qui m'a aidée dans toute cette philologie, naturellement) tout à fait exact. Mais Gershevitch ajoute une parenthèse pour expliciter l'expression «at the manes» : il écrit : «= bending down close to the manes», supposant que l'acte d'adoration consiste à s'incliner en avant, vers la crinière du cheval.

Il me semble que notre statuette, que nous cherchions à expliquer par ce texte, l'éclaire en retour. Car, que fait notre cavalier ? Il offre une libation au dieu près de la crinière (ce qu'exprime bien la préposi-

tion, ou postposition, *paiti*). Il n'a pas à se baisser sur la crinière de son cheval : il tient près d'elle la patère d'où s'écoule la libation.

S'il en est ainsi, il faudra ajouter ce trait aux quelques-uns qui attestent l'origine iranienne de la religion des Mystères de Mithra. Et l'on remarquera à quel point était appropriée, dans une religion de soldats comme l'étaient ces Mystères, la référence à une strophe dont voici la traduction complète :

« Mithra ... auxquels les guerriers font sacrifice à l'encolure de leurs chevaux, en demandant la force pour leurs attelages, la santé pour eux-mêmes, une grande vigilance envers leurs adversaires, la riposte aux ennemis, la mise en déroute d'opposants, d'adversaires sans foi. »

Mais, dira-t-on peut-être, notre statuette nous montre le dieu lui-même, et non un dévot, accomplissant le rite ? A cela nous pouvons répondre que tel est aussi le cas des scènes où Mithra sacrifie le taureau, modèles, après tout, modèles mythiques pour la liturgie que célébraient les fidèles.

RICHARD N. FRYE

MITHRA IN IRANIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

Shortly after delivering a lecture on Mithra in Iranian history at the First Congress of Mithraic Studies in 1971, rumours of the discovery of a Mithraeum in Azerbaijan reached me in Shiraz. In the summer of 1974, I sought out the caves which had been reported as Mithraic cult spots. Unfortunately, these caves near Marageh overlooking Lake Rezaiyeh proved to [redacted] only caves which had once been inhabited, probably by nomads, and which were similar to other caves found in many districts of Iran. It seems to me that one must from the outset distinguish between the cult [redacted] Roman Mithras, which had a distinctive iconography, and any vestiges of another kind [redacted] Mithraism, on the Iranian plateau. As far as I know, no Mithraic relief, as known from within the borders of the Roman Empire, has ever been found on the Iranian plateau. We should concentrate our efforts on the existence of other material remains relating [redacted] Mithra in both western Iran (Persia) and eastern Iran (including Central Asia). These remains could be divided into various categories : rock reliefs or statues, coins and seals, and other indications of Mithra's presence, such as place names, proper names on inscriptions, and so on. Only by assembling all of the evidence relating to Mithra in Iran can we have a basis for making any conclusions. We should look first at rock reliefs [redacted] western Iran, those which are said to refer in all likelihood to the god Mithra, and secondly at any in which the identification is less certain.

The following rock reliefs have been considered representations [redacted] Mithra : Qizkapan (Achaemenid or later), Tang-i Sarwak II (Seleucid) and Taq-i Bustan (Sasanian). The first site [redacted] located in the Shahrizor valley of Iraqi Kurdistan, northwest of Sulaimaniya. It is not our purpose to discuss the date and nature of this rock tomb, which are controversial, but only the symbols represented on the rock over the entrance [redacted] the room carved out [redacted] the rock, presumably a tomb chamber. A number of scholars have claimed that the three symbols from left to right, a square with [redacted] figure and four wings, a circle with a priest inside standing or sitting on a crescent, and finally a circle with geometric figures including an eleven-pointed star around a central

circle, are respectively the symbols of Ahuramazda, Mithra and Anahita[1]. This suggestion is just a guess because we do not know what the symbols meant. To make an alternative suggestion, the rays of the many-pointed star would seem to point more to Mithra than to Anahita since clear references to Mithra have him with rays emanating from his head, either wearing a "Phrygian" cap, for example, at Nimrud Dagh and at Arsameia, both in Commagene, or wearing a diadem or crown on Kushan coins[2]. Without more data one is on shaky ground; we should turn to other reliefs and keep Qizkapan in mind.

The reliefs at Tang-i Sarwak, in the mountains between Khuzistan and Fars, show many figures in an unpolished style of the second century A.C. and in a much worn condition. On one relief two seated deities, both holding spears, are carved to the left (when facing the relief) of a seated king of Elymais[3]. Although some scholars have identified the deities as Athena and Artemis, others have seen Anahita and Mithra in them. The latter identification was proposed because of the rays coming from the crown of the figure farthest on the left. Both figures, however, would be best characterized as feminine, and in any case the rays, with knobs on their ends, coming from the crown, may be only a part of the crown and not divine rays. The religious beliefs of the rulers of Elymais are unknown, but the deity with the radiate crown seems to be the one represented on the reverses of coins of the kings of Elymais, usually identified as Artemis[4]. So we should not accept an identification with Mithra unless new information supports this view.

[1] R. Ghirshman, *The Art of Ancient Iran* (New York, 1964), p. 100, and repeated by many authors. For a description of the site, see E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* (Oxford, 1941), p. 203.

[2] For Nimrud Dagh see R. Ghirshman, *Iran, Parthians and Sasanians* (New York, 1962), plates 74 and 80; for Arsameia see F.K. Dörner and T. Goell, *Arsameia am Nymphaios* (Berlin, 1963), plate 32. On Kushan coins see A.H. Wood, *The Gold Types of the Great Kushanas, Numismatic Notes and Monographs of the Numismatic Society of India, no. 9* (Varanasi, 1959), p. 8 and plate 1, 3.

[3] A photograph of the relief in question may be found in Ghirshman, *Iran, Parthians and Sasanians*, p. 54, plate 67. For a complete bibliography see E. de Waele, "Nouvelle introduction aux reliefs rupestres de Tang-e Sarvak", *Proceedings of the IInd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran* (Tehran, 1974), pp. 254-266, esp. p. 259 and note 17.

[4] Cf. G.F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia* (British Museum, London, 1922), pp. 280-1.

Finally, we come [redacted] Taq-i Bustan near present day Kirmanshah. We are fortunate in having [redacted] good series [redacted] photographs of the relief in a book devoted to Taq-i Bustan which enables every student to examine the details [redacted] the relief[5]. Many people have written about this relief and there is general agreement that Ardashir II (379-383 A.C.) [redacted] portrayed in the center with Ahuramazda on the right handing him a ribboned diadem while on the left Mithra stands, holding long barsom stalks in his hand and standing on a lotus flower. In spite of earlier suggestions that the central figure is Ardashir Papakan, it is now generally accepted that the central figure is Ardashir II because [redacted] his crown or headdress. Since the king is receiving a ribboned diadem or wreath, the sign [redacted] investiture [redacted] Ahuramazda on early Sasanian rock reliefs, we may accept the figure to the right as the god, and possibly the figure under his [redacted] as Ahriman, if it is not some conquered foe of the king. All these features are normal for royal Sasanian reliefs in Naqsh-i Rustam and Bishapur. The third figure, however, is new and without parallel. An old tradition, probably Zoroastrian [redacted] origin, identified the figure as Zoroaster, and it was used as an idealized portrait of the prophet [redacted] many Parsi publications[6]. It should be emphasized, however, that the tradition is probably indigenous to Iran and old, since Sir John Malcolm reports [redacted] from at least the beginning of the nineteenth century[7]. The identification of this figure as Mithra was probably first explained by F. Justi who wrote, "the genius who, with a club [redacted] his hands and a halo round his head, stands on a star-lotus flower (an old symbol [redacted] the Sun-worshippers on account of its Heliotropism), is the sun-god Mithra. He appears with the same halo on the coins [redacted] the Turushka (i.e., Kushan) kings and with the inscription [redacted] his name, and most prominently at Nimrud-dagh"[8]. This identification with Mithra was accepted by Herzfeld, who added, "the left figure (in the relief), according to the conception of space (i.e. balance) in this art, accordingly is [redacted] deity"[9]. The identification with Mithra entered most writings on the subject and only the nature of the flower was disputed since the lotus was more properly

[5] *Taq-i Bustan* II, ed. S. Fukai and K. Horiuchi (Tokyo, 1972), plates 74 to 92.

[6] For a bibliography on the relief, see A.V.W. Jackson, *Zoroaster* (New York, 1898), pp. 288-294, also E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien* (Berlin, 1920), pp. 152-3.

[7] [redacted] his *History of Persia*, I (London, 1829), [redacted] 545.

[8] F. Justi, "The Life and Legend of Zarathushtra", *Avesta, Pahlavi and Ancient Persian Studies in honour of Dastur P. B. Sanjana* (Strassburg, 1904), p. 157.

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

an Indian rather than Iranian symbol. Jackson wrote, "the sunflower beneath the feet of the image, an early symbol of sun-worship, is a triple flower, and the stem from which it rises is clearly marked"[10]. Questions of ornament and decoration, including the flower, I leave to art historians, but the figure of Mithra requires more investigation since, as far as I know, it is the only representation of the deity we have in Iran. One must also ask why Mithra is portrayed here, whereas in the rock reliefs of Fars province from the time of the early Sasanian kings only one deity, Ahuramazda, is shown giving the diadem to a king (except probably Anahita to Narseh in Naqsh-i Rustam), and no other deity is represented on the reliefs. Perhaps an examination of the history of Ardashir II may throw some light on this question.

When Hormizd son of Narseh died, he left no heir, and many sources related that Shapur II was still in his mother's womb when the nobles declared him their ruler. It would seem that succession in the Sasanian family was restricted to the offspring of a chief wife or one with royal blood, since we know from a Middle Persian inscription at Persepolis that Shapur, king of the Sakas, was also the son of Hormizd. Either the king of the Sakas was a son by a concubine or an inferior wife, or he was adopted by Hormizd according to Zoroastrian adoption practices. Of these two hypotheses, the former is more likely[11]. In any case, the Persian epic tradition, reported by Firdausi, Tabari and other authors, tells us, in the most complete version recorded by al-Tha'ālabi, that Shapur II had a brother called Ardashir, born a month after him from a concubine of King Hormizd[12]. He also had two young sons, one called Shapur and the other Bahram. He named his brother Ardashir his successor, on condition that he would only hold the throne until Shapur III was ready to succeed him. This was done and Ardashir retired after four years of rule to be succeeded first by Shapur III and then by Bahram IV. There is a problem, however, in the relationship of Ardashir to Shapur II since many sources, such as Agathias, Agapius, Moses of Khorene and

[10] A.V.W. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present* (New York, 1906), p. 218. The sunflower is a dubious suggestion since it may have been a flower native to the Western hemisphere, as I have been informed by Dr. Georgina Herrmann.

[11] An Armenian text, which I have been unable to find, gives the name of the "first queen" of Shapur II, cf. the French translation in V. Langlois, *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*, 2 (Paris, 1869), p. 33.

[12] In the *Histoire des rois des perses*, Arabic text ed. and trans. by H. Zotenberg (Paris, 1900), p. 532.

Hamza al-Iṣfahānī, claim that the former was a son of Shapur II. If Ardashir were in truth a brother of Shapur II, he would have been at least seventy years old at his accession, and neither the figure at Taq-i Bustan nor the coins of Ardashir II appear to represent an especially aged person. A number of explanations are possible. First, the representation of Ardashir II at Taq-i Bustan and on coins may be idealized, representing the king when he was younger. Second, Ardashir II may have been a son of Shapur II, rather than of Hormizd, from a concubine, hence only holding the throne as a kind of regent until Shapur III came of age[13]. Third, Ardashir II might have been a son of Shapur the Saka king, whose name in the sources was then changed to Shapur II. Finally, one should not exclude the adoption practices of the Zoroastrians as an explanation of relationships, witness the founder of the dynasty Ardashir called Papakan, yet probably the real son of Sasan, adopted by Papak, his maternal grandfather, after the death of Papak's own son Shapur in Persepolis. It is also not certain whether or not Ardashir II was the former king of Adiabene mentioned in the Syriac acts of martyrs as a brother of Shapur II[14]. In any case, Ardashir II was apparently not a normal or natural successor of Shapur II, and this may be a reason for the inclusion of Mithra in his relief, not so much, as Herzfeld suggested, to strengthen his claim to the throne, but rather in recognition of Mithra as the deity of contract—his contract with Shapur II to turn over the throne to Shapur III at the proper time.

There is no lack of evidence in Armenian and Syriac sources from the Sasanian period that Persians swore oaths by Mithra, and there is no reason to deny an anthropomorphic representation to Mithra while granting one to Ahuramazda. One may therefore, postulate the circumstances of elevation to the throne of Ardashir II as a reason for representing Mithra on his relief as well as Ahuramazda. Another possibility, suggested by Vladimir Lukonin, is a connection of Ardashir II with the east, where Mithra was especially venerated by the Kushans. This proposal requires a separate study.

[13] One would need to assume that Shapur II's favourite son was born after the monarch was at least fifty-five years old, which may raise doubts on the tender age of Shapur III at the time of his father's death.

[14] In the Arabic Nestorian history in *Patrologia Orientalis*, V (Paris, 1910), p. 256, cf. G. Wiesner, *Zur Märtyrerüberlieferung aus der Christenverfolgung Schapurs II.* (Göttingen, 1967), p. 206.

A corollary task would [redacted] to see if the iconography of Mithra at Taq-i Bustan served as a model for representations of Mithra on seals or sealings. An examination of Sasanian seals with the name Mithra on them, in various catalogues which have been published, soon reveals that none, as far as I can see, portrays the deity or angel Mithra. Rather a lion, mountain goat, or a man, with the legends *burz mtry* "high Mithra", *'twr mtry* "fire of Mithra", and so on, all seem to indicate that Mithra was not portrayed on seals. It would seem that the relief at Taq-i Bustan, if it is indeed Mithra, is the only representation we have [redacted] the god in Sasanian times[15].

Since we do not find a widespread iconography for Mithra [redacted] Iran, let us turn to symbolism and return [redacted] Qizkapan. Mithra is identified with the sun, hence any representation of rays [redacted] the sun might well refer to the god. In Qizkapan the third symbol, to the right of the onlooker, would seem [redacted] a better symbol for Mithra rather than the central symbol, a man [redacted] a half-crescent. Since Qizkapan is west of the Kurdish mountains, it is very difficult to determine not only what the religion [redacted] the local people was, but even just who the inhabitants of this area in pre-Achaemenid times were. Without going into detailed discussion, it would seem that Mithra in the Parthian and Sasanian periods [redacted] Iran's history, if not earlier as well, was regarded by some as an angel or hypostasis of Ahuramazda.

There is one symbol, mostly found on seals, which may relate to Mithra, and that is a chariot pulled by two or more winged horses. One such seal in Berlin shows a bust with rays coming from the head above the chariot and flying horses, with an inscription giving the name Humitra[16]. Because of parallels elsewhere, one could readily assign this iconography in an Iranian context to the "sun god" Mithra[17]. In the Mithra *Yasht* the deity is described in terms understandable as riding on a chariot or *quadriga*, and the iconography of the seals could thus refer to the *Yasht*. Unfortunately, two factors cause some problems. First, the iconography, in the form of winged horses pulling the chariot, does not seem to date before the Sasanian period when the original meaning or the significance of the representa-

[15] It should be noted that sources do not refer to temples or statues of Mithra as they do, for example, of Anahita. This would indicate a different conception [redacted] the rôles of the two deities in the minds of Iranians.

[16] See [redacted] Ghirshman, *Iran, Parthians and Sasanians* (London, 1962), p. 243, fig. 298.

[17] A. B. Keith, *Indian Mythology* (*The Mythology of all Nations*), vol. 6 (Boston, 1917), p. 61 and F. Cumont, *Études syriennes*, (Paris, 1917), pp. 98-9.

tion were probably forgotten, and, in the second place, winged horses (e.g., Pegasus and Equaleus) have many associations, including constellations in classical art from which the Sasanians probably drew their inspiration for this particular iconography. In the West, winged horses pulled the chariots of the dead, while in Iran horses were associated with the star (and angel) Tishtriya in Zoroastrianism[18]. Furthermore, the *quadriga* pulled by winged horses in the cave of the small Buddha of 35 metres in Bamiyan was declared by several scholars to represent the moon god rather than the sun god[19]. All of this is controversial and there is no space here to study the problems of winged versus unwinged horses pulling a chariot. Suffice it to say that the iconography would fit Mithra very well, but ambiguities would indicate that by the late Sasanian period, people probably thought as little about any original meaning of the *quadriga* as Frenchmen did about the *quadriga* of Louis XIV, "the sun king".

This, it would seem, is the answer to the question of the role of Mithra in Iranian archaeology. Persians would swear oaths by Mithra, decide legal cases in the fire temples, hence possibly the terminology for the fire temple, *dar-i-mihr* (see also the *dādgāh* fire temples), where justice was meted out, and they recited the Mithra Yasht in rituals. Even the existence of a separate cult of Mithra, with temples dedicated to his worship alone, while conceivably plausible for the third century A.C., especially in outlying areas such as Armenia, may be doubted for the later Sasanian period. The question of local shrines dedicated to Mithra raises problems which cannot be discussed here. Obviously, we should turn to border areas of the Iranian cultural area and to an earlier period to continue our investigations, but Armenia and Central Asia are large areas to be investigated in separate studies[20].

[18] See the *Tir Yasht*, VI, 18-20 *et passim*. One might say that the form of a horse which Tishtriya took did not mention wings, but the frequency of winged horses on seals together with stars, would at least point to an identification.

[19] A. et Y. Godard, et J. Hackin, *Les antiquités bouddhiques de Bamiyan* (Paris, 1928), pp. 20-21.

[20] There are many topics which need investigation, such as the folk legend of Meher among the Armenians, *mehean*, the Armenian word for pagan temple, and the adoption of the word *mihrajan* for "festival" by the Arabs and some Syrians. Also the allegories, or the meaning of the symbolism for the spectator on viewing the tauroctony in Western Mithraism, may well have Iranian precedents as John Hinnells suggests.

R. GHIRSHMAN

LE CULTE DE MITHRA EN IRAN

Résultat des fouilles de R. Ghirshman des deux terrasses sacrées, à Masjid-i Solaiman et à Bard-é Néchandeh, montagnes des Bakhtiari, Iran du Sud-Ouest.

Aucun temple à Ahuramazda n'y existe, ni à l'époque pré-achéménide, ni achéménide. Les terrasses portent un podium sur lequel était installé un autel. Le culte se faisait en plein air. L'introduction du culte d'Anahita et Mithra, par Artaxerxès II, n'y change rien. Installation des Macédoniens. Cohabitation des deux religions : podium pour les Perses – temples d'Athéna et d'Héraclès pour les Gréco-Macédoniens.

Départ des Gréco-Macédoniens – disparition du temple d'Athéna. A sa place est élevé un temple d'Anahita et Mithra, avec deux autels. Un bronze découvert les reproduit. Transformation du temple d'Héraclès en temple de Verethragna.

A Masjid-i Solaiman, la terrasse abrite, sous les Parthes, les sanctuaires des quatre divinités, ce qui donne une situation semblable à celle de la religion d'Antiochos de Commagène, à savoir : religion zurvaniste. Ainsi les sanctuaires fonctionnent jusqu'à l'arrivée des Sassanides, mais ne disparaissent qu'au milieu du IVe siècle, sous Châpour II.

A Bard-é Néchandeh, un temple d'Anahita et Mithra a été élevé bien plus tard. Un chapiteau en pierre représente les deux divinités et le prince bâtisseur. C'est la première effigie du dieu Mithra, de l'époque parthe, qui a été trouvée par moi en Iran.

(Communication avec projections).

JOHN HANSMAN

A SUGGESTED INTERPRETATION OF THE MITHRAIC LION-MAN FIGURE

Statues and reliefs of the fantastic Mithraic creature often given a human body and lion's head have been recovered from numerous Mithraea. Cumont suggested that this composite figure represented a time god of Egyptian origin adopted and called by the Greeks Aion. According to Cumont the figure could also be identified with the Graeco-Phoenician deity Kronos and with the Zoroastrian *yazat* Zurvân[1]. Legge and others believe that the creature should [illegible] identified with Ahriman, the Zoroastrian Devil[2]. Duchesne-Guillemin offers the view that both Aion and Ahriman are represented[3]. Bivar suggests a connection with the Mesopotamian underworld god Nergal[4]. Hinnells sees it as a being who presides over the ascent of the planetary ladder by the souls of men[5]. In the opinion of the present writer, for reasons which will [illegible] discussed below, the figure may represent a kind of divine soul inspired [illegible] part by the speculative writings [illegible] classical Greek philosophy.

In the *Republic* Plato discusses what he considers to [illegible] implied by the statement that "wrongdoing [illegible] profitable when a man [illegible] completely unjust but has [illegible] reputation for justice". To illustrate his interpretation Plato likens the soul of man to a fabulous monster which "combines the forms of several creatures in one". There is first the figure of a many-headed beast and this [illegible] joined with two other forms, those of a lion and a man. The three grow together into one being, with the outside moulded into the likeness of the man so that the whole may look like [illegible] single creature[6].

This description could be used [illegible] interpreting the several forms of the Mithraic lion-man. There [illegible] the statue at Castel Gandolfo which

[1] F. Cumont, *TMMM* II, 44f.

[2] F. Legge, *PSBA* 34 (1912), 125-42; 37(1915), 151-62

[3] J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, Paris, 1953, 128; R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan, a Zoroastrian Dilemma*, Oxford, 19[illegible], VIII-IX. Zaehner, *BSOAS* 17(1955), 237.

[4] A. D. H. Bivar, *MS*, Manchester, [illegible]75, 275-89.

[5] J. R. Hinnells, *Monumentum H. S. Nyberg I*, *Acta Iranica*, 1975, 364.

[6] Plato, *Republic*, IX, 588.

has a human body with lion's head and shows further monster heads extending from the chest and from each knee (*CIMRM* 326). A statue from Ostia shows the more common Mithraic type; this has a human body with a lion's head but displays no additional heads. (312). Finally we may mention the figure on a relief from Modena which has a human body and head (695). A lion-like head is placed below the chest and two monster heads appear at either thigh. Many scholars have accepted these three figures as being Mithraic and see them to be variant representations of the same subject. On the other hand, it has been suggested that the Modena relief with human head and the Castel Gandolfo statue with animal heads placed about the body are not of Mithraic origin or have only a fringe connection. This view is held because the iconography of these two examples is not thought to accord with that of the standard Mithraic type which shows only a lion-headed human figure[7]. If, however, as the present writer suggests, the sculptures could be seen to give visual form to Plato's description of a soul, we may consider that, in using this description, the creators of the several statues may have variously interpreted the appearance of the figure from Plato's account. This would in no way detract from the authenticity of the figures in terms of Mithraic understanding of them or of Mithraic beliefs. If then these beliefs do reflect concepts influenced by Platonic speculation regarding the souls of man as suggested by the present proposal on the Mithraic lion-man motif, it will be helpful for our discussion to consider further the image of the soul as described by Plato. He states:

> We can now reply to anyone who says that for this human creature wrongdoing pays and there is nothing to be gained by doing right. This simply means, we shall tell him, that it pays to feed up and strengthen the composite beast and all that belongs to the lion, and to starve the man till he is so enfeebled that the other two can drag him whither they will, and he cannot bring them to live together in peace, but must leave them to bite and struggle and devour one another. On the other hand, to declare that justice pays is to assert that all our words and actions should tend towards giving the man within us complete mastery over beast under his care and tame its wildness, like the gardener who trains his cherished plants while he checks the growth of weeds. He should enlist the lion as his ally, and, caring for all alike, should foster their growth by first reconciling them to one another and to himself[8].

[7] Hinnells, *op. cit.*, 346-47

[8] Plato, *Republic*, IX.588.

> From every point of view, then, whether of pleasure or reputation or advantage, one who praises justice speaks the truth; he who disparages it does not know what it is that he idly condemns[9].

In contrasting the principle of good and evil Plato sees evil "as always being the thing that corrupts and destroys" and good "as that which benefits and preserves.... Everything has its peculiar evil as well as its good.... Everything is destroyed by its own peculiar evil or corruption.... The body is destroyed by the evil engendered by its own diseased state".

Plato suggests that "...if bodily evil does not engender in the soul's peculiar evil, we must never allow that the soul is destroyed merely by an evil peculiar to something else". Moreover, since "its own evil and depravity cannot kill the soul, it is hardly likely that an evil designed for the destruction of a different thing will destroy the soul or anything but its own proper object.... So since the soul is not destroyed by any evil either its own or another's, clearly it must be a thing that exists for ever, and is consequently immortal"[10].

Plato holds that to understand the soul's real nature we must look at the soul not as we see it now "marred by association with the body and other evils, but when she [the soul] has regained that pure condition which the eye of reason can discern; you will then find her to be a far lovelier thing and will distinguish more clearly justice and injustice and all the qualities we have discussed"[11].

In the final chapter of the *Republic* Plato considers the rewards and punishments awaiting the just and the unjust after death. He claims that, when the soul leaves the body, it comes before the Judgement of the Dead. The unjust were commanded to pass downward through an opening in the earth. The just were directed upward through an opening in the sky. Thereafter, those who returned from out of the earth were travel-stained and dusty and had suffered on their journey. The souls of the worst offenders never reappeared from below. Those returning from the upper regions appeared clean and bright and spoke of the joys of heaven. Lots were scattered before the reassembled souls and each soul took up a lot falling near him. This represented his new bodily life[12].

[9] *ibid.*, IX.588-9.
[10] *ibid.*, X.609-11.
[11] *ibid.*, X.611
[12] *ibid.*, X.614-18.

Plato urges [redacted] to learn to distinguish "the good life from the evil, and always and everywhere to choose the best within his reach... One should seek to understand what is the effect, for good or evil, of all conditions of life so he may choose always the middle course that avoids both extremes, not only in this life, so far as he may, but in every future existence; for there lies the greatest happiness for man... This is the supreme choice for a man, both while he lives and after death"[13].

If the Mithraic lion-man is compared with the Platonic description and condition of a soul, these may both be understood to express a dualistic concept which recognizes the conflict between good and evil [redacted] every man and in the soul of man. Given this connection we may consider the possibility that Mithraic theory followed that of Plato in urging man to seek [redacted] understand good and evil so as to choose the middle way that avoids extremes. By these means man is assured [redacted] greater happiness in this life and [redacted] after life.

We turn next to the various symbols associated with the lion-man and consider any connections which they may suggest [redacted] support of or against the present line of enquiry. For this discussion the symbols of the representative statue from Ostia will be used (312). In the first place, there is the serpent which is shown encoiled about the body [redacted] the figure. This [redacted] a common feature of the lion-men.

Now in considering the various evils of the soul, Plato explains why certain faults have always been condemned in man. Profligacy [redacted] disapproved "because it gives too much license to the multiform monster: self-will and ill temper, when the lion and serpent part of us is strengthened till its sinews are overstrung"[14]. The reference to the "serpent part of us" does not occur elsewhere [redacted] Platonic speculation. However, Plato clearly intends this as a symbol for the faults described. Given the association [redacted] the figures considered above, it is suggested that the serpent which is depicted with the Mithraic lion-man could equally be borrowed, in the first instance at least, from Plato. Accordingly, as in the latter case, by encoiling the body of the Mithraic figure the serpent may be seen to give strength to certain failings [redacted] man and soul, a condition emphasized by the phrase "till its sinews are overstrung".

At the foot of the Ostia statue there [redacted] a *kerykeion*, a rod flanked by entwined serpents. This is a common attribute of Hermes who is no

[13] *ibid.*, X.618-19.

[14] *ibid.*, IX.590

stranger in Mithraism. He is equated with Mithras in perhaps the earliest surviving Mithraic inscription — that of Antiochus of Commagene from Nimrud Dagh[15]. As *Mercurius Invictus* and *Deo Invicto Mithrae Mercurio*, Hermes appears in other Mithraic inscriptions[16]. A connection of Hermes/Mercurius with Mithraic beliefs would seem to be suggested. It is perhaps relevant in discussing the Ostia lion-man which shows the *kerykeion*, to note that, according to Joannes Lydus, Mercurius was recognized as the guide of souls[17]. Moreover Homer states that Hermes held in his hand the fair golden *rhabdos* or rod when he summoned forth souls[18]. Hermes is shown with this device in his role of guide of souls and watcher of the portal of life in a painting on a *lekythos* which dates from the fifth century B.C. (Fig. I). Here the god is depicted with *kerykeion* in the left hand and with *Rhabdos* raised in the right hand. Through the power of this latter implement, according to the interpretation of Verrall and others, Hermes directs the exit of souls from the mouth of a *pithos* which represents the opening of the underworld[19]. One unfortunate soul tumbles downward toward the open rim, and this would seem to symbolize Hermes in his further role as a guide of souls of the dead entering the underworld. We may note that the Ostia lion-man, together with other representations of this figure, holds a long staff. If we are to identify the lion-man as a soul, it is legitimate to suggest that the staff could represent the *rhabdos* of Hermes intended here as a symbol of the bringing of a soul to its judgement or possibly of its pending release into physical being.

The key which the Ostia figure holds at left could be the key to the portal of life or to the realm which dead souls enter after death of the body.

Attention is also drawn to the cock which stands at the base of the Ostia statue. This could be interpreted as the cock that crows at the dawn of a new day, the beginning of new life, the birth of souls into physical being. We find the cock as an attribute of Hermes, the guide of souls, on an ancient bronze figure of the god in the British Museum.

[15] M.J. Vermaseren, *CIMRM* I, No. 32.

[16] *ibid.*, I, No. 171; II, No. 1210

[17] Joannes Lydus, *De Mensibus* 1.20. On Hermes the guardian and guide of souls see also L.R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* V, Oxford, 1909, 14-15

[18] Homer, *Odyssey*, XXIX, Lines 1-4

[19] A.W. Verrall, *JHS*, 20, 101.

The wings of the *psychai* shown in the *lekythos* painting enable these figures to rise out of the portal of life. In a Mithraic context, if the lion-man is to be associated with Platonic theory, one set of wings of the Ostia figure could be seen as symbolizing the good of man which carried the soul from the Judgement of the Dead to its ultimate purification in heaven. The second set of wings could equally symbolize the failed life which brings the soul of evil man down from his judgement into an underworld of torment.

It may also be intended that the statues of the Mithraic figure showing a lion's head are meant to emphasize, in this way, the evil part of the soul. On the other hand, the figure on the Modena relief given a human head with noble features and showing a small lion's head on the chest, could suggest that the dominant position of the human head is intended to emphasize the good part of the soul as opposed to the evil part represented by the lion.

Finally, we may suggest that the single eye placed on the chest of the lion-man figure from Castel Gandolfo (326) could represent "the eye of reason" which Plato believes to be able to discern the "pure condition" of the soul of man.

If we accept the above finding, at least as a theoretical possibility, we may ask whose soul the lion-man is intended to represent. It is certainly not the soul of just any human. Here again Plato may offer an answer to our question.

In the *Timaeus* Plato says that the creator (*demiurge*), a divine being who is otherwise left unidentified, mingled and blended the universal soul[20]. The creator also made the universe a sphere in a circle revolving and set soul in the midst thereof and spread her through all its body and even wrapped the body about with soul from without[21]. It is perhaps of interest to note, in this regard, that the Mithraic lion-man is sometimes represented standing on a sphere. We may mention the relief at Torlonia (543) as an example[22]. It would seem possible to view this globe as the sphere-shaped universe described by Plato. Moreover, if we allow that the lion-man may be a soul, the figure in relation to the sphere, could equally be intended to identify the universal soul.

Now, in the *Laws*, Plato argues that soul is the source of all matter and it resides and keeps control anywhere where anything is

[20] Plato, *Timaeus*, XIV

[21] ibid., VIII.

[22] Vermaseren, *CIMRM* I, No 543.

moved. It is the cause of all things, of good and evil, beauty and ugliness, justice and injustice. It stirs into movement everything in the heavens or on earth and in the sea. Plato holds that it is the "best kind of soul that cares for the entire universe and directs it along the best path... If however these things move in an unbalance and disorganized way, we must say the evil kind of soul is in charge of them"[23]. Here again we may suggest a Platonic connection in the use of a human headed figure in Mithraic iconography to depict "the best kind of soul" and the lion-headed creature "the evil kind of soul".

Plato observes that "some" hold soul to acquire its own body of fire or air and by these means it drives the sun by external control[24]. Here it may be useful to note a drawing of a relief of the Mithraic lion-man found in Rome (383) This shows the figure holding a flaming torch in each hand and also blowing what appears to be air onto a fire. A special device of the lion-man was the fire shovel and this also suggests a connection with providing its own body of fire[25]. Tertullian says that the philosophical nature of the lion grade in Mithraism was the "dry and fiery nature"[26]. According to Plato whether the soul impels the sun in the way indicated above or provides us all with light by some other means, "every single one of us is bound to regard it [soul] as a god"[27].

Because soul controls the course of all things, both good and evil, and if, as suggested, a connection between Mithraic theory and Platonic speculation is allowed, we may understand Mithraists to have honoured the divine soul who according to Plato directs the universe "along the best path". As the soul governs all movement in heaven and on earth the adherents of Mithras could in accordance with the present suggestion, have invoked the divinities of good and evil for assistance in helping them to follow a course of moderation in their bodily state and thereby give encouragement for the universal soul to guide them along a safe course during their wordly life and to direct the soul of dead suppliants to a better existence in afterlife[28].

[23] Plato, *Laws*, X. 896-7.

[24] *Ibid.*, 898-9

[25] Vermaseren, *CIMRM* II, No. 1123

[26] Tertullian, *Adv. Marcionem*, 1.13.4

[27] Plato, *Laws*, X. 898-9.

[28] Merkelbach has suggested that the Mithraic doctrine of the soul is to be considered in terms of Platonic philosophy, although his comparison, drawn largely from the *Timaeus*, is confined to a consideration of the cosmology of the individual soul; its

We consider next a motif found on several of the Mithraic tauroctones. This shows a snake rushing toward or entwined about a large, two handled *amphora*-type vessel which is usually placed below the bull at the right. On some of the reliefs, as those from Brigetio (1727) and Heddernheim (1083) a lion in a threatening attitude faces the vessel on the right. It is suggested that the jar on the Mithraic reliefs could symbolize the portal of life as does the jar rim shown in the painting on the Greek vessel considered above (Fig. 1). In keeping with the proposal that the serpent and lion of the Mithraic composite figure may reflect Plato's use of these devices to symbolize faults of the human soul, it may be further suggested that the lion and snake depicted at either side of the jar of present discussion, could bear a similar meaning. That is to say that according to one line of reasoning they could be seen to represent temptations of evil which attack or attract the soul after its rise to birth in a human body.

We may note also a relief from Ostia which shows the Mithraic lion-man standing above a large bowl-like jar (314). Dangling at the mouth of this vessel are the head and tail of a snake. In keeping with the suggestion that some Mithraic theology and its related iconography reflect Platonic speculations, we may perhaps compare the jar of the relief with the bowl in the *Timaeus* in which the creator (*demiurge*) mixes and forms the souls of mankind and out of which the souls would rise.

Numerous sculptured representations of the birth of Mithras show a serpent extended around the rocks from which the child god bursts forth (1492). It could be suggested, on the one hand, that these sculptures are intended to show Mithras breaking free from the menacings of an evil force embodied in the encircling serpent. On the other hand, the snake could be viewed as a beneficent guardian creature as perhaps

progress in a bodily state through the seven spheres of the planets and the subsequent task of man to liberate his divine part (the soul) from the body. Merkelbach does not treat, in a Mithraic context, the Platonic concept of a divine, universal soul of good and evil parts which guides the souls of man; nor does he connect the soul in Mithraism with Plato's charge that man should care for both aspects of the human soul in seeking a middle course between extremes of good and evil. The Mithraic lion-man is not compared by Merkelbach with the Platonic description of soul but is viewed as Chronos – Time — a divine being who is master of the earth or also of the heavenly plain. According to this theory the lion head is the symbol of all consuming time or of the soul's fire. See R. Merkelback, "Die Kosmogonie der Mithrasmysterien", *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 34 (1966), 219-57.

could also the serpent positioned at the jar on the reliefs. However, if the second possibility is allowed in the latter case, it is an explanation which does not account for the fact that on some reliefs the snake is moving toward the jar rather than stationed at it. Nor would it account for the presence of the menacing lion. Clearly the question of these additional serpents motifs and their possible relevance to the snake of the lion-man merits further study. For the moment we may say that if there is a connection of symbolism and if the snake entwined about the lion-man is intended as a creature of evil, the other serpents could have similar associations.

To sum up, the available evidence would seem open to an interpretation that the lion-man figures, however modified in Mithraic assimilations, could have been inspired by the Platonic description of a soul. If so, it may be further suggested that the theorists of Mithraism would not have adapted the Platonic figure without also accepting elements of the Platonic dualism which the figure was intended to represent. In this speculation the body and soul are considered mutually independent substances; the body was merely the prison house of the soul and the soul was pre-existent and also immortal. The soul is in part inherently good and in part evil, as is the body of man. Plato implores all to distinguish the good life from the evil and to choose a course of moderation which will give the greatest happiness. It is a choice for man while he lives and after death. Plato sees the necessity for the soul at death to undergo purification and ultimate return to its original home, the body, through re-incarnation or metempsychosis.

The dualism of Plato, insofar as it relates to a conflict between good and evil, could have been influenced by similar beliefs held by the Zoroastrians. If we accept the statement of later classical writers, that Plato learned Zoroastrian doctrine from the Magi he met while visiting Phoenicia, we may find a basis for such influence[29]. Whatever the case, the *First Alcibiades*, ascribed spuriously to Plato, does contain the earliest definite mention of the name Zoroaster in Greece, and here also the interest which [Plato] seems to have taken in the doctrines held by the Magi first manifests itself[30]. In a late work, the *Laws*, Plato shows the importance which he gave to the distinction between the opposing realms of Good and Evil[31].

[29] *Vitae Platonis* (*Prolegomena to Platonis Opera* I.D), ed. Hermann, 194, 199; Apuleius, *De dogmate Platonis*, 112

[30] [Plato], *First Alcibiades*, 37

[31] Plato, *Laws*, X, 896.

Several scholars have commented on a statement preserved by Pliny[32] and ascribed to both Eudorus and Aristotle, which claims that Zoroaster had lived six thousand years before the death of Plato. Benveniste is of the opinion that this reckoning was given by these two disciples of Plato because they were "urged by a desire to find an origin for themselves as far back as possible" and, having considered the relationship between Zoroastrian and Platonic dualism, "had made Zoroaster a precursor of Plato or Plato a reincarnation of Zoroaster"[33]. Jaeger takes a similar view. He considers that "it heightened the historical self-consciousness" of the Athenian academy to think that Plato's doctrine of Good as a divine principle had been revealed to Eastern humanity by an Oriental prophet thousands of years earlier[34]. Since Mithraism has undoubted connections with Iranian religious beliefs, it could follow that Zoroastrian concepts of good and evil underlie Mithraic theology, but on the evidence of our identification of the lion-man with Plato's description of a soul, it may be suggested that these beliefs have been assimilated under Western influence to the Platonic response to this theory and to the further theory of body and soul. Thus we may see the lion—man and its proposed twofold connection—good and evil, body and soul—as a symbolic object intended to represent these concepts.

It may be argued that any Mithraic understanding of the soul would not necessarily also need to incorporate a belief in resurrection after death. If this were the case it could follow that the soul in Mithraic theology would not have the power of the body to choose an after-life of heaven or an eternity of suffering. Yet, given the present interpretation of the symbols associated with the lion-man and also the presence of this figure in Mithraic cult structures, the indications would seem to suggest that the creature had an important significance for Mithraists, possibly best understood in terms of a future existence either in heaven or on earth.

Much attention has been given in past discussions to a dedication to *Arimanii(o)* (Arimanius) found at York on a statue of a Mithraic creature displaying the rod and wings of the lion-man. One line of inquiry sees this name as a Latin form of Ahriman, who is the Zoroastrian Devil, and from this it is deduced that the figure represented is

[32] Pliny, *Natural History*, 30.3.

[33] E. Benveniste, *The Persian Religion*, Paris, 1929, 20-1.

[34] W. Jaeger, *Aristotle*, Oxford, 1934, 34.

Ahriman[35]. Other dedications to *Deo Arimanio* are known from several Mithraea[36]. If we consider that the lion-man represents a divine soul which, according to Platonic theory, contains both good and evil elements, we may deduce that the dedications on the statue does not identify the statue as that of a devil, but is rather addressed to an evil being whose iniquity is, in part, inherently present in the soul represented by the statue.

With reference to the dedication to Arimanius which occurs in different Mithraea, Plutarch confirms that 'Areimanius' is indeed the devil of Zoroastrianism. Plutarch's text reads as follows: "some believe that there are two gods who are rivals, as it were, ... the one being the creator of good, the other of evil; others call the better of these a god and his rival a *daemon*, as, for example, Zoroaster the Magian, ... He used to call the one Horomazes [Ahura Mazdā] and the other Areimanius, and showed also that the former was especially akin, among objects of perception, to light, and the latter, on the contrary, to darkness and ignorance, while in between the two was Mithras; and this is why the Persians call Mithras the Mediator. He also taught that votive and thank offerings should be made to Horomazes, but gloomy offerings to Areimanius, and those intended to avert evil"[37].

In the Zoroastrian religion, the idea of calling the devil Ahriman a god or of making offerings to him would be considered an intolerable heresy. When Plutarch claims that "some" believe there to be rival gods of good and evil and that "others" hold the evil one to be a *daemon* and not a god, he clearly places Zoroaster in the latter group. On the other hand, we have noted that Mithraic inscriptions explicitly give Arimanius the title *deus*. From this would seem reasonable to conclude that the Mithraic concept of good and evil accords with Plutarch's description of those who believe in a good and in an evil god, and further that in this instance Plutarch was referring to Mithraic concepts. In keeping with these findings we may possibly connect Mithraic theory with Plato's advice that man "should enlist the lion part of the soul as his ally, and, caring for all alike both good and evil, should foster their growth by first reconciling them to one another and to himself"[38]. If, as the present writer suggests, the

[35] Vermaseren, *CIMRM* I, No. 834

[36] *ibid.*, I, No. 369, II, No. 1773, 1775.

[37] Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 46.

[38] See note 8.

Mithraic lion is inherently evil, and therefore a proper representative for the evil Arimanius/Ahriman, we may understand the Mithraic dedications to Arimanius as reflecting Plato's advice, in that they are attempts to appease the 'beast' or the evil part of us, for the benefit of our well being. This is in keeping with the Platonic theory of following a course of moderation between extremes.

According to Plutarch, Mithras is the Mediator who stands between the two extremes of good and evil. This is certainly not true in the Zoroastrian religion, in which Mithra is set clearly on the side of righteousness[39]. Zaehner thinks that the intermediary position given to this Mithras by Plutarch is "reminiscent of the essentially earthy role of the hero-god Mithras" as he appears in the mysteries of Roman Mithraism[40]. The present writer would agree with this assessment, and add also that our findings suggest that Roman Mithraists may have looked to Mithras in the special sense of seeking through him support in determining a reasonable course between extremes. In this event we may understand that in making Mithras an intermediary figure, Plutarch was reflecting Mithraic rather than Zoroastrian practices.

To be considered possibly in parallel to the theory of Mithras the mediator, we may note the comments of Farnell on Hermes. Farnell observes that "from the function of Hermes as the messenger of God, an idea of value for religious thought might have arisen. The divinity who proclaimed to men the will of the High God, might also convey to him [God] the prayers and aspirations of men and like Mithras become the mediator". Farnell points out that such a connection for Hermes is at least suggested by Aeschylus who has Electra uttering in a prayer: "O mighty messenger of the gods of the upper and the lower world, Hermes of the dark realm, aid me by heralding my prayers, that the powers below the earth may hear them"[41]. If this a valid function of Hermes in Greek religion, we may perhaps understand that in Mithraic assimilations and through the influence of Hermes the messenger, Mithras the mediator became a kind of neutral divinity replacing Hermes in the task of relaying the prayers of devotees to the good and evil gods. Hence a possible reason for the equation of Hermes and Mithras in Mithraic inscriptions.

[39] Benveniste has suggested that Mithra as a mediator between the forces of good and evil, was a Zurvānite concept. See E. Benveniste, *The Persian Religion*, 112 sq.

[40] R. Zaehner, *Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*, Oxford, 1961, 123.

[41] L. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* V, Oxford, 1909, 21-2.

To sum up our present findings, it is suggested that the Mithraic lion-man figure may be seen to symbolize both good and evil aspects of the soul, and at the same time, to reflect Iranian and non-Iranian concepts. If we allow that Mithraism could ultimately have absorbed the Platonic notion that man's choice of behaviour would lead to a better existence in heaven or on earth, we may consider this to have been a doctrine which would have held considerable attraction for humanity.

HELMUT HUMBACH

MIΘRA IN INDIA AND THE HINDUIZED MAGI

We are indebted to the efforts of John R. Hinnells, that the proceedings of the First International Congress of Mithraic Studies, held in Manchester in 1971, could recently appear in print. Glancing at the order and contents of the contributions to that congress, we can see that the Indological participants were chiefly concerned with determining the Aryan aspect of Iranian Miθra-worship. It was once more hoped that the characteristics of the Old Indian Mitra, as far as they could be traced in the Rigveda, might throw light on the prehistory of the Iranian Miθra, and thus provide a secure basis for the study of his later derivative – the Roman Mithra[1]. Not enough attention, however, was paid to the fact that we not only need to investigate the prehistoric Aryan relationship between the Iranian Miθra and the Indian Mitra but should also consider the actual process by which the Iranian Miθra had been borrowed, in his function as a Sun God, from the Iranians by Sun-worshipping Hindus much later in the historical period. In this process of Iranian influence on Indian religion we can distinguish at least two phases. In the first phase, the name of the Old Iranian *Miθra* was substituted in Sanskrit by that of his relative, the Old Indian *Mitra*, whereas in the second phase, *Mihr*, the Middle Iranian development of Old Iranian *Miθra*, was taken over as a loan-word into Sanskrit where it appears in the form *Mihira* 'Sun'.

1. *The Substitution of Skt.* Mitra *for OIr.* Miθra

The first phase is linked to the legendary activities of a group of Hindu Sun-priests called *Maga*, under certain conditions also *Bhojaka*, or, after the continent of their origin, *Śākadvipiya Brāhmaṇa*, i.e. 'Brahmans originating from Śākadvipa, the continent of the Śāka

[1] Cf. especially H.W. Bailey: The second stratum of the Indo-Iranian Gods. Paul Thieme: The concept of Mitra in Aryan belief. J. Gonda: Mitra in India. In: John R. Hinnells [Ed.]: Mithraic Studies, vol. I. Manchester 1975, p. 1-52.

tree', a term which has survived to the present day[2]. Although the information found in the Hindu sources concerning the distant continents is generally complete phantasy, F. Wilford (1808), p. 75ff., was undoubtedly correct in seeking a historical reality behind the name of the Magas and in identifying it with that of the Iranian priest caste of the Magi (OP. *magu-*, Av. *mąγu-*, MP. *mwγ*, Sogd. *mwγ*).

In the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas the *Maga* are recorded as the Brahmans of Śākadvīpa along with three other castes, the *Maśaka* or *Māgadha*, the *Mānasa* and the *Mandaga*, which correspond to the Hindu castes of the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras, respectively[3]. Yet, according to a legend preserved in the Sāmba-Purāṇa (SP.) and expanded in the first book of the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa (BhP.), eighteen

[2] Cf., e.g., Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the North-Western Provinces of India, 6, Allahabad 1881, p. 351 (Sangaldīp Brahmans in Gorakhpur, Uttar Pradesh). — Bihar District Gazetteers, Patna, Patna 1970, p. 82 (Sākadwipi Brahmans in the Patna District, Bihar). See also below, note 55.

[3] Mbh. 13,61 (Ed.) 6, 12, 33-35: *Tatra pañca mahāpaṭhā varṇāś ca lokasammatāḥ Magāś ca Maśakāś caiva Mānasā Mandagās tathā. Magā brāhmaṇabhūyiṣṭhāḥ svakarmaniratā nṛpa. Maśakeṣu tu rājanyā dhārmikāḥ satyavādinaḥ. Mānaseṣu mahārāja vaiśyāḥ karmapatāyinaḥ. sarvakāmasamṛddhāś ca śūrā dharmārthatatparāḥ. Śūdrāś ca Mandage nityaṃ parituṣṭā dharmasthitāḥ.* 'As heard by all men, (in the island of Śākadvīpa) are found four sacred provinces. They are the Magas, the Maśakas, the Mānasas and the Mandagas. The Magas for the most part are Brāhmaṇs devoted to the occupations of their order. Amongst the Maśakas are virtuous Kṣatriyas granting (unto Brāhmaṇs) every wish (entertained by them). The Mānasas, o King, live by following the duties of the Vaiśya order. Having every wish of theirs gratified, they are also brave and firmly devoted to virtue and profit. The Mandagas are all brave Śūdras of virtuous behaviour' (Trsl. Roy). — Viṣṇu Purāṇa 2, 4, 69-71: *Magāś ca Māgadhāś caiva Mānasā Mandagās tathā. Magā brāhmaṇabhūyiṣṭhā. Māgadhāḥ kṣatriyās tu te. vaiśyās tu Mānasā jñeyāḥ. śūdrā ṭeṣāṃ tu Mandagāḥ. Śākadvīpeṣu tair Viṣṇuḥ sūryarūpadharaḥ. iṣyate.* 'The caste of Maga is that of the Brāhmaṇ, the Māgadha, of the Kṣatriya; the Mānasa, of the Vaiśya, and the Mandaga, of the Śūdra, and by these Viṣṇu is devoutly worshipped as the Sun'. (Trsl. Wilson). — As to the readings of the other Purāṇas see Kirfel (1920), p. 120; Hazra (1958), p. 41, n. 22; Prakash (1961), p. 254, n. 4. The SP. and BhP. parallels are quoted below, note 11. Cf. Sāmbavijaya 2 (ed. Weber, 1880), p. 32 (*Mágasa*) and Khalavaktracapeṭikā, ib., p. 53 (*Maśaka*). *Mandaga* comes from MP. *bondag* 'servant, slave' as seen by Scheftelowitz (1933), p. 316. *Maśaka* and *Mānasa* are less clear. *Maśaka* seems to have been replaced by *Māgadha* as a result of the transfer of the Maga tradition to Magadha for which see below, notes 14,17. The further replacement of *Maśaka* by *Māgadha* is influenced by the caste name *Māgadha* attested in the Manusmṛti, e.g. 10, 11: 'From a Vaiśya by females of the royal and the Brāhmaṇa castes sprung a Māgadha and a Vaideha'; 10, 47: 'To Māgadhas (belongs) trade'. — The Βραχμᾶνες Μαγοι who are located by Ptolemy, Geography 7, 1, 74 in the south of the unidentified Mount Βιτυγῶ in India should, perhaps, be discarded.

members of the Maga caste of Śākadvipa migrated to India in order to devote themselves, as Brahmans, to the worship of the image of the Sun-God. The course of the legendary events is roughly as follows: Sāmba was struck by leprosy as a result of a curse uttered by his father Kṛṣṇa who resided in his royal residence Dvārāvatī on the edge of the salt sea[4]. Since fasting and asceticism brought no relief from the disease, Sāmba journeyed to the Candrabhāgā River in the Panjāb, to the sacred bathing place of Mitravana, named for Mitra, one of the Ādityas, who are twelve in number according to the Purāṇic concept and who, being considered variant forms of the Sun, are associated with the twelve months of the year[5]. Through extolling the Sun God he regained his health[6].

Until this time the Sun God had been worshipped only by means of holy circles (*maṇḍala*)[7]. Then, bathing in the waters of the Candra-

[4] SP. 3, 50 (= BhP. 1, 73, 43): *Saptaḥ putra pitraḥ, prāptavāṁ kuṣṭhāṅgatvam* 'The son, having been cursed by his father, contacted leprosy'.

[5] SP. 24, 5-7 (= BhP. 1, 127, 6-8): *Sindhor uttarakūlaṁ gatvā samudrāyāṁdra Candrabhāgām ... Tato Mitravanaṁ gatvā rathaṁ... Ārādhanārthaṁ Sūryasya guhyaṁ stotraṁ ... jagau* 'Sāmba left the northern shore of the sea and crossed the Candrabhāgā. He went to the sacred bathing place of Mitravana. With the intention of adoring the Sun (Sūrya) he sang a secret song of praise' — SP. 4, 20-22 (= BhP. 1, 74, 22-24): *Candrasarittaṭe ... Tatra Mitraḥ sthito yasmāt tasmāt Mitravanaṁ smṛtaṁ* 'At the bank of the Candrabhāgā. Since Mitra is standing there, (the place) is called Mitravana'.

[6] SP. 24, 29f. (= BhP. 1, 127, 29): *Bhāskareṇa ... tan mamaiva mahaṁ Sāmba dehāt tvacaṁ tvayāgaḥ* 'With the help of the Sun (Bhāskara) he peeled off the filth from his body in the same way as the snake peels off its skin'. — Cf. also Herodot I, 138: "Ος ἂν ἐς τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἁλφὸς ἢ λεύκη ἔχῃ, ἐς πόλιν οὐτος οὐ κατέρχεται οὐδὲ συμμίγνυται τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Πέρσῃσι· Φασὶ δὲ μιν ἢ τὸν ἥλιον ἁμαρτόντα τι τοῦτο ἔχειν" (In Persia) the citizen who has leprosy or the white sickness may not come into a town or consort with other Persians. They say that he is so afflicted because he has sinned in some way against the Sun'. — Fihrist (ed. Flügel), 1, p. 348, l. 11-14: "People come to (the Sun idol), who are striken with diseases, with elephantiasis, leprosy, chronic ailments and other revolting illnesses. They remain with him, spending the nights there prostrating themselves and beseeching humbly that they be cured. They do not eat nor drink, but fast before him. The sick person does not cease until he experiences in a dream that a speaker says to him: You are cured and have realized your wish. The sick person says that the idol spoke to him in a dream and he convalesces and recovers'.

[7] SP. 29, 2: *Na purā pratimā hy āsīt pūjyate maṇḍale Raviḥ* 'In ancient times there was no image (of the Sun), the Sun (Ravi) was worshipped in a circle'. — BhP. 1, 129, 3: *Kṛtvātmanaṁmaṇḍalākāraṁ...savraṁ* 'he made the figure of the Ātmamandala, then he took a bath'. — Cf. Bāṇa (first half 7th cent.), Harṣacarita (ed. Kane), chap. 4, p. 3, l. 3-6: *Nisarpata eva ca sa nṛpatir Ādityabhakto babhūva. Pratidinaṁ udayaṁ Dinakriyāḥ smārtaḥ*

bhāgā, Sāmba discovered a statue of the Sun, carved out of the wood of the Kalpa tree by the God Viśvakarman, which the river had swept down from the snow-covered mountains[8]. At the Sun God's request Sāmba recovered the image and set it up in Mitravana[9]. There he then constructed a Sun temple[10]. Since no Brahmans were available who could have carried out the worship of the image, Sāmba, upon the advice of the Sun-God, invited eighteen families of the Magas of Śākadvīpa who were said to distinguish themselves by wearing a special girdle called *avyaṅga*[11]. He brought them to Mitravana where he established for them the city of Sāmbapura[12].

*utsahāsedhārī dhavalakarpatapraveṣṭitaśīrāḥ prāṅmukhaḥ kṣitau jānubhyāṃ sthitvā kuṅkumapaṅkalipte maṇḍalake pavitrapadmarāgapātrāsthitena vahnidravyeṇa Sūryāruṇatulyena raktakamalayugmenārcāṃ dadau. Tataś ca sāyaṃ madhyaṃdine divasāre caturvidhaḥ prādhyaṃ prayatena manasā tanayārthaṃ tanayāhvayaṃ. 'The King (Prabhākaravardhana, Harṣa's father) was by natural proclivity a devotee of the Sun. Day by day at sunrise he bathed, arrayed himself in white silk, wrapt his head in a white cloth, and kneeling eastwards upon the ground in a circle smeared with saffron paste, presented for an offering a bunch of red lotuses set in a pure vessel of ruby and fingal, like his own heart, with the Sun's hue. Solemnly at dawn, in midday, and at eve he muttered a prayer for offspring, humbly with earnest heart repeating a hymn having the Sun as its centre'. (Trs. Cowell and Thomas, p. 104)

[8] SP. 26. 11 (= BhP. 1. 129. 131): *Kalpavṛkṣāt tu nirmitā prāyaśo .Himavataḥ pṛṣṭhe* 'The image had been shaped (by Viśvakarman) from (wood of) the Kalpa tree, on the ridge of the snowy mountains'. — Cf. Alberuni, India (trs. Sachau), 1, p. 116: 'A famous idol of theirs was that of Multān, dedicated to the Sun, and therefore called Āditya. It was of wood and covered with red Cordovan leather; in its two eyes were two red rubies... When Muḥammad Ibn Alqāsim Ibn Almunabbih conquered Multān.... he hung a piece of cow's-flesh on its neck ... On the same place a mosque was built... Ibn Shaibān, the usurper, broke the idol into pieces'. — Contrarily to this, Hsüan Tsang (7th cent.) — in Yuan Ch'wang, (tr. Watters), 2, p. 254, reports that 'the image was of gold ornamented with precious substances'. — Sāmbasyāya 2, 10 (ed. Weber, 1880), p. 32, n. 1 mentions 'the statue of the Sun God in the midst of the Candrabhāgā river, adorned with jewels' *Candrabhāgāyāṃ madhye mūrtiḥ nānāmaṇi mama*.

[9] SP. 26. 3-4 (= BhP. 1. 129. 4-6): *Sa snātaḥ... paśyati dhvaminām jalaughena prāṅmukhīm nimnakhīm Ravim. Sa tāṃ nīrāyo Mitravanakṣetre sthāpayāmāsa tāṃ tadā* 'After having taken a bath, he noticed an image of the Sun (Ravi) which, its face upwards, was swept down by the flood. He rescued it and set it up in Mitravana'. — BhP. 1. 129. 7 adds: *Mitrāṃ Mitravane...sthāpayitvā* 'After having set up the Sun (Mitra) in Mitravana'.

[10] SP. 26. 15: *Kṛtvā devagṛhaṃ Sāmbaḥ* 'Sāmba constructed a temple'.

[11] SP. 26. 30f. 35-38. 46-48 (= BhP. 1. 139. 73f. 78-82. 90-92): *Maṭhā ca Māgadhāś ca. I. Māmaṭhā. Magadhā. Magaṇḍā calva Māmaṭā Mandaṭhā tathā...Avyaṅgadhāriṇaḥ sarve...Tān Magāṃ mama pūjārthaṃ Śākadvīpād ihānaya...Avyaṅgaṃ kuśalaṃ Magānāṃ vedavādinām vāyuṃ ye vayā vīrdham...Saputrakāraṣaṃyuktā...prāpta Mitravanaṃ*

Undoubtedly, this legend has a historical core, as already seen by Wilford (1808), Windischmann (1832), Reinaud (1848), Aufrecht (1859) and especially by A. Weber, who dealt with the Magas in a number of publications (1857-1888) which are still today indispensable. Maga priests worshipping the idol of the Sun, the latter being clad in the dress of the Northerners and wearing a special girdle called *avyaṅga*, are attested already in the iconographical part of the astronomical treatise Bṛhat-Saṁhitā [13], which was written by the famous astronomer Varāhamihira (died 587) who himself was a Sun worshipper, perhaps

punaḥ 'The Magas, the Māgadhas, the Mānasas and the Mandagas ... All of them wear the Avyaṅga ... Thou shalt bring those Magas hither (from Śākadvīpa to perform my worship... There are 18 families of the Maga who know the Veda, who will go with you... Together with (the Magas) and their accompanying wives and children, Sāmba returned to Mitravana' — The number of eighteen agrees with that of Sūrya's attendants as given in BhP 1. 124, 36 (= SP 16, 19), see below, note 49. It seems to consist of the number of the signs of the zodiac (i.e. 12) and that of the planets (i.e. 6, according to western calculation, not 8, as calculated in India).

[12] SP. 3, 7 (= BhP 1, 72, 12): *Sāmbaḥ ... Tenāyaṁ sthāpitaḥ Sūryaḥ svanāmnā ca puraṁ kṛtam* 'Sāmba ... This image of the Sun (Sūrya) was set up and a city bearing his name was constructed by him' — SP 3, 54 (= BhP 1, 73, 49): *Sāmbenādhigataḥ Bhāskaraḥ punaḥ sampradāya tad rūpaṁ svanāma-kṛtaṁ niveśitaḥ* 'After having adored the Sun (Bhāskara) and having recovered his beautiful appearance, Sāmba set up the (image of the Sun (Arka) that is named after him' — SP 24, 33 (= BhP 1, 127, 31): *Sthāpayasva ca mahā...Candrabhāgātaṭe. Tava nāmnā ca Sāmbedaṁ puraṁ khyātiṁ gamiṣyati* 'Set me up at the bank of the Candrabhāgā ... Through your name, Sāmba, this city will attain fame' — BhP 1. 140, 14: *Sāmbaḥ Candrabhāgāsaritaṭe puraṁ nivesayāmāsa. Sthāpayitvā Divākaraṁ, Bhojakānāṁ samarpayat. Tat puraṁ...nāmnā Sāmbapuraṁ nāma. Tasmin pratiṣṭhito devaḥ paramādityo Divākaraḥ* 'At the bank of the river Candrabhāgā Sāmba founded a city. He set up (an image of) the Sun (Divākara) and entrusted it to the Bhojakas. For this reason, the city is named Sāmbapura. The Sun God (Divākara) is set up in its centre' — BhP. 1. 141, 7: *Sāmbapuraṁ*

[13] Bṛh. Saṁh. 58, 46f.: *Kuryāt udicyaveṣaṁ...pralambahāro 'vyaṅgapaṭaḥ* (Mss. *vyaḍ°*) '(The idol of the Sun) ought to be made ... clad in the dress of the Northerners... a necklace hanging down, a girdle (*avyaṅga*) round his waist' This is understood as *vyaṅgam* (Mss. *vyaḍgam*) and glossed *dhāraṇam* 'girdle' by Bhaṭṭotpala (10th cent.) The form *avyāṅga* (or *vyāṅga*) is found in Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa 3, 67, 3: *Kartavyā vyāmā rājya vāvyāṅgeti sampātā* 'One should prepare for it (the image of the Sun) a girdle called *avyāṅga*' — Bṛh. Saṁh. 60, 19: *Vaiṣṇavā bhāgavatāḥ Magāḥ ca Savituḥ Śambhoḥ sabhasmadehāḥ... uktāḥ* 'The priests of Viṣṇu are generally styled Bhāgavatas, those of the Sun (Savitṛ), Magi, of Śiva, ash-smeared priests' Bhaṭṭotpala glosses *Magāḥ* by *Magabrāhmaṇāḥ* 'Maga Brahmans'

even a Maga [14]. In addition, we have a series of later testimonies in which the Magas are mentioned [15].

In a few more recent passages of the SP. and BhP. the story of Sāmba is brought into connection not only with the sanctuary of Mitravana in the West but also with that of Kālapriya at the border of the Yamunā (i.e. Mathurā?) and with that of Tapovana or Muṇḍira.Suṇḍira Sutīra/Puṇḍīra in the east (i.e. Konārak in Orissa) [16]. The Magas (and the Bhojakas) are also frequently located in Magadha, as if the similarity between the two names, Maga and Magadha, had caused them to consider that country as their legitimate place of residence [17]. However, it was definitely the sanctuary of Mitravana from which the Maga Sun-worship spread all over Northern India [18].

[14] The text of the Bṛhat-Saṃhitā commences: *Jayati...Savitā* 'Victory to the Sun (Savitṛ)'. Cf. Bhaṭṭotpala's Introduction, p. 2, l. 13: *Āvantikādeśya-Magadhadvija-Varāhamihira-rkalabdhavaraprasāda...Suryam ādau eva praṇamāmi* 'Varāhamihira, the teacher from Avantikā (= Ujjayinī in Avanti or Mālwa), the Brahman from Magadha (!) who has been shown the highest favour by the Sun (Arka)... at beginning (of his work) he bent down before the Sun (Sūrya)'. — *Magadha-dvija* 'Brahman from Magadha' is, perhaps, a blunder for *Maga-dvija*, see Biswas (1949), p. 176f., but also below, note 17 on the transfer of the Maga tradition to Magadha. In an inscription from Hund (Peshawar District, N.W.F.P.), dated Saṃvat 169 (Harṣakāla, = 774/5) and published by *Sahni* (1933-6), Jayantarāja, a Sun worshipping Brahman from Ujjayinī, is more correctly called *Āvantiko Sūryabhaktaḥ*.

[15] Albīrūnī, India (trsl. Sachau), p. 21: 'There are some Magians (*Mughis*) up to the present time in India, where they are called Maga (*Mak*)'. The passage looks like a sort of annotation which has crept into the text dealing with the Zoroastrian mission in the east, whereby the Achaemenian and the Sasanian periods seems to be confounded with each other. — An inscription from Ghaṭiyāla (Jodhpur District, Rājasthān), dated Saṃvat 918 (Vikrama, = 861/2) and published by Bhandarkar (1907/8), is *likhitaṃ Maṭena Mātṛravṇā* 'written by the Maga Mātṛravi' (*Mātṛravi* = 'measuring the Sun'?).

[16] BhP. I, 72, 4-5: *Sthānāni trini devasya dvipe 'smin Bhāskarasya tu. Pūrvaṃ Mitravanaṃ...tathā Muṇḍiraṃ...Kālapriyam tṛtīyaṃ tu* 'On this continent there are three abodes of the Sun God (Bhāskara). The first is Mitravana, then Muṇḍira... the third is Kālapriya'. — BhP. I, 129, 16 (= SP. 26, 13f.): *Sāṃnidhyaṃ mama pūrvāhṇe Sutīre drakṣyate janaḥ Kālapriye 'pi madhyāhne 'parāhṇe cātra mitravaṇe* 'People will always see my proximity at Sutīra in the forenoon, at Kālapriya at midday, and here (at Mitravana) in the afternoon'. — BhP. I, 55, 8: *Suṇḍira, Kālapriya, Mitravana*. — Hazra (1958), p. 99-108; v. Stietencron (1966), p. 222.

[17] See above, note 14, on *Magadhadvija* = *Magabrāhmaṇa*. — The inscription of the poet Gaṅgādhara from Govindpur (Gayā District, Bihār), dated Śaka 1059 (= 1137/8) and published by Kielhorn (1894), refers explicitly to the Maga legend. Verse 2: *Śākadvīpaḥ...yatra upre Magākhyāḥ...Śāmbo yān ānināya svayam iha* 'Śākadvīpa where the Brahmans are named Magas...whom Sāmba himself brought hither;' verse 3:

The site of Mitravana and that of the city of Sāmbapura founded there, are more or less identical with the present-day Multān (< Skt. *Mūlasthāna* 'basic place, base'). The identity is verified by a BhP. passage in which the name of Mitravana has been replaced by that of Mūlasthāna[19], and by a testimony of Varāhamihira's commentator Bhaṭṭotpala (10th cent.), according to which Multān had, in earlier ages, been known under the names of *Kāśyapapura*, *Haṁsapura*,

Teṣāṁ sa prathamaḥ...Bhāradvājaṁ...Magadhānāṁ mahāvaṁśasaṁtānopamaḥ 'The first of them was... the sage Bhāradvāja... like a garland of the great race of Maga (twice-born)' The poet who claims to be a descendant of Bhāradvāja, records the genealogy of his own family and that of the dynasty of certain rulers of *Magadha* called *Māna*. Thereby he seems to allude to the names of the Śākadvīpa castes *Māgadha* and *Mānasa* (above, note 3), cf. e.g., verse 11: *Mānapatir... gṛhe* 'in the house of the Māna Lord', and also verse 15: *Śrī Magadheśvaraḥ* 'the illustrious ruler of Magadha'. — As to the etymological connection between Maga and Magadha cf. BhP. I, 117, 53f.: *Magaṁ dhyāyanti te yasmāt tena te Magadhāḥ smṛtāḥ. Bhajayanti ca māṁ nityaṁ tena te Bhojakāḥ smṛtāḥ* 'They are called Magadhas since they meditate upon the Maga, they are called Bhojaka since they always nourish me'. — According to the Sāmbopākhyāna (ed. Weber, 1860), p. 31-39, the Magas after having performed the sacrifice at the Candrabhāgā river went from Śākala to Gayā in Magadha, where they cured the Māgadha (!) prince Suloman from leprosy. A more modern version of this legend is found in H. H. Risley, The Tribes and Castes of Bengal, I (1891), p. 159f.: "The Sākadwipi or Sakaldwipi Brahmans are supposed to have been brought by Rāma from Ceylon for the purpose of practising medicine. According to another opinion they were the indigenous Brahmans of the country of Magadha. Some say that it is for this reason that they were formerly called Magas. The name, however, has dropped into disuse, and the Sākadwipi themselves prefer the legend associating them with Rama's famous invasion to that connecting them with a part of the country proverbial among Hindus for its ceremonial impurity. At the present day the bulk of the sub-caste are employed as priests in Rajput families; some are landholders, some practise Hindu medicine. It is a curious fact that, although the Sākadwipi have the standard eponymous gotras of the Brahman caste, their marriages are regulated not by these, but by ninety five purs or divisions of the local or territorial type, that is to say, a Sākadwipi man may marry a woman of his own gotra who in theory is descended from the same mythical ancestor (*ṛṣi*) as himself, but may not marry a woman whose forefathers are shown by the name of her pur to have come from the same village or the same tract of country as his own. To abandon the gotra altogether and to substituted for it exogamous divisions based on a wholly different order of facts involves so serious a departure from orthodox usage that one is inclined to doubt whether the Sākadwipi can ever have been organized in the regular lines'.

[18] SP. 4, 1f. (= BhP. 1, 74, 1f.): *Sthāpitaḥ...Sāmbena Sūryaḥ Candrasarittaṭe... Ādyaṁ sthānaṁ idaṁ Bhānoḥ* 'The Sun (image) was set up by Sāmba at the bank of the Candrabhāgā... This (place) is the original abode of the Sun God (Bhānu)'

[19] BhP. I, 189, 23-26: *Puṇḍra, Kālapriyo, Mūlasthāna*. For further references see v. Stietencron (1966), p. 222.

Bhagapura (in which *Kāśyapa*, *Haṁsa*, *Bhaga* are names of the Sun) and *Sāmbapura*[20]. Even in the time of Albīrūnī (1st half 11th cent.), an annual festival called *Sāmbapurayātra* was celebrated by the inhabitants of Multān[21]. Indeed, through its geographical location, the famous city of Multān was well-suited [illegible] the role of a gateway to India for Iranian cultural influences, and the extreme climatic conditions prevailing there would have made the worship of the Sun God especially appropriate.

A. Weber (1857) was certainly right when suggesting that Skt. *Mitra*, the name of the Sun God [illegible] Mitravana, worshipped by the Magas, had been substituted for the name of the Iranian deity *Miθra*. Yet, I. Scheftelowitz (1933a) and H. v. Stietencron (1966) erred in expanding this suggestion [illegible] to the point [illegible] interpreting every reference to Mitra and [illegible] the Maga Sun worship [illegible] India as evidence for the survival of [illegible] Iranian Miθra religion in that country. As a matter of fact, in our Sanskrit sources the Maga religion is presented [illegible] a completely Hinduized form. As customary [illegible] Sanskrit, the Sun God [illegible] Mitravana bears many different names, and thus he remains entirely within the framework of Purāṇic concepts. The only reminiscence of the Mithraic background is the fact that, in giving a name to the sanctuary, the name [illegible] Miθra's cousin, the Indian Mitra, has been selected from a large scale of possibilities[22].

[20] Bhaṭṭotpala, quoted by Albīrūnī, India (trsl. Sachau), p. 298: 'The names of the countries change, and particularly in the yugas [i.e. ages of the world]. So Multān was originally called *Kāśyapapura*, then *Haṁsapura*, then *Bhagapura*, then *Sāmbapura*, and then *Mūlasthāna*, i.e. original place'.

[21] Albīrūnī, India (trsl. Sachau), p. [illegible]: 'the Hindūs of Multān have a festival which is called *Sāmbapurayātra*; they celebrate it in honour of the Sun, and worship him'.

[22] SP 3, 2-41 (= BhP 1, 72, 6-8): *Candrabhāgātaṭe ramye puraṁ vai Sāmbasaṁjñitaṁ... Sthānaṁ tatra Sūryasya... Tatra Ārkaḥ sthito dvādaśabhāgeṇa Mitra Maitreṇa cakṣuṣā* 'At the pleasant bank of the Candrabhāgā a city named for Sāmba is situated. There lies the abode of the Sun God (Arka) who is standing there with the twelfth part of himself, (in the form of) Mitra with the Mitra eye' (Cf. *Maitreṇa vipaśyitaḥ*, v.l. *Maitrīṣaḥ kuruṇāvitaḥ*, one of the 108 names of the Sun, Mbh (Crit. Ed.), 3, 3, 28, for which see also below, p. 241). — SP 4, 1-21 (= BhP 1, 74, 1-23): *Candraśarittaṭe... Mitrative 'avasthito devo tapas tepe... Sahasrāṁśuḥ... kṛtvā dvādaśāmānaṁ Adityāṁ udapadyata Indro Dhātā ca Parjanyaḥ Pūṣā Tvaṣṭā 'tha Bhagaḥ Aryavān Viṣṇur Aṁśaś ca Varuṇo Mitra eva ca. — Mārtaṇḍa dhāmaṇa Bhānu nāmato Mitrasaṁjñitā... sthito Candraśarittaṭe... sthito Maitreṇa cakṣuṣā* 'At the bank of the Candrabhāgā... having assumed the form of Mitra, the (Sun) God went into fasting... After having divided himself in twelve parts, the Sun God (Sahasrāṁśu) was born as Aditi as Indra, Dhātṛ, Parjanya, Pūṣan, Tvaṣṭṛ, Aryaman, Bhaga, Vivasvan, Viṣṇu, Aṁśu (for Aṁśa),

Avyaṅga, the name of the sacred girdle of the Magas, affords us some assistance in determining the religion of the Iranian ancestors of the Magas of Multān more precisely than has hitherto been done. Skt. *avyaṅga* literally means 'having non-incomplete limbs' (*a-vi-aṅga*)[23]. In the Sāmba legend this evidently was understood as referring to Sāmba's healing from leprosy[24]. Yet, A. Weber (1879), p. 457, already recognized that this would be nothing more than a popular etymology and that the meaning 'sacred girdle' of *avyaṅga* was borrowed from the Avestan *aiβiθβana* 'sacred girdle of the Zoroastrians' (= MP. *kustig*). He believed that in the name of the continent of the Śāka tree (Skt. *Śākadvīpa*) that of the Saka people (Skt. *Śaka*) was disguised, and he suggested that the wearing of the *avyaṅga* was not so much a specifically Zoroastrian as a general Iranian custom, in which case the Magas could have been non-Zoroastrian Miθra worshippers of Saka origin. This hypothesis was accepted by Scheftelowitz (1933a) and by v. Stietencron (1966), although it should have been recognized by the middle of the 20th century that it was based on invalid arguments. The main objection is of a linguistic nature. Judging from the internal *-θ-*, Av. *aiβiθβana* is a typical Avestan form. From this one cannot but draw the conclusion that the meaning 'girdle' of Skt. *avyaṅga* must have been borrowed from the Zoroastrian context, i.e. the Iranian predecessors of the Hindu Magas must have been Zoroastrians[25]. The Medo-Persian term *Maga* and the devotion of the Magas to the celestial bodies permits us to be more specific: Skt. *avyaṅga* originated in that Zoroastrian tradition

Varuṇa and Mitra. The twelfth form of the Sun is known by name as Mitra.. standing at the bank of the Candrabhāgā.. standing (there) with the Mitra eye'. A divergent list of Ādityas is given in BhP. 1. 78. 51-54 (= SP. 9. 1-4), see below, note 47.

[23] Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra 6. 3. 22 glosses *avyangam* 'having non-incomplete limbs' by *vigatam aṅgam yasyāḥ karṇādikam yasyāḥ vyaṅgaḥ* 'who has lost a limb, an eye, an ear etc., that (man) is *vyaṅga* (i.e. with incomplete limbs)'. Similarly 7. 6. 14: *avyaṅgā — anangakhinā* 'she who has lost no limb'.

[24] In BhP. 1. 142. 19 the Bhojakas are said to be *avyangāvyanga* 'having non-incomplete limbs by virtue of the avyanga'. — In Sāmbavijaya 1 (ed. Weber, 1880), p. 31, Sāmba is cursed by his father Kṛṣṇa with the words *Vyanga bhava* 'Thou shalt have incomplete limbs'.

[25] In this connection it may be noted that the use of the Śaka era in the inscription from Govindpur (above, note 17), in which it is spelled *Śāko*, may be due to the same sort of etymological speculation as the predilection of the Bhojakas for the seventh day of the month *Māgha* in BhP. 1. 147. 22: *Māghamāsa ca saptamī*.

which had its centre in the Persis during the later Achaemenian and the Sasanian periods and which apparently dominated throughout the Persian Empire.

The phonetic structure of Skt. *Maga*, as compared with MP. *Moγ* (Sogd. *Mwγ*), suggests that the word may have been borrowed from Iranian quite early, i.e. from Late Old Persian or Early Middle Persian. If there should be any historical relationship between the variant form *Magu*, attested in the BhP. only (not in the SP.), and the OP. *Magu* 'member of the Iranian priest caste', we would even have to go back to the times of Darius and Xerxes[26]. On the other hand, the introduction of the worship of an image of the Sun God, as ascribed to Sāmba, would point to Greek rather than Persian influence. Thus the historical kernel of the Sāmba legend should more likely be dated to the period of the syncretism of Greek, Iranian and Indian traditions under Alexander the Great and his early successors. One could, perhaps, identify the legendary *Sāmba* with King *Sambos* (*Sabos*, *Sabbas*) who, according to the Greek and Latin historians, ruled in the Indus area, upriver from Pattalene (the delta), and who initially submitted to Alexander but then revolted against him[27].

[26] BhP. 1, 140, 32: *Magavah*, *Magubhih*, *Magana*, 47: *Magah*. However, the authenticity of these passages is open to grave doubt as they hitherto are attested in the Oxford manuscript only, see Aufrecht (1859), p. 39, and cf. also below, p. 250. The derivation of Skt. *Mogu* from the Old Persian *Magu* would be corroborated, if A. Cunningham's (1871), p. 198f., identification of *Kāśyapapura* (= Multān, see above, note 20) with the city of *Kaspapyros*/*Kaspatyros* would be right. The name of the latter was reported to Darius by his explorer Skylax of Karyanda. Skt. *Kāśyapa* 'tortoise' being one of the names of the Sun, it would not be impossible that at the site of the later Mitravana Multān there was a Sun sanctuary as early as in the 6th century B.C., which in the time after Darius' conquest of the Indus valley (about 518 B.C.) might have come under the control of the Persian Magi. As to this, cf. also Srivastava (1966), p. 12. However, Kaspapyros/Kaspatyros is located not in the Panjāb but in Gandhāra and Paktyia. See Hekataios FGrHist 1, F 295: Κασπάπυρος πόλις Γανδαρική 'Kaspapyros is a Gandharian city'; Herodot 4, 44: ἐκ Κασπαπύρου πόλιος καὶ τῆς Πακτυικῆς γῆς 'they set out from the city of Kaspatyros and the Pactyic country'.

[27] Diodor 17, 102: Ἐξῆς δὲ τὴν τοῦ Σαμβοῦ βασιλείαν ἐξεπόρθησε ... Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Σάμβος ... φεύγων εἰς τὴν πέραν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ χώραν ἀπέφυγε τὸν κίνδυνον 'Next (Alexander) ravaged the kingdom of Sambos ... King Sambos fled ... into the country beyond the Indus and escaped'. — Strabo 15, 1, 33: Πρὸς αὐτῇ δ' ἤδη τῇ Παταλήνῃ τὴν τοῦ Μουσικανοῦ λέγουσι καὶ τὴν Σαβοῦ † τὸ σινδονάλιον † καὶ ἔτι τὴν Πορικανοῦ καὶ ἄλλου, ὃν ἐκρατήσαν ἀπόστατον Ἀλεξάνδρου, τὴν τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ παροικοῦντον κοτυρίον 'Near Patalēnē, they say, one arrives immediately at the country of Musicanos, and at that of Sabos, *Sindonalia by name, and also

2. *Skt.* Mihira *borrowed from Mīran.* Mihr

It is not the first phase of influence of Iranian Sun-worship in India (connected with the immigration of the Maga) but a distinct second phase which can be ascribed to the period of the invasion of the Sakas and Kushāṇas (beginning in the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C.). This second phase is characterized by the borrowing of the Middle Iranian *Mihr* (*Mihira*) 'Sun' into Sanskrit where it appears as *Mihira* 'Sun'. As already perceived by Weber (1857), p. 104, Skt. *Mihira* is likely to originate in the Bactrian form of the name of the Iranian Hēlios, viz. *Miiro* (also written *Miuro*, *Mioro*, *Miro* etc.), which appears for the first time on the coin emissions of the Kushāṇa ruler Kaniṣka (1st half of 2nd cent.)[28].

At least some indirect information as to the chronology of the borrowing of Bactr. *Miiro* (etc.) by the Indians can be found in a few Iranian names containing the element *Mihira* (*Mira*) and attested in early Indian inscriptions, such as the Kharoṣṭhī Inscription from Takht-i Bāhī (*Mirabayana*) or a Kharoṣṭhī inscription from Baluchistan (*Ṣahi Yolamira*) or a couple of Brāhmī Inscriptions from Mathurā (*Vakamihira* etc.)[29]. It is not unlikely that at the same time *Mihira* began to be used as a common noun meaning 'Sun' in Sanskrit. In any case the name of the Hephthalite ruler *Mihirakula* (1st half 6th cent.) was understood by its bearer (and also by his contemporaries) as meaning 'originating in the family of the Sun'[30]. This

at the country of Porticanos and others, who, one after all, were conquered by Alexander, these peoples dwelling along the river lands of the Indus' — Arrian, Anabasis 6, 16, 3: Ὁ δὲ Σαμβὸς οἱ ἡγε τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Ἰνδῶν σατραπήν ὃν αὐτὸς κατεστήσατο, ὃς κεφαλὴν ἀπέφη ἐξηγγέλετο .. Τῇ κώμῃ . . ἥντινα μητρόπολιν εἶχεν ἡ τοῦ Σάμβου χώρα. ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῇ κώμῃ Σινδίμανα 'Next, Alexander advanced against Sambos, who had been appointed by himself satrap of the Indian hillmen, who was reported to have seceded. The city which was the capital of Sambos' territory, Sindimana by name' — Cf. Plutarch, Alexander 64 (Σαββῶς); Curtius Rufus 9, 8, 13.17 (*Sambus*); Justinus 12, 10, 2 (*Ambus*), Orosius 3, 19 (*Ambiro*).

[28] NumK 14 in H. Humbach (1966), p. 45.

[29] S. Konow (1929), no. 20.92 — B. Lüders (1961), no. 60-62 — Humbach (1976).

[30] In the coinage of Mihirakulas Hephthalite predecessors, the Iranian word for 'Sun' is confined to the Bactrian coin inscription *Miiosano šao* NumH 85-87 etc., while the Sanskrit inscriptions show name compounds with Skt. *āditya*, such as *Ṣāhi Pūrvāditya* NumH 88-91, *Śrī Prakāśāditya* NumH 128 f., etc. Mihirakula is a son of *Toramāṇa* according to the Gwalior inscription Fleet (1888), no. 37. But, contrarily to this evidence, Kalhaṇa, Rājataraṅgiṇī I, 288 f. calls Mihirakula a son of *Vasukula* and a grandson of *Hiraṇyakula*.

may be deduced from the inscription *Mihiradata* (= *Mihiradatta*) 'given by the Sun' found on one coin attributed by Göbl to Mihirakula, and from the unusual spelling of the King's name, using a Sun symbol combined with Skt. *kula* 'family', on other coins [31]. There also exist coins on which Mihirakula's portrait is accompanied by a very little picture of the Sun God, and others on which we find the inscription *Jayatu Tarani* 'the Sun (Tarani) shall be victorious' [32]. From all this it becomes evident that Mihirakula's name points to his having been a Sun worshipper. However, under Mihirakula's reign, Śivaism was superimposed upon Sun worship. This phenomenon can be observed in the predominance of Śivaitic symbols on the coins and in coin inscriptions such as *Jayatu Vṛṣadhvaja* 'he with the Bull standard shall be victorious' or *Jayatu Vṛṣā* 'the Bull shall be victorious' [33]. Such syncretism of Sun worship with Śivaism could occur without any break in the tradition by the integration of the Sun God into the Śaiva system as the father of Śiva. For this one may refer to a passage in the BhP. in which Śiva designates himself as the favorite son of the Sun God [34]. It is corroborated by Skt. *Mihirāṇa* which is mentioned by two Indian lexicographers as a name of Śiva and which without any doubt is borrowed from MIran. *Mihrân* 'son of Mihr, son of the Sun' [35].

The name of the astronomer *Varāhamihira* (6th cent.), the head of the Ujjāyinī school of astronomy, son of *Ādityadāsa* 'slave of the Sun (Āditya)' and father of *Pṛthuyaśas* 'having far-reaching splendour', is significant for the further development in the use of *Mihira* in forming proper names. As to the combination of Sun worship with Śivaism one may also adduce an inscription of the Maukhari period (7th cent.) from Hāṛāha (Bārā Banki District, Uttar Pradesh), engraved by *Mihiravarman*, which records the reconstruction of a Śiva temple

[31] NumH 137. – NumH 154, 155.

[32] NumH 89-91. For illustrations see R. Göbl (1967), 3, pl. 27. — NumH 138.

[33] NumH 134. — NumH 1521.

[34] BhP. 1, 153, 60-65 (? thus cited by *Sehgal-Gupta* (1933), p. 306): *Tavāṅgasambhavaḥ putro 'kaṣṭi vallabha tava* 'I am your favorite son, begotten from your body'. The names of the sanctuary of *Mihreśvara* and of the city of *Mihirapura*, established by Mihirakula (Rājat. 1, 306), stand for **Mihirakula-śvara* and **Mihirakula-pura*, respectively. Cf., among many other examples, *Mitreśvara*, name of a Śiva-Linga put up by *Mitraśarman*, Rājat. 4, 209 (*Mihreśvara* = Śiva, Stein (1888), no. 80.)

[35] Puruṣottamadeva, Trik. 1, 1, 46: *Mihirāṇa*; Hemacandra Śeṣa 40: *Miharāṇa*. — *Mihrân* is the name of the Indus used by the Muslim authors.

by *Sūryavarman* during the reign of his father *Īśānavarman*, son of *Īśvaravarman*, grandson of *Āditvavarman* and great-grandson of *Harivarman*[36]. A vestige of the north-western origin of *Mihira* may survive in the name of the Pratihāra Emperor *Mihira Bhoja* from Kanauj (840-890) who, in an inscription from Gwalior District, Madhya Pradesh, is said to have been granted to his father Nāgabhaṭa (king of the Gurjara-Pratihāra kingdom in Rājputāna) by the Sun God: *Sutam...Sūryād avāpan Mihirābhidhānam* 'from the Sun (Sūrya) he obtained a son, Mihira by name'[37].

As to the chronology, it is remarkable that *Mihira* does not occur in the old and very popular list of 108 names of the Sun in the Mahābhārata[38]. It is found only in a later addition to that list, known as Yudhiṣṭhira's praise of the Sun, which is transmitted only in a part of the northern and missing completely in the southern tradition of the Mahābhārata[39]. In this addition, *Mihira* appears in close vicinity to *Mitra*, which suggests the occurrences of *Mihira* in the indigenous dictionaries of synonyms, the respective articles of which are of a similar type. The earliest among these dictionaries, which seems to have drawn from lost works of Sanskrit literature, is the famous Amarakośa by Amarasiṃha (before 6th cent.) who, in a list of thirty-seven names of the Sun, mentions both *Mihira* and *Mitra*[40].

At that time the etymological relationship between the loan-word *Mihira* and the inherited *Mitra* had undoubtedly long been forgotten.

[36] H. Sastri (1917-8).

[37] R.C. Majumdar (1925-6). — Further material of minor importance: *Mihiralakṣmī*, a queen of King Raviṣeṇa, Fleet (1888), no. 30 (Kāṅgṛā District, Punjāb); *Padmamihira*, a Kashmirian scholar, Rājat. 1, 177f.; *Mihirabhaṭṭa*, a Kashmirian general (about 700), Rājat. 4, 80; *Mihirarati* in Aufrecht (1850), p. 122a, 2.

[38] Mbh. (Crit. Ed.) 3, 3, 16-33.

[39] Mbh. (Crit. Ed.), vol. 3, app. 1, p. 1044, verse 52f.: *...Tvaṣṭā Haṃsaḥ Savitā Bhānur Aṃśumālī Vṛṣākapiḥ Viśvaṃśu Mihirāḥ Pūṣā Mitro Dharmastathaiva ca*. — Scheftelowitz (1933), p. 307f., refers also to a text named Sūryasahasranāmastotram 'Praise of the Sun by 1000 names'.

[40] Amarakośa 1, 1, 2, 29f.: *...Vikartan Arka Mārtaṇḍa Mihir Aruṇa Pūṣaṇāḥ Dyumaṇi Taraṇi Mitrāḥ Citrabhānur Virocanaḥ...* — *Helí* (from Greek Ἥλιος 'Sun', found, e.g., in BhP. 1, 74, 29; 1, 103, 35-43; 1, 111, 6; 1, 125, 38; 1, 143, 23) is additionally included in the similar lists of Amarasiṃha's later successors. Puruṣottamadeva (date?), Trikāṇḍaśeṣa 1, 3, 18: *...Dinamaṇi Hari Heli Bradhna...Saptasaptiḥ Mihira Mahira Pitṛhā Kālakṛt Padmapāniḥ...* — Hemacandra (12th cent.), Abhidhānacintāmaṇi 96f.: *...Dvādaśātmā ca Helih Mitra...Saptasaptiḥ Divāmāhurdivasaprabhāvibhābhāsahkaraḥ... Mihiro Virocanaḥ...*

and it was probably nothing more than a superficial similarity between the two names which induced the lexicographer to associate them with each other. As a matter of fact, the indigenous scholars connected *Mihira* etymologically with Skt. *megha* 'cloud' in which meaning it is used by the Jaina monk Somadevasūri (959)[41]. This and a few other more enigmatic meanings of *Mihira* are quoted by Hālāyudha, the author of the Abhidhānaratnamālā, the oldest Sanskrit dictionary of homonyms preserved (middle 10th cent.)[42]. *Mihira* is explicitely derived from the same root as *megha*, namely from the root *mih* 'to sprinkle, let water upon', by the grammarian Ujjvaladatta (middle 13th cent.)[43]. The famous Pārsi scholar Neriosangh is the only author of that period who had knowledge of the true provenance of the name or word, it was used by him as the Sanskrit equivalent of MP. *Mihr* which in the Pahlavi version of the Avesta renders the name of the Yazata Av. *Miθra*[44].

In contradiction to the picture drawn by recent authors, who do not differentiate *Mihira* from *Mitra*, only four occurrences of *Mihira* have hitherto been traced in the BhP. (of which only two have parallels in the SP.). The first occurrence, in which *Mihira* appears as a family name (*gotrain Mihirain*), will be looked at more closely below[45]. The second is found in a list of names of the Sun and shows the same textual proximity of *Mihira* and *Mitra* to each other as the two passages quoted above from the Mahābhārata and the Amarakośa, for which reason it makes a fairly late impression[46]. The third occurrence is similar, but it is more specific in so far as Mihira and Mitra are

[41] Somadevasūri, Yaśastilaka I, 344, 6. Cited by R. Schmidt: Nachträge zum Sanskrit-Wörterbuch ... Leipzig 1928.

[42] Abhidhānaratnamālā v.v. *Mihirah* = *arkavṛkṣah* ('sun tree'), *vṛddhah* ('grown up, increased, aged'), *meghah* ('cloud'), *vāyuh* ('wind, air'), *candrah* ('moon'). *Tarāhamihirah* (i.e. short form for the latter). — Hemacandra, (12th cent.), Anekārthasaṃgraha 3, 630: *Mihira* 'rkṣ (*arka* 'ray'), 'mihah (*ambuda* 'cloud'), *buddhi* (*buddha* 'enlightened'). Medinīkara (end of 14th cent.), Medinīkośa 204: *Mihira Sūryavṛddhayoḥ* (*Sūrya* 'Sun', *vṛddha* 'grown up, increased, aged')

[43] Ujjvaladatta, Uṇādisūtra I, 88 (in a list of derivations in -*ira* such as *candira*, *tanira*, *tuhira*, *mucira*): *Mihirah Sūryah*

[44] E.g., Y. 1,3: *Mihirem nivāitāranvam* for MP. *Mihr i frāxgōyōt*, Av. *Miθrahe vouru gaoiiaotāiš*

[45] Cf. also *Mihirāṃśu*, name of a Maga in Sāmbavijaya 8, 30 (ed. Weber, 1880), p. 36.

[46] BhP. I, 71, 3f. ....*Tarākarāya Dīptāya Agnaye Mihirāya ca Prabhākarāya Mitrāya... Adhisaṃbhara...*

attributed to two categories different from each other: While *Mihira* is simply one in a series of twelve out of the numerous common names of the Sun, *Mitra* occupies a higher rank being counted as one of the twelve Ādityas or forms of the Sun[47]. Yet, only the last of the four occurrences is really interesting. It is found in a passage describing the incense offering to the Sun God (Savitṛ) carried out by a Bhojaka priest. The passage commences with 'Om, reverence unto Varuṇa and Śambhū (both in this context being understood as names of the Sun)' and continues with quoting Rig-Veda 1. 35. 2: 'Arriving with the black darkness, and bringing god and man to rest, the God Savitṛ (understood as being Sūrya) comes on a golden chariot, glancing at the living creatures.' Then the passage gives the following instructions for the priest: 'After having dedicated the incense to the god Savitṛ with this ceremony, the Bhojaka should enter the sanctuary, allowing the smoke to rise upwards, and should utter the Mantra *Having dedicated etc. to Mihira etc.* and present the incense to the image of the God.' Thereupon the text offers a list of the attendants of Sūrya (Savitṛ), starting with Rājñī and Nikṣubhā, his two wives, and with Dandanāyaka and Piṅgala, his sane-bearer and his scribe, respectively, who are followed by Rājña and Śrauṣa and a number of further attendants of the God[48].

Though Scheftelowitz (1933a), p. 303, failed to cite this strange passage in an adequate manner, he was certainly right in identifying *Rājña* and *Śrauṣa* with Av. *Raθnu* and *Sraoša* (MP. *Raśn* and *Srōš*), the two prominent assistants of Miθra in the Zoroastrian texts. As *Rājña* and *Śrauṣa* are met with several times in the BhP. and the SP.[49],

[47] BhP. 1. 78. 51-53 (= SP. 9. 1-3): *Ādityaḥ Savitā Sūrya Mihiro ekaḥ Pratāpanaḥ Mārtaṇḍa Bhāskara Bhānuścitra Bhānur Divākaraḥ Ravir... Viṣṇur Dhātā Bhagaḥ Pūṣā Mitrendrau Varuṇa Śrīmā Vivasvān Aryamāṃśu Tvaṣṭā Parjanyaḥ* — Cf. also above, note 22.

[48] BhP. 1. 143. 36-41 (= SP. 36. 36-41): *Ā kṛṣṇena rajasā vartamāno niveśayann amṛtaṃ martyaṃ ca hiraṇyayena Savitā rathena ā devo yāti bhuvanāni paśyan. Anena vidhinā dattvā dhūpaṃ Sūryāya Bhojakaḥ utkṣipec cāru dhūpena vṛṣṭi garbhaccharaṇaṃ tataḥ. Tataḥ praviśya dhūpaṃ tu prāṅmāyāṃ nivedayet. Mantreṇa Mihirāyeti Nikṣubhāyeti* (SP. *dhūpaṃ dattvetī*) *nivaṣaḥ tato Rājñāṃ nāmnā ceti Nikṣubhāyāṃ tato nāmnā Daṇḍanāyakā Saṃjñāyā Piṅgalāya ca vai nāmnā tathā Rājñāyā Śrauṣāya* (SP. *Śrauṣāya Tuṣāya*) *tathesāya* (SP. *Kalmāṣāya*) *Garuṭmate...Dīḍhate...Hemantāya...Maheśvarāya... Vāmāya* etc.

[49] BhP. 1. 76. 12-14.17-19 (= SP. 6. 20-23. 7. 2-4): *Rājñī. Nikṣubhā. Piṅgala. Daṇḍanāyaka. Rājña* (BhP. *Rājan*). *Śroṣa* (SP. *Śrauṣa*:*Śrauṣa*). *Kalmāṣa. Pakṣin. Dīḍin.* BhP. 1. 124. 13-39 (= SP. 16. 1-22): *Daṇḍanāyaka. Piṅgala. Rājña. Śrauṣa*:*Śreṣṭha*

but do not occur in any other Hindu text, he was inclined to trace them back to the Iranian origins of the Indian Sun worship, and v. Stietencron (1971), elaborating on the intuition of Mme de Mallmann (1963), p. 270, went even so far as to interpret Rašnu and Sraoša as the iconographical archetypes of Piṅgala and Daṇḍanāyaka, respectively. In connection with this hypothesis it might be mentioned that in Hindu iconography, Piṅgala and Daṇḍanāyaka are frequently depicted as two symmetrical figures, each holding a sword pointed upwards, undoubtedly symbolizing the rays of the Sun [50]. If v. Stietencron were to be correct, one might thus, by analogy, draw the conclusion that the companions of the Western Mithras, the torch-bearing Cautes and Cautopates, are simply transformations of Sraoša and Rašnu. This would mean that, from an iconographical point of view, Piṅgala and Daṇḍanāyaka might be derived from the same ancestors as Cautes and Cautopates [51].

However, one must take into consideration the possibility that the two foreigners, Rājña and Sraoṣa, may have been borrowed in more recent times by the Hindu transmitters of the BhP. and SP. from

(SP. *Stosa, Tosa, Sraosa*), *Dindin, Bodhyam, Skanda, Jindakara, Mathara* etc. — BhP. I, 130, 50-54 (= SP. 29, 16-24): *Brahman, Uma, Vaksabhir, Rājñī, Piṅgala, Daṇḍanāyaka, Śrī, Mahāsena, Insomidin, 2 xxxx, Rajna, Sraosa* (SP. *Stosa, Sraosa*), *Kalpalyi, Paksin, Jindakara, Mathara* etc. — *Rājñī* from *Rajna* is influenced by *Rājñī*. — The number of the attendants is given as eighteen in BhP. I, 124, 38 (*trayōdaśa*) = SP. 16, 19 (*dvādaśa*). For this (!) the number of eighteen of the Magas originated from Śākadvīpa (above, note 11, end), and Hemacandra (12th cent.), Abhidh. 103: *āyādasa Māthariādyāḥ Savituḥ pārśvavartinaḥ* 'Eighteen is the number of the attendants of the Sun God (Savitṛ), among whom Māthara is the first'. However, Amaraṣiṁha (before 6th cent.) in his Amarakośa, 1, 1, 2, 33, lists only three attendants: *Māthareḥ Piṅgale Daṇḍakeca Caṇḍāṁśoḥ pārśvavartinaḥ* (Māthara, Piṅgala and Daṇḍanāyaka) are the attendants of the Sun God (Caṇḍāṁśu).

[50] This iconographical pattern is attested as early as in Bāṇa (7th cent.), Harṣacarita (ed. Kane), chap. 4, p. 4, l. 3-11, where Harṣa's mother tells how she became pregnant by two male attendants of the Sun God: *Jāmāmi ekapāṭ bhāgavatāḥ Savitur maṇḍalān nirgatau dvau kumārakau tvamatau vāhitāsitau ādāta kusumavarṇau. Tau ca mā., āsrenodaram vidāryā praveṣṭum ārabdhau* 'I saw in a dream two shining youths issue from the Sun's disk, swords in their hands, bathed in blood (cochineal red.). These two cut open my womb with a sword and essayed to enter' (Trsl. Cowell and Thomas). — See also below, note 51.

[51] Cf. also de Mallmann (1963), p. 262: "Souvent, lorsque deux porteuses de chasse-mouches encadrent un dieu, l'une d'entre elles tient l'objet sur l'épaule et l'autre sur la hanche. Quand il s'agit des assistantes de Sūrya, le dieu Soleil, leurs gestes contrastés rappellent d'une manière troublante ceux des dadophores encadrant Mithra sur les reliefs où est figuré le sacrifice du taureau".

the Pārsī Zoroastrians residing in India. The passages in question do not belong to the old stock of both Purāṇas, and especially the mention of a Bhojaka priest (not a Maga) in the description of the incense offering should arouse suspicion.

The Bhojakas are already historically attested in the 7th century. They are mentioned in the inscription of the Viṣṇu temple (former Sun temple) from Deo Baṇārak (< *Varuṇārka*) near Arrah, Shahabad District, Bihār (ancient Magadha)[52]. Even more specific is the information concerning the Bhojakas transmitted in Bāṇa's Harṣacarita according to which Tāraka (from Skt. *tārā* 'star'), the court astrologer of Harṣa's father King Prabhākaravardhana of Thānesar on the upper course of the Jumna (2nd half 6th cent.), was a Bhojaka: 'At that very instant (i.e. in the moment of Harṣa's birth) approached the astrologer (Bhojaka) Tāraka, a man very highly esteemed by the king. Hundreds and hundreds of times he had shown supernatural insight by announcing facts beyond the ken of men, a calculator, deeply read in all the treatises on astronomy, extolled and liked among all astrologers, endowed with the knowledge of the three times'[53].

While the story of the immigration of the Magas is told in both, the SP. and the BhP., the Bhojakas are dealt with only in the later additions to the BhP., of which only a few passages have secondarily crept into the SP. In the BhP. the term *Bhojaka* alternates with *Maga*, whereas in the SP. it is usually replaced by *Yājaka* 'sacrificer'[54]. Hence one may infer that the Bhojakas considered themselves Magas but were not recognized by the latter. As a matter of fact, the rank

[52] Fleet (1889), no. 46, l. 12-16: *Bhojaka-Sūryamitrena* ... *Bhojaka-Hansamitrasya* ... *Bhojaka-Ryamitra* ... *Bhojaka-Durbhīkṣamitrasya* (Period of the Guptas of Magadha, c.e. 555-720)

[53] Bāṇa, Harṣacarita, chap. 4, p. 6, l. 15-18: *Iyaṃn eva kāle rājñāḥ parasaṃmataḥ tatraiva sarvādhyakṣatāmadhyāsīnaḥ sakalāsu nītiṣu sarvāsaṃ grahasaṃdhānānāṃ pāraṃgatasyā sakalaṣaḍaṅgamaṇḍalasya sudūrāntarita-trikālajñānābhiṣṭa Bhojakas Tāraka nāma gaṇakaḥ samupāyayau* (Trsl. Cowell and Thomas)

[54] *Bhojaka* alternates with *Maga* in, e.g., BhP. 1, 139, 67f.: *Ayaṃ vasante ... Bhojakāḥ ... Nāham jāne, vasante yatra vai Magāḥ* 'Where do the Bhojakas live?. I do not know where the Magas do live' — A difference is made in BhP. 1, 139, 44: *Agnijāyā Magāḥ ... somajāyā dvijātayaḥ Bhojakāḥ savitāyāḥ* 'The Magas belong to the family of Agni, the Brahmans to the family of Soma, the Bhojakas to the family of the Sun (Ādityā)' But cf. also BhP. 1, 139, 30: *Maga divyo dvijottamaḥ Nikṣubhā-ṣṇusutaḥ ... Jātavedasaḥ* 'the divine Maga, the best of the Brahmans, son of Agni and Nikṣubhā (wife of the Sun God) and son of the Sun God (Ādityā)' for which see below, note 73)

SP. *Yājaka* replaces BhP. *Bhojaka* in SP. 27, 3f. (from BhP. 1, 140, 22f.) and SP. 27, 23 (from BhP. 1, 144, 26)

taken up by the Bhojakas in the Hindu caste system seems to have been not unchallenged [55].

According to the tradition represented in those later additions to the BhP., the eighteen immigrants from Śākadvīpa did not consist of eighteen Magas, as in the earlier strata of the text, but they consisted of ten Magas and eight Mandagas (Śūdras) who married ten girls of the Bhoja people and eight slave girls (Dāsas or Śūdras), respectively [56]. Yet, the location of the Bhojas in Kṛṣṇa's capital Dvāravatī, the place where Sāmba had been cursed, still shows a certain connection with the starting point of the original story [57].

[55] Cf. Grierson, Indian Antiquary 17 (1888), p. 273: "In Bihār at the śrāddha-ceremony all Brahmans may be fed by the performer, except Śākadvīpiyas. Even Jyotiṣa Brahmans who are below the Śākadvīpiyas in caste, are fed, but never the latter". See Weber (1889), p. 89. – In BhP. 1, 117, 5f. the Bhojaka is attributed to the Brahman caste: *Bhojakah...varnato Brāhmanah*. However, according to BhP. 1, 147, 4, there are also Bhojakas "who occupy themselves with trade and agriculture" (i.e. who belong to the Vaiśya and Śūdra castes): *Vaiśyavṛtim kṛṣiṣṭhāṃ...kurvanti*. This suggests that the title of the priests sometimes was applied to their dependents. Cf. Fihrist (ed. Flügel), 1, p. 348, l. 9f.: "Thiwadol (of the Sun God) possesses property and agricultural products, it has guards and temple servants". On the other hand cf. Bihar District Gazetteers, Patna (1970), p. 82: "Among the Śākadwipi are a few landowners and substantial cultivators, but as a class they are physicians and priests of the people". – The secular meaning of *Bhojaka* is "Tree-holder, chief of a village". See H. Lüders: A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions etc. Calcutta 1912, nos. 1200 and 1345. P.V. Kane: History of Dharmaśāstra 3, Poona 1946, p. 994. – *Bhojaka* is used as a name of the Sun in BhP. 1, 167, 17: *Bhojaka ityaḥ prakīrtitaḥ*. 1, 173, 50: *Sūryo Bhojakah...Bhojakah Sūrya eva hi*; 1, 210, 33: *Ādityam Bhojakam vidur*.

[56] BhP. 1, 141, 4-10: *Bhojakānāṃ kumārakāḥ mamavaṃśe Magā iṣyāḥ. Ayaṃ Śūdra madaṅgajāḥ...Dattā Bhojakaiḥ putrānā daśabhyo daśakanyakāḥ. Tataś ta Mandakebhyo 'pi dattāḥ aṣṭau ca kanyakāḥ. Tato nveśitaṃ teṣāṃ mayā Sāmbapuraṃ. Tatra te Bhojakanyāsu dvijair utpāditāḥ sutāḥ Bhojakāḥ...prāhur Brāhmaṇān...Dāsīkanyāsu ye jātā Mandagāḥ Mandagāḥ...Sūryaḥ paricārakāḥ*. "The youths of the Bhojakas are known as my Magas. Eight Śūdras have been begotten from my body... Ten girls born from the Bhoja tribe were given to the ten (Magas). Thereupon eight slave girls were given to the Mandagas (i.e. Śūdras). Then the city of Sāmbapura was established for them by me... The Bhojaka sons born there by the Bhoja girls from the Brahmans (i.e. Magas) were called Brahmans... those who were born from the Mandagas, (were called) Mandagas, ... servants of the Sun God".

[57] BhP. 1, 140, 7f.: *Prasthito nirmalaḥ Sāmbaḥ purīṃ Dvāravatīṃ tadā. Magānāṃ kṛtamūrtheṇa prārthitā Bhojavanitāḥ*. "When he had been cleaned of the filth, Sāmba set forth towards the city of Dvāravatī. On behalf of the Magas he requested (the hands of) girls of the Bhoja tribe (in marriage)". – There are two modern castes of similar names, the *Bhojak* ("priests of Jains, Rājputāna") and the *Bhopki* ("priests of hillmen, Panjāb"), according to A. Baines: Ethnography. Castes and Tribes. Strassburg 1912, p. 154.

Not only the name of the Magas and the story of their immigration was adopted by the Bhojakas of the BhP. but also the term *avyaṅga-*. However, their girdle is said to be prepared from a snake skin[58] and it is identified with the skin of the world-snake Vāsuki or Śeṣa[59]. Its true name is *amāhaka*[60]. The connection with snake worship makes it absolutely impossible to take them as Zoroastrians as has been done by v. Stietencron (1966). They are Hindus.

Rather reliable information on the Bhojakas is found in BhP. 1, 117, 25f.: 'They recite the four Vedas with the Vedāṅgas and the Upaniṣads... They all wear read-brown clothing and carry swords and lotusses (or: conch trumpets). They bear two coloured marks on their foreheads, they have two for their breasts, likewise for both legs two and for both feet two'[61]. Of even greater value is BhP. 1, 147, 12: 'The Bhojakas whose heads are shaven, who are equipped with the avyaṅga and blow the conch... who worship me at the three (prescribed)

[58] BhP. 1, 140, 25: *Athābhikamaṇḍalvavyaṅgam kim pramāṇam ca kasya vai* 'And the avyaṅga made from snake skin: what is its size and to whom does it belong?' BhP. 1, 142, 101: *Ekavarṇaḥ sa kartavyaḥ pramāṇe-nāṅgulānām. śatamaṣṭottaram hrasvo* '(The avyaṅga) is to be prepared uncoloured... the shortest of a length of 108 aṅgulas (= 9 spans)'. The number is the same as that of the names of the Sun in Mbh. (Crit. Ed.) 3, 3, 150ff. BhP. 1, 142, 151: *Ahir aṅgāt samutpanna iti avyaṅgo 'ta tataḥ smṛtaḥ yasmād asyā ahir aṅgam avyaṅgas tena ucyate* 'Since it has arisen from the body of a snake, it is called avyaṅga. Since it is a part (from the body) of a snake, it is called avyaṅga'. In the same context the avyaṅga is also called *patitāṅga* 'fallen limb' (1, 142, 14.19), *vira.. sāranyo* (1, 142, 15), *sāranya* (1, 142, 18). BhP. 1, 141, 8 uses the form *vyaṅgo* which seems to be taken from Varāhamihira or, together with *sāranya*, from his commentator Bhaṭṭotpala (see above, note 13).

[59] BhP. 1, 142, 2-4: *Vāsukiḥ avyaṅgam...Sūryāya...samarpayat gāṅgeyabhūṣitam divyam nāgarakhacitam śubham. Babandha tam ca...madhyabhāge...Nāgarājāṅgasambhūta dhṛto...Bhānunā. Tat tasmād dhāryate...tadbhaktim icchatā* 'Vāsuki handed over the gold-decorated, heavenly, light and slighty red, beautiful avyaṅga to the Sun God. The latter bound it around his waist... (The avyaṅga) which arises from the limb of the snake-king is worn by the Sun God (Bhānu). Therefore it is worn by those who desire his love'.

[60] BhP. 1, 140, 39f.: *Śeṣo nāma mahānāgaḥ...ras tayo...mokṣa sa Ravesh amāhakaḥ...Amāhakaḥ...Magānām* 'The snake-king Śeṣa... his skin is the amāhaka of the Sun God (Ravi)... The amāhaka of the Magas'. – *Amāhaja* Mbh. (Crit. Ed.) 1, 52, 15, name of a snake demon.

[61] BhP. 1, 117, 24f.: *Pañcānī caturo vedān-i-sāṅgopaniṣadaḥ...kāṣāyavāsasaḥ sarve karavālāmbujadhāriṇaḥ lalāṭe tilakau dvau ca dvau cāsyau rakṣasas tathā caraṇābhyām tathā dvau ca padābhyām dvau tathā.* As to the ambiguity of *ambuja* which means 'lotus' and 'muscle-shell' as well, cf. BhP. 1, 117, 50-52: *Ādhmātavyo 'mbujaḥ...Bhojakenāgrato mama. Śaṅkhaḥ sadā vādya Bhojakena* 'Before me the Bhojaka should blow the muscle-shell... he should always play the shell-trumpet'

times of the day, well-washed'[63]. The three times mentioned there correspond to what we know from other sources about the daily rites of the Bhojakas[64].

It is true that there are contradictory passages of Zoroastrian appearance but they cannot be accepted as uncritically as has been done by v. Stietencron (1966). In BhP. 1, 139, 58ff. the Bhojakas are said 'to wear plaited hair and beards, to know the prescriptions of the five times of the day and to be worshippers of Time (*kāla*). Having covered his mouth with the mouth-veil (*patidāna*), the Bhojaka holds the *pūrṇaika* (?) in the right and the sacred twigs (*varman* for *varśman*) in the left hand... He should eat in silence'[65]. Although we do not know the meaning of *pūrṇaika*, it is evident that the use of the mouth-veil and of the sacred twigs is typically Zoroastrian (cf. Av *paiti.dāna*, *barəsman*), as is the reference to silence during the meals and to the five ritual times of the day (Av. *rauu*, MP. *gāh*) which play an important part in the life of the Zoroastrians. BhP. 1, 140, 36f. even quotes the names of 'the inverted Vedas of the (Bhojaka-) Magas, namely *Veda*, *Viśvavada*, *Vidud*, *Angirasa*', the last three of which are distortions of the Zoroastrian terms *Vispərad*, *Vidēvdād* and *Nirang*[66]. Thus, there can be hardly any doubt that some later Hindu scholar has embellished the Bhojaka passages of the BhP. by superficial informations obtained from the Pārsī Zoroastrians in India[66].

[63] BhP 1, 147, 12 *Mundan veah dhvanyavamanvitāh vādayanti...śankham ... Trikālam...susnātāh...pūjayanti.* – The conch trumpet is blown to indicate time. Cf Harṣacarita (ed. Kane) chap 4, p. 4, l. 10f *Etasmin eva ca kālakramaṇ...rātim prabhātaśankhah* 'At that juncture (i.e. when Prabhākaravardhana's queen was getting pregnant by the two attendants of the Sun God) the morning conch rang'

[64] The practising of the three times is ascribed to the Bhojaka Tāraka in the Harṣacarita, see above, note 53, and it is referred to in the passage on the Sun worship in Fihrist (ed. Flügel), 1, p. 348, l. 10f. 'They carry out the necessary tasks for the idol and its estates and its worship thrice daily. For this purpose they have various kinds of formulae' – Cf BhP 1, 117, 74f.: *kāryaṇ snānaṇ trikālam ... triguṇaṇ parivarteta* 'He should carry out the ablution, at the three (prescribed) times of the day... he should wrap around himself (the) triguṇa (?)'

[65] BhP 1, 139, 58-60 *Jaṭāmatrudharāh...pañcakālavidhānajñāh. kālasya pujrinah. Pūrṇaikam dakṣine pāṇau varma vāmena dhārayan patidānena vadanaṇ pracchādya... bhuñjita vāgyatah*

[66] BhP 1, 140, 36f.: *Vedā magānām...viparītāh...vedo viśvavadaś caiva vidud* (v.l. *vidvad*) *angirasah* (v.l. *vahurasah*)

[66] There are also "mixed" passages BhP 1, 117, 44f *Vedādhigamanam...dārasaṇgrahaṇam...abhyaṇgadhāraṇam . triṣavaṇam...pañcakṛtvah sadā pūjyo hy dhari rātrau dine tathā* '(Their duties are) the study of the Veda, the taking of a wife, the wearing of

This Hindu scholar must have known about certain similarities between the ritual of the Brahmans and that of the Pārsīs, as is seen in BhP. 1, 140, 41 ff.: 'The amāhaka girdle of the Magas is like as the muñja string of the Brahmans... the sacred twigs (*varśman*) of the Magas are like as the darbha grass of the Brahmans... The intoxicating drink (*madya*) of the Magas is like as the ceremonial drink (*surā*) of the Brahman... The adhva(?) sacrifice of the Magas is like the agni sacrifice of the Brahmans. *Acuṣu* is the name of their adhvara sacrifice (= soma sacrifice)'[67].

He also tried his skill at Aryan etymology. In BhP. 1, 117, 18 ff., when recording the story of the creation of the Maga caste in Śākadvīpa, he more or less rightly used the Skt. term *atharvan* in the sense of Av. *āθravaŋ* 'priest': 'There is neither Atharvan nor Brahman here (in Śākadvīpa) ... Therefore I (therewith) establish the first caste the designation of which shall be Maga... eight in number'[68]. A little more hazardous, however, is his identification of Skt. *homa* 'libation' with Av. *haoma*, MP. *hōm* 'intoxicating drink' in BhP. 1, 144, 10 f.: 'They worship the Sun God (Bhānu) with libations (*homa*) of clarified butter... They who have prepared the Haoma (*homa*), drink the Parahaoma (*parahoma*) and they become pure and untainted by drinking the Parahaoma'[69].

the avyaṅga, the performance of the three soma libations. I am always to be worshipped five times (a day), both by day and night' — BhP. 1, 117, 56-59: *Mundanam tvaiva kāryaṁ na tu kūrcasyo...trikālam cāpi gāyatrīm japed.. mukham āvṛtya..maunam ca* 'He should carry out the shaving of (the hair of) the head, not of the beard. He should mutter the Gāyatrī at the three (prescribed) times of the day. He should cover his mouth and (practice) silence' — BhP. 1, 140, 32: *Kūrcaṁ dhārayate Ravih Tasmān Magaiḥ...karttavyaṁ kūrcadhāraṇam...Maunena bhakṣaṇaṁ Magaṇā* 'The Sun God wears a beard. Thus the Magas should undertake the wearing of a beard. The Magu should eat in silence'.

[67] BhP. 1, 140, 41: *Yathā muñja* (Ms *muñā*) *dvijānāṁ, amāhakas tathā... Magānāṁ... Yathā darbhā dvijānāṁ...tathā varsmā Magānāṁ* ... 47-49: *Yathā madyaṁ surā ...pibanti.. tathā madyaṁ Magānāṁ...Yathāgnihotraṁ...dvijānāṁ tathādhvaraḥ Chandaṁ ..Magānāṁ Acuṣu nāmeti tathādhvaraḥ* — *Acuṣu*, perhaps, corrupted from MP. *ēsēn* 'sacrifice, worship'. It seems to be taken from the written (Pahlavī) form which is 'cēn'. Similarly the name *Vācaka* attributed to the Bhojakas in BhP. 1, 140, 24 and 1, 147, 23 could be derived from MP. *wāč* (cf. NP. *bāz*) 'grace which is taken before meals and by which the obligatory silence is started', its written form being *w'c*.

[68] BhP. 1, 117, 18-24: *Na cātharvā..brāhmaṇa nātra vidyate...Tasmād...sṛjāmi prathamaṁ varṇaṁ Magasaṁjñam...saṅkhyayāsyāṁ*

[69] BhP. 1, 144, 10f. (= SP. 27, 6-8): *Yajante ..Bhānuṁ...ājyahomaiḥ, ..Haoma ye...kṛtvā paraṁ homaṁ pibanti te. Parahomasya pānāc ca pūtātmano hy akalmaṣāḥ.*

Also the description of the general customs of the Bhojakas given by him in BhP. 1, 140, 46f., is based upon what he knew of the Pārsīs: 'The Bhojaka should not eat without the amāhaka girdle. He should eat in silence. He should not touch any dead matter and he should not come into contact with a menstruating woman. He should not throw a dead dog on the ground. The Magu should not die before having sacrified to the Sun'[70]. His knowledge is poor but, with the exception of the final topic, correct[71]. In contrast with this, BhP. 1, 117, 68ff. is rather confused: 'The man who leaps over the fire, goes to hell... as nobody should leap over (the fire), the same as no dog should eat (anybody)... Who, desirous of leaping over (the fire) is eaten (by a dog), goes to hell'[72]. Our Hindu scholar had no clear picture concerning the disposal of the dead as prescribed in the Avesta (i.e. on the body being eaten by dogs and birds) and the prohibition of leaping over the fire would make little sense if looked at in the light of the fabulous story told to him in BhO. 1, 139,33ff. about Jaraśastra (Zarathushtra) and his family: 'The Mihira family (*gotraṃ Mihiraṃ*) is of highest brahman dignity... A man called Sujihva (belonged to it)... Nikṣubhā (one of the wives of the Sun God) was born to him. Her name was Hāralīla (or: Hāvanī)... The Sun God (Sahasrāṃśu) entered the Pāvaka fire... Then she leaped over the fire... (The Sun God spoke:) Since I have been leapt over by you, a son, Jaraśastra by name, will be born to you'[73].

The fanciful attribution of Zarathushtra's mother to the so-called Mihira family perhaps provides an indication that the incorporation into the BhP. of the Pārsī reminiscences discussed above could have taken place in the period of the Moghul emperor Akbar (1542-1605), who had an unusual interest in religious matters and took delight in arranging debates between the adherents of different religions. The

[70] BhP. 1, 140, 46f.: *Māmāhakenātha vinā bhuñjīta. Maunena bhuñjīta...Na cāpi kiñcin mṛtakaṃ spṛśeta. Rajasvalāṃ naiva ca sampṛśeta. Śvānaṃ urvyāṃ na parikṣipeta. Nāniṣṭaṭāṣyas tu Maguḥ mriyeta.*

[71] The closing phrase evokes Rājat. 7, 722, according to which King Kalaśa of Kashmir (1063-1089) awaited his death before an image of the Sun God (Mārtāṇḍa).

[72] BhP. 1, 117, 68-71: *Pāvakaṃ yas tu laṅghayet sa naro narakaṃ yāti...Yathā na laṅghayet kaścid yathā śvā nāpi bhakṣayet, yathā vai laṅghitamatir bhakṣyatāṃ...sa yāti narakam.*

[73] BhP. 1, 139, 33-43: *Gotraṃ Mihiraṃ. Tasmin brāhmaṇyaṃ uttamaṃ. Sujihvo* (v.l. *Rgjihvo*) *nāma...Tasya...samutpannā Nikṣubhā...Hāralīlā nāma tu sā* (v.l. *Hāvanī nāma nāmataḥ*)...*Sahasrāṃśur...viveśa pāvakam...Tato...laṅghayitvāgniṃ...Yathāham laṅghitas tvayā tasmān mattaḥ samutpannas tava putro bhaviṣyati Jaraśastra iti.*

visit of Pārsī Dastūr Meherjī Rānā of Navsāri to Akbar's court and his famed participation in such a religious debate may have provided an occasion, Meherjī Rānā himself having been a member of a sort of gotraṁ Mihiram.

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JALALADDIN IMAM-JOMEH

IN SEARCH OF A MITHRAEUM AT TAKHT-E-SOLAIMAN

In order to enter right into the subject, I shall dispense with a detailed description of the strange platform now called Takht-e-Solaiman in north Western Iran; its coordinates are: 36°-40° north and, 47°-30° east. The splendour of this familiar location has attracted the attention of the inhabitants of Iran since very ancient times (see plate XVII).

In his book, *The Heritage of Persia*, R.N. Frye writes as follows: "according to a recent archeological survey, (Takht-e-Solaiman) may have been a 'sacred place', as early as Median or even pre-Median times, while later, under the Sasanians, it seems to have had a dynastic and religious significance"[2].

It is, however, not the main hall of the royal fire temple of "Adhar-goshnasp" of the Sasanians with which we are concerned. They have already received extensive study. Rather, the matter at issue is the second building adjacent to the main *liwan* which has, not long ago, been unearthed by the Irano-German team of archeologists.

The second building which resembles the *basilicas* of the early Christians, may have housed the "Takhte-e-Taqdis", i.e., the astronomical/astrological center, or the "Planetarium"-like installations extensively talked about by the medieval writers. See plates XVIII and XIX.

Archeological reports have so far dealt with details of the famous fire temple of "Adhar-goshnasp", and other buildings which were subsequently restored and/or added in Mongol times. But the question of the astrological/astronomical aspect of Takht-e-Taqdis still, to my knowledge, remains unexplained. Let us approned the subject by reviewing briefly what early historians and modern scholars have left for us to propound. Selected excerpts from these reports may shed some light on the subject:

a) *Tha'aleby of Neishabur (960-1037 A.C.)*

"... The vault of Takht-e-Taqdis was dark blue on which the constellations, stars, Zodiac Signs, as well as the seven Climates were shown ...;

[1] Schmidt, E. F., *Flights over the Ancient Cities of Iran*, London, 1937, Plate [illegible].

[2] Frye, Richard N., *The Heritage of Persia*, London, 1962, p. 145.

There was a gadget telling the time in day and night. There were four huge carpets reflecting the scenary of the year's seasons."

b) *Ali ben Husain Masudi (10th century A.C.)*

"... In the debris of the buildings at Shiz[3] (Takht-e-Solaiman), the excavator may find remains of marvelous coloured pictures representing the celestial bodies, the stars, the earth with its continents and its oceans ..."

c) *Shahnamah of Ferdowsi (1010 A.C.)*

"... There were other painting scenes of the people from all walks of life ... There existed huge moveable curtains through which they showed movements of the heavenly bodies. When the sun was shining from behind the throne, gardens appeared in front, and plains from behind. When the sun shone in the sign of Leo, the throne had its back towards it."

"The 12 signs and the seven moveables were also demonstrated. They showed the moon in the sign which it set, some stars stayed on and some passed by. You saw before your eyes the phenomena of the sky. You saw how much time had already expired, also how much of the heavens revolved round the earth. Similarly, the movements of the planets, the sun and the moon were vividly shown across the sky ..."

d) The Danish scholar, Arthur Christensen in *Iran at the Time of Sassanians*, after describing some oriental reports, gives the views of the Byzantine writer Kedernos (quoting Theophanus of 8th century A.C.) in connection with Heraclius' plunder in A.C. 624 of Takht-e-Solaiman, (or Gasaca [Ganjak], as it was then called). These reports which are quite independent from the oriental sources, run briefly as follows:

"... The Roman Emperor Heraclius entered Gansaca castle (in 624 A.C.) and here is what he saw.

"... The Roman Emperor Heraclius entered Gansaca castle (in 624 A.C.) and here is what he saw:

... The horrible idol of Chosroe Parviz was very terrifying, and his picture painting was also shown sitting on the throne. The throne was more like a huge sphere resembling the sky, where the sun, the moon

[3] The term "Shiz" used by the early Islamic writers is probably the mutilated form of "chee chast" or the name of the oval "lake" in the center of the platform.

and the stars, (which the infidels worshiped), were also shown. ... In this dome, there were various instruments of the God's enemy, (meaning Chosroe Parviz), which imitated the lightning and downfall of rain ..."[4]

e) The last and latest in these series is another report given in the immortal work of Arthur U. Pope, in his *Survey of Persian Art* which runs as follows :

"Putting together all the descriptions, it becomes evident that this 'throne' which was built in the 'Hippodrome' near the old sanctuary of GANJAK, was a great roofed platform, but apparently entirely of wood, teak and ebony (?) being mentioned. ... Over the throne was a hemispherical dome, in which was a figure of Khusraw himself. In this dome, which represented the sky, were placed tables, some of gold and richly jewelled, giving the map of the night sky with all the constellations and the moon in the proper sign of the Zodiac, equiped with a mechanism which produced the movements of the heavenly bodies so exactly that astrologers could tell the time by the stars. Thus the dome of the 'Takht-e-Taqdis' would seem to have been the antecedent of the modern PLANETARIUM" (My italics). He added[5].

These reports, to some extent, reflect the condition of this place in Sasanian times; and not unexpectedly none refers to the Parthian period. The reason seems straightforward. The Sasanids who were Orthodox Zoroastrians, stern in their religious pursuits, and hostile towards the Parthians. Reportedly, they have obliterated documents, erased and/or modified buildings and monuments, leaving but little, if nothing, of the Parthian memorials to survive.

Let us now leave Takht-e-Taqdis in its nebulous shroud at this stage of the argument, and turn to the *Proceedings* of the First International Congress of Mithraic Studies. Professors W. Lentz and A. Deman investigated and discussed the possibility that certain Mithraea served as primitive astrological/astronomical observatories. This and other evidence shows that followers of Mithra were greatly interested in the celestial bodies, and must have tried to observe them regularly for astrological, astronomical, chronological and religious rituals.

Now, let us try to put these data together as follows :

[4] Christensen, Arthur , *Iran at the Time of Sassanians*. Persian translation, 2nd edition, Tehran, 1953, pp 488-90

[5] Pope, Arthur U., *A Survey of Persian Art*, London 1939.

a) The historical reports mentioned earlier on the astronomical aspect of Takht-e-Taqdis.

b) The astronomical features of some of the Western Mithraea, such as the vault in the Dura Mithraeum which had apparently been decorated with stars etc. Note also light observation methods for astrological purposes in other Western Mithraea discussed by W. Lentz[6].

c) The resemblance of the second building at Takht-e-Solaiman to the *basilicas* of early Christians.

In the light of these considerations, certain questions can be formulated, investigation of which will shed some light on the whole subject :

1) Why has this building (i.e., the one next to the *Iwan*, close resemblance to the Mithraeum at (say) Heddernheim : even the cardinal points follow generally the same pattern.

2) Were all the independent historical reports of the classical writers of both East and West on the astronomical aspect of this building (i.e., Takht-e-Taqdis) which have been carefully reviewed by such eminent scholars as the late A.U. Pope and A. Christensen, totally unfounded?

3) Will the astronomical/astrological features reported at Takht-e-Taqdis somehow associate this center with Mithraism? And finally,

4) Was the second building at Takht-e-Solaiman (Takht-e-Taqdis), originally a Mithraeum in Parthiantimes which was later modified by the Sasanians?

The answer to the last questions may be negative. However, I cherish the scientific spirit voiced by R.E. Witt, who in the second plenary discussions of the First Congress of Mithraic Studies said that : "at such conferences [the participants] have to agree to disagree"[7]. Similarly, I fully realise and recall R.N. Frye's views in "The Heritage of Persia" that "the western Mithras, of course, was an Iranian God by origin although not one Mithras temple has been found an Iranian soil, nor is one ever likely to be found"[8].

[6] Lentz, W., in *Mithraic Studies*, (ed. J.R. Hinnells), Manchester 1975, Vol. II, pp. 358-377.

[7] Witt, R.E., *Mithraic Studies*, Manchester, 1975, Vol II, p. 355.

[8] Frye, Richard N., *The Heritage of Persia*, London 1962, p. 158.

I also see that R. Nauman and I.D. Huff have the same opinion and, in their recent article on Takht-e-Solaiman, persuade their readers not to assume that the second building is a Mithraeum : "trotz der parallelen Zwischen römischen Mithräen and den Zweiten Feuertempel auf dem Takht-e-Sulaiman, soll nicht versucht werden, die Sasanidische Anlage als Kultbau der Mithras-religion zu interpretieren."[9]

The "parallel", discussed above, however, gives a new perspective to the question of the historical relations between Roman Mithraism and its Iranian origin, which so far has been disputed by Mithraic scholars.

[9] Nauman, R. and Huff, I.D. in *Bulletin of Bastan-Shenasi va Honar-e-Iran*, Vols. 9/10, Tehran 1972, p. 14.

JEAN KELLENS

CARACTÈRES DIFFÉRENTIELS DU MIHR YAŠT

La seule lecture attentive du texte des Yašts avestiques amène à remarquer qu'il existe une série de points communs entre les hymnes à Miθra (Yt 10), à Tištriia (Yt [illegible]), à Vərəθrayna (Yt 14) et aux Fraoua̰ṣis (Yt 13) pour ce qui est de la partie qui précède l'énumération des noms propres. D'autre part, les textes dédiés à Aṛəduui Sūrā Anāhitā (Yt 5), à Druuāspā (Yt 9), à Vaiiu (Yt 15) et au x'aranah paraissent diverger du premier groupe, mais présenter de la même manière quelques caractéristiques communes. La ligne de démarcation, que je viens d'établir, entre Yašts du type Yt 10 et Yašts du type Yt 5 est sans doute trop sommaire. Si je m'en tiens à elle, on voudra bien m'en excuser : c'est que je livre ici les fruits trop verts d'une recherche qui n'est pas arrivée à son terme et que le temps me manque pour faire place à trop de nuances. Il est légitime d'exclure de cet exposé les Yašts aux Amaṣas Spəṇtas (Yt 1 à 4), ceux aux acolytes de Miθra (Yt 11 et 12) et ceux à divers comparses (Yt 16 et 18), que tout le monde s'accorde à considérer comme tardifs et secondaires. Il faudrait, par contre, examiner le cas du Yašt à Aṣi (Yt 17), qui présente des points communs avec chacune des deux séries, et celui du Yt 13, dont la première partie s'apparente aux Yašts du type Yt 10 et la seconde à ceux du type Yt 5.

L'idée que la série des Yašts canoniques ne constitue pas un bloc monolithique n'est pas neuve. On y a, de façon plus ou moins arbitraire, de façon plus ou moins convaincante, découvert des traces d'anciennes alliances et d'anciennes incompatibilités. Les travaux de Stig Wikander surtout (Vayu I, Lund 1941, Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran, Lund 1946) ont montré les rapports étroits qui unissent, d'une part, le culte de Miθra et de Tištriia, d'autre part, celui d'Anāhitā et de Vaiiu.

La différence entre la série du Yt 10 et la série du Yt 5 se marque tout d'abord dans la phraséologie. Un grand nombre de vocables, d'expressions, de conceptions religieuses sont communs au groupe Yt 8 - Yt 10 - Yt 13 - Yt 14 et absents de l'autre. Tout se passe comme si le Yt 10 et le Yt 5 étaient fondés sur deux types différents de formulaire. Les concordances textuelles précises qu'a rassemblées

Schlerath (Konkordanz. Wiesbaden 1966) fournissent les exemples les plus complets et les plus frappants [1] :

1. *Parallèles entre Yt 10 et Yt 8* :

Yt 10,1 et Yt 8,50 :

aṇuāṇtəm yesniiata aṇuāṇtəm vahmiiata yaθa nuṃciṇ yim aduram mazdąm

Yt 10,55 et Yt 8, 8,11 :

yeθi zi nū maṣiiāka aoxtō.nāmana vasna vazaiiąnta yaθa aniie yazatāṇhō aoxtō.nāmana vasna vaziṇti frā aurviiō ąṣauuaoiiō θβarštahe zrū āiiu šūšuiiąn x^v^ahe gaiiehe x^v^anuuatō anaṣahe upa θβarštahe jaymiiąn

Yt 10,66 et Yt 8,38 :

aṣiši ca vaŋ^v^hu pāraṇdica raoraθa

2. *Parallèles entre Yt 10 et Yt 13* :

Yt 10,9 et Yt 13,47 et 92 :

yatāra vā dim (diš) pauruua frāiiazaiti (frāiiazaṇte) fraoraṇ fraxšni auui.manō zrazdātōiṇ aṇhuiiąṇ haca ātaraθra fraoirisiieiti (fraorisṇti) ...

Yt 10,14 et Yt 13,9 :

garaiiasi ca yōi) hərazaṇtō pouru.vāstrąṇhō ātaṇtō

Yt 10,100 et Yt 13,147 :

vā āpō yāsca urvarā yāsca aṣaonąm fraṇaṣaṇiō

4. *Parallèles entre Yt 10 et Yt 14* :

Yt 10,48 et Yt 14,63 :

apąṣ gauuō dərəzaiiruti para (pairi) duēma vāraiieiti apa gaoθa taošaiieiti nōiṇ pāθu viθāraiieiti nōiṇ pairi.taauā hauuaiti

Yt 10,70 et Yt 14,15 :

vərəθraynō aduraδātō hū kəhrpa vurāzahe paiti.aranō tiži.dąstrahe aršnō tiži.aurahe hakərəṇ.janō varāzahe anupōiθβahe graṇtahe paršuuanikahe taxmahe

Il importe autant de remarquer qu'il n'existe en définitive aucun parallèle textuel entre la série du Yt 10 et celle du Yt 5. Mis à part la séquence *pauçasaynāi satayṇāišca* et les deux expressions *ahe raiia* ...

[1] Les éléments divergents figurent entre parenthèses.

yazamaide et *surunuuata yasna ... zaoθrâbiiô*, qui fondent, l'une, l'unité récitative des Yašts, l'autre, l'unité du comportement rituel des fidèles qu'ils mettent en scène, on pourrait en découvrir trois. Nous y reviendrons ci-dessous, car deux de ces passages sont intéressants.

La divergence essentielle réside en ceci que les hymnes de la série du Yt 5, et eux seuls, nous fournissent des allusions à l'histoire mythique de l'Iran. De façon plus ou moins complète, dans un ordre plus ou moins cohérent, les rois antiques et les anciens héros se succèdent pour sacrifier à la divinité et en obtenir le succès de leur mission héroïque. Le Yt 10 et les textes apparentés ne font aucune allusion aux kayanides, ni, plus généralement, à des éléments de mythologie. Le Yt 8 mentionne l'exploit de l'archer Ɜrəxša, rapporté ultérieurement par al-Birūnī et par Firdousi dans la geste de Manuščihr, ce n'est qu'à titre comparatif, pour établir un parallèle entre la trajectoire de la flèche et celle que l'étoile décrit vers la mer Vouru.kaša. Les Frauuaṣ̌is sont louées pour avoir soutenu Spənta Mainiiu lors de la création du monde. Ces mythes-là sont tout à fait étrangers à la série du Yt 5. On ne trouve guère qu'une allusion, incomplète et incompréhensible, à Θraētaona et à Kauui Usa dans le Yt 14,39 et 40. Par contre, les références à l'histoire mythique constituent l'épine dorsale des Yt 5, 9, 15, et 18. Le culte de ces divinités est tout entier fondé sur l'exemple héroïque d'un passé fait de sacrifices prestigieux et de merveilleuses interventions divines, en un mot, sur une mythologie.

Il est significatif que l'adoration des hommes soit, dans le Yt 9, exprimée par la 3e singulier d'injonctif *yazata*, dans le Yt 10, par la 1re pluriel de présent *yazamaide*. C'est le signe même de la différence entre les deux textes. Le Mihr Yašt est tout entier rédigé au présent. Miθra n'exerce pas sa puissance dans un passé mythique ou semi-historique; il fonctionne hic et nunc comme le gardien inflexible du contrat, le protecteur des zoroastriens et l'ennemi acharné des infidèles. C'est significativement dans les Yašts en *yazamaide* qu'on trouve les seules allusions à l'organisation sociale du peuple de l'Avesta : on y mentionne le *sāstar*, l'*ahura* et la série hiérarchisée *nmānô.paiti*, *vispaiti*, *zantupaiti*, *danhupaiti*. Le culte de Miθra ne met pas en jeu les croyances relatives au passé des *āryas*, mais le bon fonctionnement du corps social et la soumission au rituel zoroastrien. La faveur de Miθra, de Tištriia, des Frauuaṣ̌is, de Vərəθrayna se méritent par le comportement social et religieux. Miθra n'est pas un dieu mythologique, mais un dieu moral et actuel. Les autres divinités apparentées ont moins d'affinité avec la société, mais elles agissent aussi dans le

présent, et leur action dépend du comportement religieux de l'homme. L'hommage correct à Tištriia [illegible] garantit la victoire dans sa lutte toujours recommencée pour arracher aux forces qui retiennent les pluies, les nuages qui produiront [illegible] «bonne année». Les Frauuaṣis offrent aux partisans d'Aṣa la victoire dans le combat et l'eau en période de sécheresse. Vərəθrayna favorise ceux qui lui rendent un hommage correct et se livrent à [illegible] magie de la plume.

Anāhitā, Druuāspā et Vaiiu ne se manifestent que par la faveur [illegible] la disgrâce. Si son sacrifice est agréé, [illegible] héros obtient de réaliser son coup d'éclat. Miθra, Vərəθrayna, les Frauuaṣis ne se contentent pas d'insuffler cette énergie à leurs champions : ils interviennent directement dans l'action et déciment les ennemis. Les hymnes en *yazata* se distinguent de ceux en *vazamaide* non seulement par l'imprégnation mythologique, mais aussi par la distance envers les affaires humaines. C'est [illegible] qu'il est intéressant d'examiner deux pseudo-parallèles entre le Yt 10 et [illegible] Yt 5 :

Yt 10,11 = *yim yazaṇte raθaēštārō barəšaēšu paiti aspanąm zāuuarə jaiδiiantō hitaēibiiō druuatātəm tanubiiō pouru.spaxštim ṭbišiiantąm paiti.jaitim dušmainiiunąm haθrā.niuuāitim hamərəθanąm auruuaθanąm ṭbišiiantąm* "A lui (Miθra) sacrifient [illegible] guerriers sur la croupe des chevaux, demandant la rapidité pour les (chevaux) attelés, la robustesse pour eux-mêmes, la capacité de surveiller beaucoup les hostiles, d'abattre les opposants, de mettre en déroute les ennemis, inimicaux et hostiles».

Yt 5,53 = *tąm yazata taxmō tusō raθaēštārō barəšaēšu paiti aspanąm zāuuarə jaiδiiantō hitaēibiiō druuatātəm tanubiiō pouru.spaxštim ṭbišiiantąm paiti.jaitim dušmainiiunąm haθrā.niuuāitim hamərəθanąm auruuaθanąm ṭbišiiantąm* "A elle (Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā) sacrifia le hardi guerrier Tusa ...».

Il est immédiatement clair que ces deux passages semblables fondent moins une convergence qu'une divergence. L'opposition entre *tąm yazata taxmō tusō* [illegible] *yim yazaṇte raθaēštārō* est essentielle : c'est celle entre le passé et le présent, entre le guerrier mythique et [illegible] caste militaire contemporaine. Elle traduit parfaitement, dans un contexte limité, la différence fondamentale entre les points de vue des deux hymnes, l'un centré sur l'histoire mythique, l'autre sur l'organisation sociale du peuple de l'Avesta.

Devant un parallèle de ce genre, on se demande inévitablement si un texte n'a pas influencé l'autre. C'est entrer dans ce domaine

glissant qui consiste à déceler des strates dans la masse du texte avestique, à distinguer le trait primaire du trait secondaire, voire du trait tertiaire. A ce jeu, on tombe vite dans l'arbitraire. Dans le cas précis qui nous occupe, la filiation est toutefois évidente. Les pluriels *raθaēštārō*, *jaiθiiantō* et *tanuhiiō*, voire *aspauqm* et *hitaēibiiō*, incompatibles avec le singulier *tusō*, démontrent que le texte du Yt 5,53 est emprunté au Yt 10,11. D'emblée, la séquence de Tusa tranche sur les autres : c'est le seul héros qui n'offre pas le sacrifice à Anāhitā dans un endroit géographique précis, mais sur la croupe de son cheval. Cela seul suggérerait le trait secondaire. L'introduction dans la série des héros mythiques du guerrier Tusa, le Tous de Firdousi, dont c'est la seule apparition avestique, semble avoir posé des problèmes de rédaction et contraint à recourir à l'emprunt formulaire. Il est difficile de cerner avec précision les raisons et l'époque de cet emprunt. Il tient vraisemblablement à la personalité de Tusa, à ceux qui se reconnaissaient dans cet étrange guerrier dont les adversaires sont les habitants d'une ville sainte (*kaϑaiia ... aϑauuanaia*). Il ne s'agit pas d'un problème de philologie. La séquence de Tusa a été introduite dans le Yt 5 à une époque très ancienne, de toute manière antérieure à la consignation par écrit de l'Avesta. Elle n'a pu se constituer qu'à une époque où le personnage était encore assez vivant, ses particularités assez tranchées, pour qu'il paraisse utile de l'inclure dans un texte canonique, voire de se concilier ses partisans. A une époque aussi où la conscience de la langue était assez compromise pour que l'incompatibilité de *tusō* et de *jaiθiiantō* ne fût plus ressentie, mais encore assez vive pour qu'on pût transformer *taxmō tusō raθaēštārō* en *taxmam tusam raθaēštāram* ; une époque où les prêtres connaissaient l'avestique comme Artaxerxes II le vieux-perse ? Qu'il nous suffise de savoir qu'il n'y a pas de parallèle entre le Yt 10,11 et Yt 5,53, mais emprunt, et que les conditions de cet emprunt sont significatives des différences entre les deux Yašts.

L'Avesta coordonne fréquemment, au pluriel, les expressions *māzainiia- daēuua-* et *varənii̯a- druuant-*. Ainsi le Y 27,1 contient *snaθāi māzainiiauqm daēuuauqm ... varənii̯anqmca druuatqm* «pour frapper les démons *māzanuia* et les trompeurs *varənuia*», et le Yt 13,137 *paitištātāe māzainiiauqm daēuuauqm varənii̯anqmca druuatqm* «pour s'opposer aux démons *māzaniia* et aux trompeurs *varənii̯a*»[2]. Au Yt 5,22, Haošiiaŋha fait le vœu suivant :

[2] Le V 19, 14 déforme et tronque l'expression avec *paiti.pərane varəniia daēuuō* «je veux combattre les démons *varəniia*»

auuaŋ dāuptəm dazdi mē ... yaŋ azəm nijanāni dauua θrišuua māzainiiauqm daēuuauqm varəniiauqmca drauuatqm «Donne-moi cette faveur ... que je tue deux tiers des démons *māzainiia* et des trompeurs *varəniia*».

On s'accorde à considérer que les adjectifs *māzainiia-* et *varəniia-*, dérivés de **māzana-* et de *varəna-*, expriment une appartenance géographique et désignent des ethnies connues pour adorer les daēuuas. Depuis au moins Christensen (Vd 47sq.), on n'a plus douté que **māzana-* représente le Māzenderān, analysé en *māzan-darān* «portes du Māzana» par Nöldeke (Grdr II 178)[3] et *varəna-*, patrie du héros Θraētaona (Yt 5,33 V 1,17), d'après Andreas (ap. Christensen, ibid.), le Gilān. Humbach (WZKSOA 4, 1960, 37; Cyrus Volume II 50) croit toutefois que *varəna-* est le nom d'une région orientale assimilable à la forteresse *Aornus* (Arrien, Anab. 3,29) prise par Alexandre dans l'Hindoukouch, sur la route de Drapsaka à Bactres, et au pays des Οὐαρνοι que Ptolémée (6.11.6) localise dans la région de Bactres. Cette hypothèse a pour elle la logique : il y a beaucoup de chances pour que l'Avesta fasse allusion à des contrées orientales. Dans le Henning Memorial Volume (188 n.2), Karl Hoffmann mentionne le déplacement vers l'ouest des grandes écoles de théologie zoroastrienne et la formation d'une tradition occidentale. On doit sans doute attribuer à ce phénomène le fait qu'on ait identifié **māzana-* et *varəna-* à deux provinces riveraines de la mer Caspienne, soit, plus vraisemblement, que celles-ci leur doivent leur dénomination. Le **Māzana* et le *Varəna* sont, pour les zoroastriens de Bactres, deux contrées orientales dont la seconde seule est identifiable; pour ceux de Raγā de Médie, le Māzenderān et le Gilān.

Il est intéressant de noter que les hymnes en *yazamaidē* présentent un tout autre type de coordination. Ainsi le Yt 10,68 et 97 :

yahmaŋ haca frataraṇti vispe mainiiauua daēuua yaēca varəniia drauuaṇtō «(Miθra) devant qui tremblent tous les démons *mainiiauua* et les trompeurs *varəniia*».

De même, le Yt 13,71 :

tā hē snaiθišca varəθasca paršuasca pairiuuārasca visaṇte pairi mainiiauuiāŋ drujaŋ varəniiaiiāaŋ-ca drauō.iθiiāŋ «Ces (frauuaṣis) lui servent d'arme et de cuirasse, de refuge et de rempart contre la *druj mainiiauua* et la tromperie *varəniia*».

[3] Une étymologie de *māzauua-* (< *mazan-* «grand») chez Henning (BSOAS 11, 1943, 54 n. 3).

Ces trois passages ont donc, au lieu de *mâzainiia-*, *mainiiauua-*. Une différence légère, au sein de passages semblables, suggère toujours un problème de transmission : le signe pour *z* ( ) est d'autant plus proche de celui pour *n* ( ) que ce dernier figurerait ici en position d'infection et pourrait être noté *n* (/) avec torsion du trait. Mais, en l'occurrence, aucune leçon ne permet de douter du texte édité par Geldner et toute correction, faute d'arguments précis, relèverait de l'arbitraire. Ce qu'il faut analyser, c'est le problème d'une alternance entre *mâzainiia-* et *mainiiauua-*.

Il est au moins clair que *mainiiauua-* ne contient aucune notion géographique. Cette évidence permet à Gershevitch (Mi 218) de renouer avec l'interprétation de Darmesteter (ZA II 373 sq.) de Jackson (Grdr II 660 663) en rapprochant *varəniia-* de *varan*, nom pehlevi du démon de la concupiscence. Il s'agirait des «démons immatériels et des trompeurs concupiscents». Cette hypothèse ne débouche malheureusement sur aucune étymologie convenable.

mainiiauua-, dérivé de *mainiiu-* «l'esprit, la tendance» est une épithète naturelle de *daēuua-* et de *druj-* : ainsi *mainiiauuaiṅ drujam* (Yt 11,3) et *mainiiauuaṅqm daēuuaṅqm* (V 8,30 et 32). *mainiiauua-* s'oppose à *gaēθiia-* pour désigner ceux qui, parmi les yazatas, sont du domaine du *mainiiu*, c'est-à-dire immatériels. La coordination avec *varəniia-* implique un sens sans doute un peu différent. *mainiiauua-* est à *mainiiu-* «la tendance» ce que *varəniia-* est à *vazəna-* «le choix religieux». En coordinant *mainiiauua- daēuua-* à *varəniia- druuaṅt-*, Yt 10 semble opposer les démons, mauvais par tendance profonde, à leurs partisans, qui le sont par choix religieux : ce sont «les démons par tendance et les trompeurs par choix». Le Yt 10 ne contient donc pas de notation géographique, mais une expression religieuse reflétant les concepts les plus spécialisés de la théologie zoroastrienne. Ici encore, il est fort probable que l'expression du Yt celle du Yt 5 ne sont pas indépendantes, mais qu'il existe entre elles un rapport de filiation. Nous manquons cette fois d'indices précis pour l'établir. L'explication la plus naturelle est la suivante : l'expression religieuse du Yt 10 est originale et le Yt 5, comme le reste de l'Avesta canonique, l'a transformée en notation géographique par une sorte de calembour ou d'étymologie populaire. Il importe de noter que ce sont encore une fois les hymnes en *yazəmaide* qui contiennent l'expression vide d'histoire, de folklore de géographie[4].

[4] Il existe encore un parallèle entre Yt 10, 8, 47 et et le Yt 15, 49 : *aiwiri-*.

On est inévitablement amené à se demander ce qui se cache derrière ces divergences. Il est tentant de considérer que la personnalité et la fonction de Miθra sont à leur origine. Dieu du corps social constitué, il lui appartient de déserter les contes et d'intervenir dans le présent pour protéger le contrat et les partisans de la bonne religion. C'est un aspect universel de la première fonction : en Inde, Mitra et Varuṇa ont une mythologie infiniment moins riche qu'Indra. Mais on voit immédiatement que ce n'est qu'un petit aspect du problème. C'est tout au plus ce qui différencie Miθra de Tištriia, qui arrache les eaux à l'emprise d'Aŋra Mainiiu, et de Vərəθrayna, qui s'incarne dix fois pour Zarəθuštra. Par contre, au point de vue fonctionnel, rien ne différencie globalement Vərəθrayna de Vaiiu. Le Yt 8, le Yt 13 et Yt 14 n'auraient eu aucune raison de se taire sur les kayanides si ces héros épico-mythiques avaient été familiers aux adorateurs traditionnels de leurs divinités. Il semble plutôt que Miθra d'une part, Anāhitā de l'autre, se trouvaient au centre de deux systèmes religieux relativement étrangers l'un à l'autre, mais qui se sont pareillement intégrés au zoroastrisme[5]. Quelques indices suggèrent que le système de Miθra a été assimilé plus complètement et, sans doute, plus tôt. Ainsi les hymnes en *yazamaide* sont les seuls à mentionner les Aməšas Spəntas. Surtout leurs protagonistes ont avec Ahura Mazdā un autre type de rapport que ceux des hymnes en *yazata*. Le culte de Miθra, de Tištriia, des Fraωašiš, de Vərəθrayna est institué par Ahura Mazdā. Les Yašts en *yazamaide* ont tous le même type d'introduction : Ahura Mazdā invite Zarəθuštra à sacrifier à la divinité concernée et il lui arrive de définir le rite approprié (Yt 8, 57-61 ; Yt 14, 49-53). En même temps, il prend soin d'établir entre elle et lui un rapport subtil, mais net, de dépendance, en sorte que, si grande que soit sa puissance, cette divinité n'apparaît jamais comme son lieutenant : il est le créateur de Tištriia et de Miθra, les Fraωašiš ont pour fonction de l'assister, Anāhitā et Vaiiu, par contre, n'ont cure de ce grandiose intermédiaire.

(ωuui) haδaiδi xrωuδiemtiš antara (auui) hąm.yanta rasmąonē antara daiθu pāpərəθāne. Cette partie du Yt 15 semble faite de bric et de broc.

Les premières phrases du Yt 5 sont répétées au début du Yt 13. C'est jeter le pont, savamment, entre Anāhitā et les Fraωašiš qui ont en commun d'être, dans leur système respectif, des divinités trifonctionnelles.

[5] Je ne puis ici aussi qu'être sommaire. Les deux systèmes paraissent assez étanches. Aucune divinité du système de Miθra n'est citée dans les hymnes en *yazata* et vice versa. Les points communs, qui peuvent résulter de l'héritage historique, doivent être cherchés du côté d'Aši, d'Apąm Napāt, le haoma et du x'arənah.

Ils font directement part à Zaraθuštra de leurs exigences sacrificielles. Si Ahura Mazdā intervient, c'est pour remplir lui-même le rôle de sacrificateur. Pour s'assimiler ces deux divinités, le zoroastrisme a dû aller jusque-là dans la diplomatie et la concession.

Il est malaisé de définir l'orthodoxie zoroastrienne en matière de rituel. Adoptons ici, avec Duchesne-Guillemin (RelIrA 99 sq.), une opinion moyenne : la réforme zoroastrienne n'aurait pas condamné le sacrifice sanglant, mais celui du bovin et les hécatombes. S'il en va bien ainsi, les hymnes en *yazamaide* ne contiennent rien d'hétérodoxe. Les héros du Yt 5 [b], par contre, se livrent à d'épouvantables massacres : cent chevaux, mille vaches, dix mille moutons. Duchesne-Guillemin (ibid.) y voit le reflet d'un passé légendaire et prestigieux. Mais tout de même, comment le zoroastrisme, qui fait de la protection du bovin une de ses préoccupations majeures, peut-il avoir admis ces allusions, fussent-elles exagérées et légendaires? A la vérité, ces rites restaient suffisamment choquants pour que le rédacteur se refuse à les attribuer à Ahura Mazdā et à Zaraθuštra, qui se contentent de barəsmans et d'oblations. L'introduction de la grande divinité et de son prophète dans la série des sacrificateurs peut bien être secondaire : on a renoncé, ce qui aurait pourtant été facile, à harmoniser les rituels. Faut-il voir ici aussi, plutôt qu'un souvenir, une concession accordée à un passé révolu, mais trop cher à certains pour être simplement nié et condamné?

Terminons par une autre question : en mentionnant Miθra et Anāhitā avec Ahura Mazdā, Artaxerxès a-t-il diplomatiquement tendu la main, comme l'avait fait le rédacteur des Yašts, aux principales divinités des deux grands systèmes religieux de l'Iran pré-zoroastrien?[7]

Stig Wikander a fait remarquer, à la suite de cette communication, qu'il en approuvait les conclusions et qu'il pensait que les épisodes relatifs aux kayanides n'étaient pas historiques, mais mythiques. Le terme *kauui-* désignerait d'ailleurs une variété de prêtre et non un chef temporel[8]. L'emprunt lycien *kaveis* «prêtre» et le fait que les

[b] Mais pas ceux du Yt 15.

[7] S'il est vrai, comme va l'écrire R. Ghirshmann, que plusieurs anciens temples sont dédiés à la fois à Miθra à Anāhitā, il faut y reconnaître cette volonté de syncrétisme. Ce n'est pas un trait ancien, mais une tendance propre au zoroastrisme historique qui tend à accoupler, pour sceller leur union, deux divinités à l'origine étrangères l'une à l'autre, voire antagonistes, mais qu'il faut pareillement intégrer à la religion réformée qui s'exprime, avec des bavures significatives, dans le canon avestique.

[8] Benveniste (Mo 26, 1932, 214), Polotsky (ap. Andreas-Henning, MirMan III 901)

premiers rois sassanides à adopter le nom d'un kauui sont tardifs suggèrent que c'est à cette époque, au prix d'une interprétation arbitraire, qu'on a voulu projeter le modèle monarchique sassanide dans le passé le plus lointain.

Je souscris entièrement à ces hypothèses. Dès qu'on a reconnu, avec Lommel (FS Bally) et Dumézil (Mythe et Epopée II 133 sq.), dans kauui Usan le kavi Uśánas védique, on ne peut qu'y voir un élément mythique remontant à la préhistoire indo-iranienne. Rien ne permet d'attribuer un quelconque pouvoir temporel aux kauuis avestiques. Les Gāθās ne les mentionnent qu'avec les prêtres maudits karapans et Usijs. Et, lorsque, dans les Yašts, les kayanides adressent aux dieux la formule *raθa azəm aponəm xšaθrəm bauuāni vispaŋqm daxiiuŋm* etc..., il ne s'agit que du «pouvoir de disposer de, d'être en toutes circonstances plus fort que». Les seuls chefs temporels historiques que connaisse l'Avesta sont les sāstars, les ahuras, les daŋhupaitis.

et Henning (BSOAS 11, 1943, 53-54) ont montré que perse et parthe moyen *k'w*, sogdien *kwyē* (< *kauui-*) sont employés pour désigner le «géant» doué de courage physique et de grandeur morale. Rien ne suggère ici non plus, au contraire, qu'on soit parti de l'image d'un roi à la mode sassanide.

Jackson (Researches 37 et 67 sq.) a discerné que *mzn* (< *mázanīr*) supplante *k'w* pour les choses monstrueuses.

HENRI LAVAGNE

IMPORTANCE DE LA GROTTE DANS LE MITHRIACISME EN OCCIDENT

Au cours du premier Congrès[1], l'accent avait été mis sur la nécessité d'analyser le mithriacisme en Occident [illegible] tant que tel, sans chercher d'abord à [illegible] décrypter à travers une grille zoroastrienne.

Nous adopterons cette perspective pour traiter du problème de l'importance de la grotte dans [illegible] mithriacisme romain. En effet, même [illegible] l'on garde en mémoire le texte célèbre de Porphyre[2] qui attribue à Zoroastre le choix de la grotte comme cadre du culte mithriaque, il est sans doute plus fructueux d'étudier d'abord la grotte telle qu'elle nous apparaît dans les textes et les monuments romains avant de chercher à préciser la filiation qui nous mène des données iraniennes à la caverne romaine.

A cette première délimitation du champ d'investigations dans [illegible] temps, il faut en ajouter une seconde dans l'espace, en soulignant que si [illegible] grotte peut être considérée comme le cadre canonique du sacrifice mithriaque dans tout l'Occident romain, elle reçoit un traitement privilégié, et particulièrement insistant, à Rome [illegible] en Italie. Il y a donc comme une «géographie religieuse» de la grotte, qu'il faut essayer de dessiner et dans laquelle on peut faire ressortir des préférences sinon des exclusions.

La question n'est pas sans importance puisqu'elle touche au problème de la part que Rome a pu prendre dans [illegible] diffusion de l'imagerie mithriaque. Comment se manifeste cette faveur qu'a connue la caverne dans le culte mithriaque en Italie, [illegible] peut-on l'expliquer?

Les textes fournissent un premier indice. Nous ne traiterons des textes littéraires que pour mémoire. Ce sont notamment ceux des

[1] *Mithraic Studies. Proceedings of the First International Congress of Mithraic Studies*, Manchester, 1975, notamment II, p. 303 et 3[illegible]

[2] Porphyre, *L'antre des nymphes*, éd. F. Buffière, dans *Les Mythes d'Homère et la pensée grecque*, Paris, 1956, p. 600, § 6. Texte grec, [illegible] Nauck, coll. Teubner, 1886, § [illegible]: ce serait «Zoroastre qui, le premier, aurait consacré dans les proches montagnes de [illegible] Perse, une caverne naturelle, fleurie et irriguée de sources, à la gloire de Mithra.»

auteurs chrétiens et leur valeur est souvent discutable[3]. En effet, ils insistent à l'envi sur la profondeur de l'obscurité du sanctuaire mithriaque pour faire ressortir la contradiction qui existe dans la célébration d'un culte de la lumière au cœur des ténèbres. L'exemple de Firmicus Maternus[4] suffira : *hunc Mithram dicunt, sacra vero eius in speluncis abditis tradunt ut semper obscuro tenebrarum squalore demersi gratiam splendidi ac sereni luminis vitent*. Le témoignage de l'épigraphie est plus objectif.

Si l'on examine les inscriptions concernant les sanctuaires mithriaques[5], on est frappé de voir qu'elles se classent en deux catégories : les unes font appel au mot propre *spelaeum*, ou à un doublet de caractère poétique *antrum*, les autres utilisent des termes à valeur plus générale qui évoquent non plus la grotte, mais une construction et ses annexes : *templum, aedes*. Or, on constate que l'Italie fournit à elle seule deux fois plus d'inscriptions comportant la mention d'un *spelaeum* que le reste de l'Empire, soit 10 inscriptions contre 4, et encore ces quatre dernières émanent-elles de hauts fonctionnaires romains ou d'affranchis à leur service, donc de milieux romanisés[6]. Si nous faisons le relevé inverse, on voit que les Provinces ont une préférence marquée pour *templum* (20 exemples) alors que l'Italie n'en offre que 3.

D'une façon analogue, on note que les inscriptions des Provinces mentionnent fréquemment les constructions annexes du sanctuaire,

[3] Par exemple, Tertullien, *De corona*, XV, éd. J. Fontaine, coll. Erasme, Paris, 1966, p. 180. Cf. E. Demougeot, *Paganus Mithra et Tertullien*, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Gesch. Altchristlichen Literatur*, 78, 1961, p. 360 sq. Le mot *spelaeum* est glosé par *in castris vere tenebrarum*.

[4] Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanarum religionum*, éd. A. Pastorino, Florence, 1956, 5, 2, p. 67.

[5] M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, La Haye, 1956-1960 (*CIMRM*).

[6] *CIMRM*, 228 et (Ostie), 308 (*ibid.*), 360 (Rome), 412, 423, (*ibid.*), 648 (*Nersae*), 652 (*Aveia Aventina*), 660 (Bolsena), 706 (Milan), 747 (Aquilée). Pour l'Empire : 129 (Cirta), 1673 (*Carnuntum*), 1846 (*Senia*), 2350 (Andros). Le cas de l'inscription grecque d'*Histria* (Moes. inf.) est à part, puisque σπήλαιον est le terme le plus courant chez les auteurs anciens pour désigner la grotte.

[7] *CIMRM*, 53 (Doura, Syrie), 135 (Lambèse, Afrique Proconsulaire), 842 (Rudchester, Bretagne), 1297 (Murrhardt, Germanie), 1397 Zwiefalten, Rhétie), 1431 (Virunum), 1438 (Töltschach, Norique), 1485 (Atrans-Trajana), 1495 (Poetovio), 1546 (Ptuj), 1614 (*ibid.*), 1661 (Stix-Neusiedl), 1792 (Budaörs), 1793 (*ibid.*), 1808 (Campona), 1814 (Sarkesz, Pannonie), 1951 (Maros-Portos), 2008 (Dostat, Dacie), 2208 (Lopata), 2233 (Gabereva, Moesie supérieure). Parmi les trois exemples italiens, deux ne sont

telles que *porticus*, *apparatorium*, *absidata*[8] ou le qualifient d'*aedes*[9], alors qu'en Italie, ces précisions sont rares[10].

De ces préférences épigraphiques pour tel ou tel terme, il ne faudrait pas conclure comme le faisait Visconti[11] que *spelaeum* est le nom réservé aux sanctuaires de grottes où se faisaient les initiations, tandis que *templum* aurait été réservé aux constructions destinées aux liturgies publiques. L'auteur essayait même d'imaginer une évolution dans le temps qui ferait passer du *spelaeum* au *templum* à mesure que les mystères de Mithra devenaient plus officiels. Double hypothèse que la chronologie des sanctuaires datés vient infirmer[12]. La distinction ne nous paraît pas être de cet ordre; elle doit recouvrir une différence non pas de fonction, mais de nature dans le choix du lieu de culte, dans ses aménagements internes et dans le décor qu'il cherche à reproduire.

Un bref rappel de quelques types de sanctuaires le fera mieux comprendre. Il serait trop long de présenter ici une étude systématiquement comparative de l'architecture et du décor des sanctuaires en Italie par rapport à ceux des Provinces. Disons simplement qu'en Italie dans leur très grande majorité, les *mithraea* sont souterrains, volontiers creusés dans le roc, ou utilisent des cavités rocheuses naturelles, ou encore réemploient des constructions enterrées ou semi-enterrées, alors que les grands sanctuaires des Provinces, notamment en Germanie et dans les pays danubiens, même s'ils sont en sous-sol, donnent l'impression d'être de véritables complexes architecturaux avec des murs de briques, des voûtes maçonnées et des toits de tuiles.

pas net. Le n° 228 (Ostie) donne *templum et spelaeum*, mais comme l'indique G. Becatti (*Scavi di Ostia*, II, *I Mitrei*, Roma, 1954, p. 21 sq.), le dédicant aurait d'abord songé à élever un temple pour lequel les premières substructures furent construites. Puis, le projet initial fut abandonné, et le *spelaeum* fut établi dans les *fauces* du temple. Quant au n° 406 (Rome), il offre les expressions *Phoebea templa* et *antra*. On doit comprendre que le second dédicant a dépassé en magnificence le premier en remplaçant les *Phoebea templa* par des *antra*. Seul le n° 722 (Côme) peut être comparé avec les inscriptions des Provinces.

[8] *CIMRM*, 1478, Siscia (Pannonie): *porticus et apparatorium*; *Alba Julia*, 1978: *crypta cum porticibus et apparatorio et exedra*, selon Cumont, TMMM II, n° 232; et à nouveau en Dacie (Dostat), n° 2007: *signum monumentum cum absidata*. Le n° 1376 (Grand, Germanie): *porticu ac deinde columnis ornato* est douteux.

[9] Pour *aedes*, n° 1968, *Alba Julia* et n° 876, *Bremenium* (Bretagne).

[10] CIMRM, 247, Ostie (*aedem cum suo pronao*), 433, Rome (*aedem domum dedit*).

[11] C. L. Visconti, *Del mitreo annesso alle Terme Ostiensi di Antonino Pio*, *Ann. Corr. Inst.*, 1864, p. 152 sq., et la discussion de Cumont, *TMMM*, I, p. 57.

[12] On serait même tenté de soutenir l'inverse et de proposer une évolution du *templum* au *spelaeum*, ou du moins vers une image de *speleum*.

Citons pour l'Italie, le cas du mithréum de Capoue[13] qui occupe une des ailes du cryptoportique du *forum* de la ville, la petite chapelle souterraine aménagée dans le tunnel de Naples[14], le sanctuaire de Marino installé dans une citerne creusée dans le tuf[15], celui de Sutri excavé dans la falaise où s'adosse l'amphithéâtre[16], celui d'Angera[17] et à Rome ceux du Caelius[18], ou du Capitole[19] pour ne retenir que les plus célèbres[20].

Il existe, bien sûr, des sanctuaires de grottes dans les Provinces, mais aucun ne présente ce raffinement supplémentaire qui est propre à l'Italie : la recherche d'un décor artificiel qui imite la grotte. Les Romains ont employé ici à profusion la pierre spongieuse, le *pumex* dont Pline nous rappelle précisément qu'elle servait à donner l'illusion de la rocaille des cavernes naturelles[21]. On rappellera ici le mithréum de la Casa di Diana à Ostie[22], où le *pumex* constitue le revêtement intérieur de la niche cultuelle, ou encore le mithréum dit du *Forum Boarium*[23], à Rome, dans lequel le contraste a été volontairement marqué, entre la richesse décorative des incrustations pariétales en marbre (auxquelles s'ajoute l'*opus sectile* du pavement) et l'aspect ostensiblement rustique de l'arc tapissé de rocaille artificielle qui précède l'édicule de la niche centrale. Un exemple plus frappant encore nous est offert par le mithréum de Santa Prisca qui a l'avantage d'être bien daté[24]. La décoration interne de la niche qui abrite la

[13] M.J. Vermaseren, *EPRO*, *Mithriaca I*, 1971, p. 1. Sur le cryptoportique, voir W. Johannowsky, *Note sul cryptoportico pubblico in Campania*, dans Colloque sur *Les Cryptoportiques dans l'architecture romaine*, Rome, 1973, p. 149.

[14] V. Tran Tam Tinh, *EPRO*, *Le culte des divinités orientales en Campanie*, 1972, p. 166. Une belle page de Sénèque (*Epist.* 57, 1, 2) décrivant le sentiment de frayeur sacrée qui saisit le passant dans la *crypta neapolitana* fait comprendre le réemploi d'une anfractuosité en mithréum.

[15] H. Lavagne, *Le mithréum de Marino*, *CRAI*, Janv.-Mars 1974, p. 192.

[16] Fr. Cumont, *Mithra en Etrurie*, *Scritti in onore di B. Nogara*, Vatican, 1937, p. 96-105.

[17] Angera, *CIMRM*, 716.

[18] Caelius, *CIMRM*, 3[illegible].

[19] *Mithraeum* du Capitole, *CIMRM*, 414, 417. Pour les reliefs, cf. fig. 1 et 2.

[20] Le cas des sanctuaires mithriaques d'Ostie est différent. Comme l'a montré M.J. Vermaseren (*CIMRM*, 244), le danger créé par les inondations du Tibre exigeait que l'on renonçât ici aux *spelaea* souterrains.

[21] Pline, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXVI, 22, 42.

[22] *CIMRM*, 216.

[23] *CIMRM*, 434.

[24] *CIMRM*, 476, et *Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome*, Leyde, 1965, p. 128 et pl. XIX.

figure d'*Oceanus-Saturnus* était d'abord (époque d'Hadrien) faite de stuc coloré en bleu [illegible] parsemé d'étoiles, puis, au moment de la réfection du sanctuaire (220 après J.C.), [illegible] *punex* fut choisi comme imitation des parois rocheuses de l'antre et recouvrit le stuc.

Un second élément de ce décor de grottes doit être signalé : la mosaïque. Le mithréum de Saint Clément à Rome[25] nous en donne la meilleure illustration. Non seulement [illegible] niche était ornée de mosaïques, mais encore les embrasures des ouvertures qui éclairent la pièce. La voûte, est recouverte de *punex* de couleur jaunâtre, et se trouve interrompue, à la naissance du cintre par une longue bande de mosaïques dont on aperçoit encore les empreintes. Avec l'utilisation de [illegible] mosaïque nous avons là, très évidemment, un emprunt au décor des nymphées et des cryptoportiques et non une création de l'art mithriaque.

Reste enfin un dernier trait propre à l'ornementation des nymphées qui consiste à souligner les lignes de force des parties courbes des voûtes par des rangées de coquillages, généralement de type *cardium edule*. Nous trouvons cet artifice dans la niche du mithréum Barberini[26] où le *punex* était accompagné de ces coquillages.

Ainsi, pour comprendre l'architecture [illegible] décor des sanctuaires mithriaques en Italie, sommes-nous amenés à rappeler que l'art romain était passé maître, dès le début de l'Empire, dans ces constructions enterrées ou semi-enterrées qu'illustrent les cryptoportiques [illegible] une certaine catégorie de grottes-nymphées. Il y avait [illegible] l'abord un problème commun de technique de construction, puisque, comme l'indiquait déjà Cumont[27], il fallait que le mithréum pût résister à la pression des masses de terre qui l'entouraient, et il fallait aussi l'éclairer et le ventiler par des ouvertures adéquates. A cette double préoccupation avait déjà répondu [illegible] formule architecturale [illegible] spécifiquement romaine des cryptoportiques, dont [illegible] réalisations en sous-œuvre (notamment pour les soutènements d'édifices publics), et dont les systèmes d'éclairage par des soupiraux donnant sur une pièce à l'étage supérieur, appellent la comparaison avec certains *mithraea*. On pourrait rapprocher ici, par exemple, le cryptoportique dit de la Peschiera dans

[25] CIMRM, 338

[26] CIMRM, 390. Le dernier fragment de ce décor signalé par le fouilleur, G. Annibaldi, (*Il mitreo Barberini Bull. Comm.* LXXXI, 1943-45 (1947) p. 102) n'est plus visible aujourd'hui.

[27] Fr. Cumont, *TMMM*, II, p. 60, 65

la Villa d'Hadrien avec les *mithraea* d'Angera ou de Saint-Clément[28]. Outre ces problèmes de technique, la question du décor se trouvait résolue par les imitations de grottes naturelles proposées par les nymphées et certains cryptoportiques. *Pumex*, mosaïques, coquillages constituaient [illegible] trois éléments d'une ornementation qui avait l'avantage d'être insensible à l'humidité des lieux souterrains, facilement adaptable à la surface des voûtes, tout en évoquant l'antre sacré[29]. Trois exemples éclaireront ces analogies et ces emprunts : la grotte d'Anzio, d'époque néronienne, qui, sans ses représentations herculéennes[30] pourrait fort bien passer pour une grotte mithriaque, [illegible] cryptoportique républicain du palais impérial (Villa d'Hadrien) où le système des soupiraux entourés de mosaïque est semblable à celui du mithréum de Saint Clément[31], la grotte de Matromania à Capri qui n'est pas un mithréum, mais dont l'aménagement intérieur (double *podium*, avec revêtements de *pietra pomice*, de pâtes de verre, [illegible] de coquillages) a facilité la confusion avec un édifice mithriaque[32].

Ces divers exemples, ces parentés[33] et ces antécédents architecturaux nous permettent donc une deuxième approche du problème de [illegible] grotte dans le culte mithriaque et expliquent, en partie, [illegible] prédilection de l'Italie pour ce cadre naturel ou voulu comme tel. Mais il serait très insuffisant de prétendre rendre raison de préférences d'ordre fondamentalement religieux par un simple « savoir-faire » technique.

Les représentations cultuelles constituent, en revanche, un ensemble de données beaucoup plus significatif, dans la mesure d'abord où elles sont beaucoup plus nombreuses, mais aussi dans la mesure où

[28] Ces nécessités techniques s'ajoutent aux raisons d'ordre religieux telles que l'éclairage des objets cultuels par [illegible] lumière solaire. Cf. W. Lentz, dans *Mithraic Studies*, II, p. 359-376.

[29] Sur ces aspects, [illegible] H. Stern, *Origines et débuts de la mosaïque murale*, *Études d'archéologie classique*, II, 1959, [illegible] 112 sq.; N. Neuerburg, *L'architettura delle fontane e dei ninfei nell'Italia antica*, Naples, 1965, [illegible] 91-97.

[30] D. Joly, *La mosaïque pariétale au premier siècle de notre ère*, *MEFR* 74, 1962, p. 115 sq.

[31] H. Lavagne, *La mosaïque de voûte du cryptoportique républicain (Villa d'Hadrien) et les débuts de l'opus musivum en Italie*, *MEFRA*, 85, 1973, p. 197-245.

[32] [illegible] Neuerburg, *op. cit.*, n° 15, p. 1[illegible]. Dans [illegible] même ouvrage, N. Neuerburg (n° 185, [illegible] 229) inclut la niche du mithréum de Santa Prisca. Cette inclusion dans un ouvrage consacré aux nymphées est elle-même révélatrice des analogies de décor que nous soulignons.

[33] Parentés doit s'entendre également au sens d'affinités religieuses dont nous ne traitons pas ici. Porphyre (*De Antro nympharum*, 6) signale déjà [illegible] rapports avec les nymphes.

l'artiste disposant d'un «trésor» d'images à demi contraignantes, est libre de les organiser et de les présenter dans les formules iconographiques de son choix. C'est pourquoi la représentation de la grotte comme «structure d'accueil» de ces images, pourrait-on dire, ou au contraire son absence, ses qualités plastiques dans la figuration ou sa schématisation à l'extrême, nous renseignent mieux encore que l'étude de l'épigraphie ou la description des sanctuaires.

Leroy A. Campbell[34] a proposé un classement des divers modes de représenter la grotte qu'il serait trop long de discuter ici. Plutôt que d'en présenter un autre nous-mêmes, nous nous contenterons de quelques chiffres. Si nous considérons les reliefs où la grotte est rendue de façon naturelle, nous relevons quarante-six exemples pour l'Italie[34b], contre une vingtaine pour l'ensemble des Provinces, chiffre qu'il faut d'ailleurs nuancer en précisant que sur 20 de ces reliefs provinciaux, une dizaine offrent une image du tauroctone très proche de la typologie italienne[35]. Cette disproportion ne prend d'ailleurs tout son sens que lorsqu'on compare les chiffres globaux des reliefs représentant le tauroctone : 137 pour l'Italie contre 369 pour le reste de l'Empire. La figuration de l'antre sacré dans son aspect le plus proche du rocher naturel semble donc avoir été traitée avec une prédilection particulière en Italie, l'iconographie des Provinces ayant recours à d'autres formules telles que le cercle[36], l'édicule à fronton[37], le cartouche rectangulaire encadré par des scènes en prédelles ou sur le cintre (ou le linteau)[38] ou l'arc à piliers latéraux comportant des scènes multiples[39]. Moins sensibles que l'Italie[40] à l'évocation de la

[34] Leroy A. Campbell, *Typology of Mithraic tauroctones*, *Berytus*, II, 1954, p. 6-7 et *Mithraic iconography and ideology*, *EPRO*, 1968, p. 6-11.

[34bis] fig. 1 à 3 et Marbre de Panormus (Sicile) CIMRM 144, fig. 46, et marbre de l'Esquilin CIMRM 368, fig. 106.

[35] Nous donnerons le relevé et l'étude systématique de ces reliefs dans un ouvrage d'ensemble sur le problème de la grotte.

[36] CIMRM, 810 (Londres), 860 (Housesteads), 1472 et 1475 (Siscia), 1815 (Sarkeszi), 1861 (Salona), 1926 (Turda), 2202 (Biljanovac), 2241 (Pautalia).

[37] CIMRM, 985 (Trèves), 1206 (Steckstadt), 1359 (Königshoffen), 1902 (Jajce), 1919 (Draju), 2037 (Sarmizegetusa), 2164 (Romula), 2244 (Tavalicevo), 2305 (Târgusor).

[38] CIMRM, 1128 (Heddernheim), 1422 (Lauriacum), 1740 (Alesût), 1935, 1958, 1972, 1975, 2000 (Apulum), 2051 (Sarmizegetusa), 2171 (Romula), 2214 (Janjevo), etc..

[39] Pour ce type particulier, nous nous permettons de renvoyer à notre étude, *Les reliefs mithriaques à scènes multiples en Italie*, dans *Mélanges P. Boyancé*, *coll. Ecole Française de Rome*, Rome, 1974, p. 481-504.

[40] Lorsque la grotte ne constitue pas le cadre du tauroctone, elle est rappelée sous forme de rocher, comme dans le relief de Pise (fig. 3).

grotte, les autres régions de l'Empire se contentent le plus souvent d'un rappel schématique (cintre à peine esquissé) ou adoptent un cadre géométrique où peuvent s'inscrire [redacted] un récit les différents épisodes de la vie de Mithra.

Ainsi, les témoignages littéraires, la recherche insistante d'un certain décor dans [redacted] sanctuaire, [redacted] les images cultuelles, nous paraissent s'accorder pour montrer que l'Italie a donné à la grotte une place plus importante que [redacted] reste du monde touché par le mithriacisme. Ce n'est pas le lieu ici d'en expliquer les raisons religieuses profondes, ni de préciser si elle l'hérite du monde hellénistique. Disons seulement que l'âme romaine a été sans doute plus réceptive à l'*aura* sacrée qui se dégage de la caverne, car, selon [redacted] mot de Pomponius Mela[41]:

Totus autem specus augustus et vere sacer.

[41] Pomp. Mela, I, XIII, 74-75.

MARCEL LE GLAY

LA ΔΕΞΙΩΣΙΣ DANS LES MYSTÈRES DE MITHRA

Ce geste, l'étreinte des mains droites (*dextrarum iunctio*) de deux personnages, apparaît assez fréquemment sur les monuments anciens, depuis les reliefs funéraires attiques[1] jusqu'aux fresques et médaillons chrétiens[2]. Les commentateurs l'ont interprété de diverses manières. On y a vu tantôt, quand il s'agit par exemple de la Tyché de Sabratha serrant la main de la déesse Rome sur un bas-relief du *pulpitum* du théâtre de cette ville de Tripolitaine, le «symbole de la *fides* qui unit Rome, cité protectrice et pour ainsi dire patronne, et Sabratha, sa protégée et cliente»[3], tantôt le geste du vaincu qui s'en remet à la discrétion du vainqueur[4]. Quand il s'agit de la *dextrarum iunctio* d'un

[1] Voir M. Collignon, *Les statues funéraires dans l'art grec*, Paris, 1911, A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, 1887-1920 et Fr. Johansen, *The Attic Gravestelels*, Copenhague, 1951. Il n'est pas exclu que sur ces reliefs funéraires la δεξίωσις soit un geste d'initiés et non un simple geste de consolation, de confiance et d'affection. Sur les sarcophages et les reliefs funéraires d'époque romaine, la *dextrarum iunctio* n'est pas absente : cf. par ex. un autel funéraire du musée des Thermes à Rome, un cippe funéraire de Sousse (Ch. Picard, *C.R.A.I.*, 1951, p. 315 ss.). Curieusement, M. Cumont ne l'a pas évoquée dans ses *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*. Il serait bon d'en dresser l'inventaire. A titre d'ex., on citera seulement un sarcophage d'Amalfi, dont la face principale représente les amours d'Ares et d'Aphrodite, et l'un des petits côtés le couple divin se serrant la main en présence d'Eros (C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, III, 2, pl. LXXII, n° 193 = S. Reinach, *Rép. rel.*, III, p. 2, n. 1-3 = Fr. Cumont, *ouv. cit.*, p. 20 et pl. I, 2), une urne cinéraire du musée du Vatican sur laquelle on voit Dionysos et Ariane se serrant la main droite en présence d'Hypnos «scène de mariage» selon Fr. Cumont, *ouv. cit.*, p. 412 ss. et fig. 88, mais la *dextrarum iunctio* a sans doute ici une autre signification (*infra*, p. 298). Stèles funéraires : M. Fr. Braemer, *Les stèles funéraires à personnages de Bordeaux*, Paris, 1959, n° 28, 31, 46; mieux, une stèle funéraire gallo-romaine découverte dans le Var, à Gonfaron, sur laquelle deux mains droites jointes sont figurées sous l'épitaphe, pour évoquer la *concordia* du ménage : M. Boyer, *Rev. de Narbonnaise*, IV, 1971, p. 233-235; photo, fig. 1, p. 234.

[2] *Infra*, n. 7.

[3] P. Veyne, *M.E.F.R.*, 73, 1961, p. 248.

[4] Explication d'un juriste. G. Beseler, Bindung und Lösung, dans *Zeitschr. der Savigny-Stiftung*, XLIX, 1929, p. 615; sur Fides, dans *Atti del Congr. Intern. di Diritto romano*, 1933, Rome, I, p. 140, pour qui ce geste traduirait l'expression *venire in fidem*. Elle a été vivement critiquée par P. Boyancé, «Fides romana» et la vie internationale, dans *Études sur la rel. rom.*, Rome, 1973, p. 117 ss.

homme et d'une femme, certains ont voulu reconnaître le geste des époux s'unissant dans le mariage[5] ; L. Reekmans[6] a montré de manière décisive en 1958 que dans l'iconographie romaine et paléochrétienne la *dextrarum iunctio* n'appartenait ni au rituel du mariage ni à sa symbolique, mais évoquait bien plutôt la *concordia* entre les époux, ou mieux la *fides*, la *fides* qui engendre la *concordia* et inspire la *pietas*. C'est d'ailleurs ce sens qu'elle a conservé à l'époque chrétienne, notamment sur les médaillons qui célèbrent la *Concordia Apostolorum*, où l'on voit Pierre et Paul étreignant leurs mains droites *in signum concordiae*, comme dit saint Augustin[7].

Toutefois c'est sur les monuments du culte de Mithra que la *dextrarum iunctio* apparaît le plus souvent, dans deux des épisodes figurés sur les bas-reliefs cultuels, autour de la tauroctonie :

1) dans la scène dite de la Réconciliation, ou de l'Alliance, de Mithra et de Sol. Mithra et Sol se serrent la main droite, en général au-dessus d'un autel, ce qui confère à leur geste une valeur particulièrement sacrée. Et cette *dextrarum iunctio* est représentée le plus souvent entre le tableau qui montre Sol agenouillé aux pieds de Mithra et celui qui évoque le repas sacré des deux personnages, autrement dit entre la scène de l'Adoubement et la scène de la Communion. Cet environnement est important. Retenons-le. Il prendra toute sa signi-

[5] Rossbach, *Röm. Hochzeits- und Ehedenkmäler*, Lipsia, 1871, p. 37 sq., qui ne prouve pas que la cérémonie du mariage romain comportait ce geste. Aucun texte ne relie la *dextrarum iunctio* au mariage.

[6] L. Reekmans, La «dextrarum iunctio» dans l'iconographie romaine et paléochrétienne, *Bull. Inst. hist. belge Rome*, XXXI, 1958, p. 23-95. Le geste des époux est celui qui apparaît sur de nombreux monuments où l'on voit l'homme passant le bras gauche autour du cou de la femme, qui passe elle-même son bras droit autour du cou de l'homme. Voir par ex. une terre cuite du musée de Berlin, où Tyché et Agathos Daimôn, assis l'un près de l'autre, se trouvent dans cette attitude : Panofka, *Terrakotten des Koenigl. Mus. zu Berlin*, XLIX, 1. C'est l'attitude courante d'Eros et Psyché, et aussi celle qu'en Afrique adoptent les couples sur des stèles votives à Saturne, le dieu tout-puissant de qui ils attendent la fécondité de leur union : cf. M. Le Glay, *Saturne africain. Histoire*, Paris, 1966, p. 114 sq.

[7] *P.L.*, 5, 21. Cf. Ch. Pietri, Concordia Apostolorum et renouatio Vrbis, *M.E.F.R.*, 73, 1961, p. 275-322. M. Bovini, Le scene della dextrarum iunctio nell'arte cristiana, *Boll. Com. Arch. di Roma*, LXXII, 1946-48, p. 103-117 y a reconnu le symbole de l'union conjugale : précisons de la *concordia*, thème fréquent de l'homélie chrétienne : cf. par ex. Tertullien, *Ad uxor.*, II, 9 (*C.S.E.L.*, 70, p. 112). Ch. Pietri a noté avec raison (p. 288) que, si l'image du double couronnement évoque la concorde, la *dextrarum iunctio* complète souvent cette expression de l'accord familial : Iuno Pronuba ou Concordia couronnent les époux chrétiens et leur joignent les mains.

fication quand nous aurons précisé la valeur de la *dextrarum iunctio*; et peut-être serons-nous amenés à revoir l'appellation traditionnelle donnée à [illegible] scène.

2) dans [illegible] scène dite de l'Apothéose. Quand Mithra prend place dans le char du Soleil qui doit l'emmener dans [illegible] séjour céleste des dieux, Sol lui tend la main droite, qu'étreint de sa main droite le jeune dieu. Cette deuxième *dexiósis* n'a manifestement pas la même signification que la première.

Que ces deux épisodes occupent une place particulière dans [illegible] mythe [illegible] donc dans la liturgie mithriaques, j'en verrais volontiers une preuve dans la place qu'ils occupent dans l'iconographie [illegible] plus encore dans [illegible] fait récemment établi par H. Lavagne[8] que chacun des deux termine une série iconographique : [illegible] série courte (cf. les reliefs de Narsac [illegible] de Marino) s'achève en effet par [illegible] scène de l'«Alliance» de Sol et de Mithra, tandis que dans la série longue (cf. la fresque du mithraeum des Jardins Barberini ou les reliefs d'Heddernheim et de Rückingen) l'«Alliance» est suivie de l'Apothéose [illegible] du Banquet, conclusion normale de la légende.

Outre cette double *dextrarum iunctio* qui caractérise donc deux épisodes du mythe, c'est encore une évocation très directe du «geste» que les commentateurs retrouvent dans le mot συνδέξιος. Connu par une formule liturgique, conservée par Firmicus Maternus, *De errore prof. relig.*, V, 2 (Μύστα βοοκλοπίης συνδέξιε πατρός ἀγυνοῦ), lu d'autre part dans les graffiti du mithraeum de Doura-Europos (*A.E.*, 1935, 158; 1940, 227), [illegible] mot est apparu pour la première fois sous la forme latine *syndexi* dans l'inscription du mithraeum trouvé en 1938 sous la basilique de s. Lorenzo in Damaso, dans le Palazzo della Cancelleria de Rome. Fr. Cumont [illegible] d'autres à [illegible] suite lui ont consacré des commentaires[9], sur lesquels il faudra revenir.

[8] Sur la typologie des tableaux annexes de la tauroctonie mithriaque, voir H. Lavagne, Les reliefs mithriaques à scènes multiples en Italie, *Mél. P. Boyancé*, 1974, [illegible] 481-505, en part. p. 486 ss. Voir aussi Lavagne, Le mithraeum de Marino (Italie), *C.R.A.I.*, 1974, p. 191-201.

[9] Voir maintenant Fr. Cumont, The Dura Mithraeum, dans *Mithraic Studies*, I, 1975, [illegible] 196 ss. et E. D. Francis, Mithraic Graffiti from Dura-Europos, *ibid.*, II, 1975, [illegible] 438 ss., où συνδέξιος est parfaitement mis en relation avec [illegible] *dextrarum iunctio*. Sur l'inscription du mithraeum du Palais de la Chancellerie romaine, cf. M.J. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, I, p. 179, [illegible] 423 et B. Nogara [illegible] E. Magi, dans *Hommages à J. Bidez et Fr. Cumont*, Coll. Latomus, II, [illegible] 231 ss.

Avant d'entrer dans le vif du sujet, je voudrais présenter quelques brèves remarques préliminaires, au vrai assez banales. D'abord pour souligner *l'importance du serment dans les sociétés antiques*. Certes, toutes les sociétés évoluées sont régies par des lois, et tous les rapports humains — d'alliance entre égaux, de dépendance entre inégaux — sont fondés sur des engagements de caractère privé ou public, de type juridique ou juridico-religieux. Or pour nous limiter au monde romain, c'est-à-dire à la civilisation de toute l'Antiquité la plus imprégnée de droit, on peut affirmer, en nuançant un propos de G. Dumézil[10], qu'«en un certain sens, tout 'le droit', tout acte de droit avec ou sans serment, tout contrat, tout engagement sont sous la garantie» des dieux. On conçoit dès lors que le serment, qui crée un lien spécial, particulièrement fort et contraignant — qu'on songe par exemple au serment de *deuotio* qui lie les hommes à leur chef[11] ou au serment prêté au Prince[12] — ait besoin d'une garantie particulièrement puissante et efficiente. Aussi est-il placé normalement sous la garantie de Jupiter lui-même[13] et, à partir de l'époque impériale, sous la double garantie de Jupiter et du Génie de l'empereur[14].

[10] G. Dumézil, *Idées romaines*, Paris, 1969, ch. sur le *fas*, p. 43, où il est noté que «en un certain sens, tout 'le droit', tout acte de droit avec ou sans serment, tout contrat, tout engagement, sont sous la garantie de la *fides*, elle-même garantie par Jupiter et divinisée dans son voisinage immédiat en tant que Fides ou en tant que Dius Fidius». On précisera plus loin les rapports entre *Fides* et le serment, *Fides* et la main droite, tous les textes sont rassemblés par P. Boyance (*infra*, p. 290, n. 44).

[11] Sur la *deuotio*, «acte suprême du culte du chef» et sur le serment de *deuotio* qui lie les hommes à leur chef, voir R. Étienne, *Le culte impérial dans la péninsule ibérique*, p. 75-80.

[12] Brillante mise au point sur le serment prêté au Prince par P. Herrmann, *Der römische Kaisereid. Untersuchungen zu seiner Herkunft und Entwicklung*, Göttingen, 1968, 132 pp. Pour l'importance reconnue par César aux serments, cf. J. Carcopino, *Points de vue sur l'impérialisme romain*, 1934, p. 133. Sur le serment prêté à Octave par toute l'Italie en 32 et son importance historique, cf. toujours A. von Premerstein, *Vom Werden und Wesen des Prinzipats* (*Abh. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissensc.*, N.F., XV, 1937). Sur le serment par Jupiter, par tous les dieux et par Auguste, voir par ex. *I.L.S.*, 8781. Sur le serment par le *Numen* d'Auguste, Horace, *Odes*, IV. Sur la valeur juridique du serment, cf. C. Bertolini, *Il giuramento nel diritto privato romano*, Rome, 1967.

[13] Pour ne prendre que quelques exemples parmi des milliers, cf. des serments par Jupiter et les Pénates, avec indication des mesures contre ceux qui désobéissent à la loi dans les lois de Delphes, de Bantia, dans J. Reynolds, *J.R.S.*, 1974, p. 215 ss. C'est parce que Jupiter est le dieu des serments que le temple de Jupiter Capitolin est devenu le dépôt des archives les plus précieuses. A propos du fameux serment d'Hannibal, F. Xella, dans *Orientalia Antiqua*, X, 1971, p. 189-193 a récemment observé que dans la liste de dieux invoqués à l'occasion de ce traité d'alliance avec Philippe V, c'est

Il y a plus. Si telle est la valeur des engagements qui régissent quotidiennement les rapports humains, combien sont-ils encore plus prégnants et sacrés quand ils fondent les rapports entre les hommes et les dieux : rapports de dépendance mêlée de crainte révérentielle propres à assurer la *pax deorum* en Occident ; rapports de soumission et même de sujétion teintés d'affectivité en Orient ? Dans les rapports hommes — dieux, plus encore que dans les rapports entre hommes, apparaissent en effet deux particularités : d'une part l'importance de la « volonté » des contractants dans la valeur de leur accord contractuel[15] ; d'autre part l'importance de l'engagement volontaire qui fonde l'alliance, qui crée le pacte entre l'homme et la divinité, et qui précisément s'exprime par le serment.

Tout naturellement — et c'est la deuxième remarque que je voudrais faire — *le serment occupe dans toutes les religions à mystères, ou plutôt à initiations*[16], *une place particulière*. Il suffira de rappeler quelques exemples :

— dans le culte dionysiaque, l'une des interdictions majeures du *senatusconsultum de Bacchanalibus* (*C.I.L.*, I, 581) vise le serment : « Que dorénavant l'on ne fasse en commun ni serment, ni voeu, ni libation, ni promesse, et que personne ne contracte un engagement réciproque » ;

— le réglement du sanctuaire d'Agdistis, à Philadelphie de Lydie (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*², 985) commence par un serment : « Qu'hommes et femmes, esclaves ou personnes libres, lorsqu'ils viennent dans ce sanctuaire, jurent par tous les dieux ... » ;

Baal-Hammon qui se cache sous le nom de Zeus. *l'interpretatio graeca* ayant choisi en la circonstance *Zeus*, dieu du serment, au lieu de Kronos. Pour les Anciens, le plus sacré des serments consistait à *iouem lapidem iurare* (selon Aulu-Gelle, *N.A.*, I, 21, 4, *Iouem lapidem, inquit, quod sanctissimum iusiurandum habitum est ...*), ce qu'on peut comprendre, soit « jurer par le Jupiter de pierre », soit « jurer par Jupiter le serment de pierre » (cf. R. Maruche, dans M. Budé, coll. Univ. de France). Sur la pierre voilée (*lapidem uelatum*), à laquelle Lucrèce fait allusion (*De rer. nat.*, I 198 ss.), ne peut-on pas penser qu'il s'agit de la pierre du serment, voilée comme les mains de *Fides*, sur quoi, voir *infra*, p. 290, n. 47?

[14] Exemple de serment *per Iouem Optimum Maximum et Numen diui Augusti et Genium Cai Caesaris Augusti* dans une reconnaissance de dette (*tabula cerata* d'Agro di Murecine, près de Pompéi, *A.E.*, 1973, 138)

[15] Cf. S.E. Winner, *Contractus. Sein Wortgebrauch und Willensgehalt im klass. röm. Recht* (*Forsch. zum röm. Recht*, 19), Cologne-Graz, 1964, 233 pp.

[16] Les mystères ne comportent en effet pas forcément une initiation, ainsi les mystères de Panamara : cf. A.J. Festugière, *Le monde gréco-romain au temps de Notre-Seigneur*, Paris, 1935, p. 167 ss. ; P. Roussel, Les mystères de Panamara, *B.C.H.*, 1927, p. 57-137.

— dans les cultes alexandrins le serment des mystes est bien attesté[17]. Isis ne proclame-t-elle pas d'ailleurs son attachement à la valeur du serment : «J'ai voulu que rien ne fût plus redoutable que le serment» (aretalogie d'Isis, stèle de Kymé)[18]. Et des inscriptions du sérapeum de Thessalonique, récemment publiées par G. Daux[19], montrent clairement l'importance du serment prêté par les mystes de Sérapis : «les mystes actuels [illegible] les mystes futurs jureront par [illegible] dieu, par les mystères et par la «cérémonie de minuit du pain» de veiller à la célébration du rituel ci-dessus conformément à la donation» ;

— Quant à la religion de Mithra, on peut dire que le serment est au cœur même et de la «geste» divine et du rite de l'initiation des mystes. Tertullien, qui pour l'attaquer avait appris à la connaître, ne s'y trompait pas quand il écrivait de «celui qui entre dans la milice de Mithra, initié dans une caverne», «il est tenu pour soldat de Mithra par son serment» (*De corona*, XV, 3-4).

C'est donc à bon droit que dans son livre sur *Mithra, ce dieu mystérieux*, M. J. Vermaseren a, après Fr. Cumont[20], insisté sur la place de ce serment solennel (*sacramentum*) dans les rites de l'initiation. En se fondant sur le papyrus de Florence, il l'a présenté avant tout comme un serment de ne trahir aucun des secrets qui lui sont alors révélés, serment qui précède [illegible] ὄξ(ο)ος de l'initié et du *Pater*, l'étreinte des mains droites constituant en quelque sorte l'acte extérieur visible de l'initiation : «Celui qui participe au mystère imite les gestes de Mithra qui, en tendant la main droite selon l'usage perse (Diodore, XVI, 43), conclut le pacte et ratifie son serment»[21]. C'est précisément

[17] Voir en dernier lieu [illegible] Merkelbach, Der Eid der Isismysten, *Zeitsch. für Papyr. und Epigr.*, I, 1967, p. 55-73.

[18] *I.G.*, XII (Suppl. 1939), p. 98-99. Voir A.-J. Festugière, A propos des aretalogies d'Isis, *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XLII, 1949, p. 209-234, repris dans *Études de rel. gr. et hell.*, Paris, 1972, p. 138-163.

[19] [illegible] Daux, Trois inscriptions de la Grèce du Nord, *C.R.A.I.*, 1972, p. 478-493, en part. p. 484 ss.

[20] Fr. Cumont, *Textes et Mon. myst. Mithra*, p. 318 ss.; M.J. Vermaseren, *Mithra, ce dieu mystérieux*, Paris-Bruxelles, 1960, p. 108 ss.

[21] M.J. Vermaseren, *op. cit.*, p. 114. Chez [illegible] Mandéens, ou Chrétiens de s. Jean Baptiste (qui subsistent encore en Mésopotamie), parmi les trois sacrements, on compte, à côté du baptême et de la communion, le *kušta* : «le troisième sacrement des Mandéens est le *kušta*, qui signifie foi ou fidélité. Il s'agit, semble-t-il, d'une solennelle promesse de fidélité faite par [illegible] néophytes après leur baptême : le *kušta* est une poignée de main solennelle qui engage comme un serment» (*Dict. Théol. Cath.*, s.v. *Mandéens*, IX, 2, cols. 1812-1824). «Les frères selon la chair passent ; mais les frères du kušta

la signification profonde et complète de cette δεξίωσις, sa place dans l'acte d'initiation [illegible] sa véritable valeur sacrée, ou plutôt sacralisante, que je voudrais tenter de préciser en montrant, ou en rappelant :

— que la main droite, pour les Anciens, détient la puissance [illegible] exprime la volonté.
— que la main droite est celle de l'engagement, de la *Fides*.
— que la main droite, étreignant une autre main droite, crée des liens, des liens de nature complexe d'ailleurs.

1) *La main droite détient la puissance et exprime la volonté.*

Il est [illegible]en connu qu'en Orient comme à Rome, la main droite est symbole de puissance et de suprématie. En hébreu, c'est le même mot *iad* qui désigne [illegible] main et la puissance. Et dans la Bible les exemples abondent qui font allusion à la main de Yahvé touchant l'homme pour lui donner la force divine : ainsi [illegible] main de Yahvé touche la bouche de Jérémie avant de l'envoyer prêcher ; Elie sur le mont Carmel voit monter de la mer un nuage [illegible] sent sur lui la main de Dieu, etc. L'idée est [illegible] courante au Proche-Orient que la main seule devient [illegible] signe et le symbole de [illegible] présence et de l'intervention divine. [illegible] est remarquable qu'en Syrie les plus grandes divinités du paganisme ont eu recours à cette symbolique de [illegible] main. C'est le cas du Jupiter héliopolitain représenté sur un autel de Homs (Emèse)[22] par sa main droite brandissant [illegible] foudre, qui n'est d'ailleurs pas son attribut habituel (le fouet). En revanche, [illegible] Syriens ont très souvent substitué à leur dieu suprême du ciel et du monde, Baalshamîn une simple main brandissant [illegible] foudre : ainsi sur les autels de Karassi, entre Palmyre et Emèse[23], et sur [illegible] pyrée de Gdêm[24]. Et tandis que [illegible] représentation

sont solides» (*Ginza Dextr.*, [illegible] 18, l. 10). Sur les Mandéens, voir E.S. Drower, *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran. Their cults, customs, magic, legends and folklore*, Oxford, 1937 ; Fr. Cumont, The Dura Mithraeum, *Mithraic Studies*, I, p. 198.

[22] Au musée de Damas. [illegible] Seyrig, Inscriptions diverses, *Ant. syr.*, 45, *Syria*, XXVIII, 1950, p. 236-237.

[23] H. Seyrig, Nouveaux monuments palmyréniens des cultes de Bêl [illegible] de Baalshamîn, 4, *Ant. syr.*, 14, *Syria*, XIV, 1933, [illegible] 267-269.

[24] *Ibid.*, [illegible] 267, fig. 7. Les textes (grec et araméen) qui datent le monument entre 187 et 195 apr. J.C., évoquent, au vrai, le dieu anonyme ; mais celui-ci n'est qu'une forme de Baalshamîn, dieu suprême, maître des cieux et [illegible] monde, et il en a gardé un caractère particulier : il brandit le foudre, comme les deux autres grands dieux de l'Asie occidentale, Techoub et Hadad.

d'Atargatis par sa main est rare[25], celle de Hadad, son parèdre, le dieu du tonnerre, est relativement fréquente. C'est pourtant le couple divin de Hiérapolis qui figure sur un cippe d'Arimé, sur la route d'Alep à Membidj[26], sous la forme d'une main droite ornée d'un bracelet et tenant un foudre près d'une main droite ouverte, la paume en avant, flanquée de deux animaux, qui l'encadrent à la manière des idoles syriennes. Mais en général, c'est le dieu Hadad seul, ou Baalshamin, qui est évoqué sur les monuments par une main droite, seule ou brandissant le foudre : ainsi sur un petit autel découvert à Khirbet Semrine, au nord de Palmyre, sur un relief de Doura-Europos, sur une plaque de basalte trouvée à Kefr Kelbine, près de Cyrrhus, sur une stèle de Tell Sfir[27], sur un relief de Philadelphie de la Décapole[28] et sur une plaque de Palmyre[29] où la main divine tient, au lieu du foudre, trois épis symboliques de la bonne récolte, dont elle est la dispensatrice.

Par ce dernier document la liaison se fait aisément avec les mains votives, trouvées en Syrie dans les cultes de Jupiter Dolichenus[30], d'Atargatis et de Hadad[31] et, hors de Syrie, dans le culte du Sabazios phrygien, où l'usage paraît s'être implanté sous l'influence sémitique[32].

[25] Cf. cependant un cylindre babylonien de la dynastie d'Hammourabi, où l'image d'une main est dressée sur une base, comme un simulacre offert au culte : cf. G. Contenau, *Glyptique syro-hittite*, pl. XVII, n° 129; H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 179; H. Seyrig, *Il.*, p. 190; fig. 10. On retrouve en pleine époque romaine la main divine au sommet d'une enseigne comme symbole du Tout-puissant sur les monnaies d'Aradus à l'effigie d'Elagabale : Shos-El est représenté par un taureau surmonté de cet emblème; c'est l'interprétation de R. du Mesnil du Buisson, *Étude sur les dieux phéniciens hérités par l'Empire romain*, Leiden, 1970, p. 125-126, fig. 32.

[26] H. Seyrig, Représentations de la main divine, *Ant. syr.*, 28, *Syria*, XX, 1939, p. 189, fig. 9.

[27] Sur tous ces documents, voir H. Seyrig, *Il.*, p. 189-194.

[28] *Bull. Museo del Impero*, IV, 1934, p. 118, fig. 24.

[29] H. Seyrig, Sur une idole hiérapolitaine, *Ant. syr.*, 40, *Syria*, XXVI, 1949, p. 33-34; pl. I, 6.

[30] Dans le culte de Jupiter Dolichenus, cf. P. Merlat, *Répertoire des inscr. et mon. figurés du culte de Jup. Dol.*, Paris, 1951, qui distingue la main tenant le foudre, symbole de la puissance cosmique du dieu (n° 152), de la main votive ouverte, signe de la puissance secourable du dieu (n° 41, 105, 164, 217, 284, 318, 347). Cf. P. Merlat, *Jupiter Dolichenus*, Paris, 1960, p. 177 ss.

[31] Sur ces mains de bronze, par ex. celle de la Bekaa, qui constituent une série, voir R. Dussaud, *Notes de mythologie syrienne*, p. 117-125; P. Perdrizet, *Arch. f. Religionswiss.*, XIV, 1911, p. 118-124; H. Seyrig, *Syria*, XX, 1939, p. 193, fig. 13.

[32] Cf. C. Blinkenberg, *Darstellungen des Sabazios und Denkmäler seines Kultes*, dans *Arch. Studien*, Copenhague, 1904. Sur le geste de la *benedictio latina*, outre Blinkenberg, voir H. Seyrig, *B.C.H.*, LI, 1927, p. 211 ss.

Contrairement à ce qu'on a cru longtemps, il ne s'agit pas là de la main de l'adorateur, et donc d'un geste d'hommage et de supplication, mais de la main ouverte et bénissante de la divinité, donc d'un geste de protection et de bénédiction. Ici une nuance est introduite : la main divine n'est plus seulement symbole et signe de la puissance divine ; elle dispense cette puissance et ses bienfaits.

Preuve du caractère sémitique : en Occident, c'est, à ma connaissance, seulement en Afrique, que la main levée apparaît dans le tympan du fronton des stèles puniques, comme substitut de la divinité dont elle atteste la présence et désigne la puissance[33]. Elle y a manifestement été importée par les Phéniciens. Comme dans le culte de Sabazios en Phrygie, il s'agit ici, en Afrique, d'un usage implanté avec l'influence sémitique.

Toute cette symbolique, les Juifs ne la méconnurent pas, comme en témoigne la synagogue de Doura-Europos[34] ; elle devait passer ensuite dans l'art chrétien[35]. Déjà dans les Livres saints[36] les expressions *manus Domini, manus Patris* sont fréquemment employées pour désigner la présence et l'intervention de Dieu.

Il est une autre manière de souligner la valeur religieuse de la main droite comme détentrice de puissance et symbole de la protection

[33] C. Picard, *Catal. du Musée Alaoui*, n.s. Coll. pub., I. Cb 658, 661, 665, 667, 672, 678, 684, 704, 708, 712, 800, 808, 822, 824, 835, 839, 893, par ex. A Byrsa, sur 1.500 stèles, 350 portent la main au sommet : voir M. Hours-Miedan, Les représentations figurées sur les stèles de Carthage, Cahiers de Byrsa, I, 1950, p. 31-34.

[34] Une main descendant du ciel y figure la présence de Yahvé : C. Kraeling, *Dura Reports, Sixth Season*, p. 355.

[35] Sans qu'on puisse affirmer avec certitude que les Chrétiens l'ont héritée des Juifs plutôt que des païens de Syrie. De l'imagerie chrétienne, elle passa dans l'art impérial du IVe s. : cf. H. Stern, *Le calendrier de 354*, p. 150 sq. L'origine juive paraît tout de même très probable. Voir H. Leclercq, *Dict. Arch. Chrét. et Lit.*, X, I, col. 1207. A partir du IVe s. la main de Dieu apparaît sur les fresques représentant surtout soit Moïse recevant les Tables de la Loi, soit le sacrifice d'Abraham. Sur une brique d'origine africaine, on peut voir une main colossale de Dieu accompagnant l'inscription *Abram* et *Isac*. Au Moyen Age, l'image de la main divine se généralise : cf. une miniature du Xe s. avec la main de Dieu transmettant au prophète Isaïe le message messianique, reproduite dans A. Grabar, *La civilisation byzantine*, 1974, ill. n° [illegible], une autre du Xe s. avec la main de Dieu remettant à Moïse les Tables de la Loi, *ibid.* [illegible], n° 162. Dans la crypte carolingienne de l'église Saint-Germain d'Auxerre, sur la fresque de l'oratoire de s. Etienne, qui représente la vision divine du saint, la présence de Dieu est symbolisée par une main droite sortant des nuées, au-dessous de la main, une surface laissée vide évoque la présence ineffable de Dieu. *Archéologia*, n° 67, février 1974, p. 26.

[36] Exemples : *Etenim manus Domini erat cum illo* (Luc., I, 66) ; *Et erat manus Domini cum eis* (*Act.*, XI, 21) ; *Et nunc ecce manus Domini super te* (*Act.*, XIII, 11).

que la divinité accorde à ses fidèles, c'est de présenter la divinité soit levant la main droite, paume ouverte, soit la tendant vers les adorateurs. Cette présentation, qui n'est pas absente d'Orient[37], triomphe plutôt en Occident, où l'on est moins indifférent aux apparences corporelles. Sa force d'évocation va jusqu'à faire attribuer à certaines divinités — à Zeus, à Apollon et à Athéna par exemple — l'épiclèse d'*Hyperdexios*, c'est-à-dire «protecteur à la dextre étendue»[38]. Cette attitude est fréquente dans la statuaire, notamment pour les dieux dont le caractère providentiel est très marqué.

C'est en effet une notion couramment admise à Rome aussi que la main droite est celle qui détient la puissance. Analysant les instruments de l'esprit humain, Cicéron présente successivement la parole articulée d'abord (*De nat. deor.*, II, 59, 149), puis tout de suite après, la main (II, 60, 150-152) qui rend l'homme capable d'inventer tous les arts de la vie; grâce à la main, l'homme peut dans la nature créer une seconde nature[39]. Virgile et Ovide vont plus loin et notent qu'elle est *potens*[40]; une force particulière lui est attachée, elle est *dextera gravis*, précise

[37] Ce geste de bénédiction (main droite levée) y est fort ancien; R. Ronzevalle, *Mél. Univ. Saint-Joseph*, XXI, 1937-38, p. 151-162, en a rassemblé l'iconographie à partir de la déesse phénico-égyptienne de Ras-Shamra (XIVe-XIIIe s.av. J.C.), la plus grande partie provient de Phénicie (d'où la transmission en Afrique : cf. p. 33). A l'époque romaine, on le retrouve dans l'attitude de la déesse d'Héliopolis (Atargatis) sur un médaillon de bronze : H. Seyrig, *Ant. syr.*, 95, *Syria*, XLVIII, 1971, p. 367, fig. 6, n° 5.

[38] Sur les dieux *Hyperdexios*, voir L. Robert, *Hellenist.*, X, 1955, p. 62-66 et Add., p. 295-296, XI-XII, p. 581 : Zeus Hyperdexios sur un autel du musée de Stamboul; Apollon Hyperdexios (Plut., *Arat.*, 7, 2); Zeus (?) et Athéna Hyperdexios sur une inscription de Thasos (*B.C.H.*, 1954, p. 203 s.). — Sur la valeur religieuse de la main droite en Occident, O. Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder, Unters. zum Wunderglauben der Griechen und Römer* (Relig. Vers. u. Vorarb., VIII, 1909), p. 1-62 (θεοῦ Χείρ).

[39] Sur l'utilité des mains, cf. Lactance, *De op. Dei*, X, 22, Arist., *De part. an.*, IV, 10, Galien, *De usu partium*, I, 3. Dans les *Mémorables* de Xénophon, I, 4, 11, l'usage des mains est une des choses qui, avec la station droite, la faculté de faire l'amour en toute saison et la possession d'une âme, marquent la supériorité de l'homme sur l'animal.

[40] Virgile, *Aen.*, VII, 234, Ovide, *Metam.*, [illegible], 11. Quand l'empereur est représenté dans son char triomphal, ou dans les scènes d'*Adventus*, ou au retour d'une guerre victorieuse, il est figuré avec la main droite levée : sur la valeur de ce «Machtgestus», signe de *virtus*, voir R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art* (Mem. of the Connecticut Acad. of Arts and Sciences, XIV), New-Haven, 1963, p. [illegible], 112, 208 ss.; voir *infra*, n. 42bis.

Valerius Flaccus[41], et comme telle, elle irradie la guérison et le salut[42]. Pour certains, elle est un signe de l'apothéose[42bis].

On conçoit que ce geste de la main droite levée, ou tendue, soit surtout le fait de divinités particulièrement bienfaitrices et salutaires, telles qu'Asklèpios par exemple qui, étant apparu à Thessalos, «lève la main droite» en signe de protection bienveillante, et le salue[43]. La *dextera* finit d'ailleurs par devenir porteuse de toute prospérité : célébrant les vertus de Cérès, Apulée l'invoque dans une litanie (*Metam.*, VI, 2, 4) *per frugiferam tuam dexteram istam*, «par cette main droite qui dispense les fruits de la terre».

Ainsi, du côté des dieux, en Occident comme en Orient, avec des nuances dans l'expression figurée, la main droite apparaît donc en définitive comme l'organe par lequel s'expriment leurs qualités les plus essentielles : la puissance — or, faut-il le rappeler, pour les Anciens, plus que l'éternité, c'est la puissance qui différencie la divinité de l'homme — et particulièrement la puissance de protection et de bénédiction. Présentée levée devant le fidèle ou tendue vers lui, et surtout figurée seule, la main droite absorbe, concentre en elle toute la signification de l'image ; elle prend alors une haute valeur symbolique ; elle est le signe même de la puissance divine et l'expression d'une volonté secourable, bienfaisante et salutaire.

[41] Val. Flacc., IV, 315. Cf. R. Hertz, Prééminence de la main droite, *Mél. d'Hist. des Religions*, p. 99 ss. ; G. van der Leeuw, *La religion dans son essence et ses manifestations*, Paris, 1970, p. 202. A noter que, dans les opérations magiques, on se sert de préférence de la main gauche, surtout s'il s'agit d'opérations plus ou moins attentatoires à l'ordre naturel divin : cf. A. Delatte, *Herbarius*, Louvain, 1938, p. 138 ss. (sur la cueillette des herbes magiques).

[42] Pline, *N. H.*, XXVIII, 8. Cf. O. Weinreich, *op. cit.* ; Behm, *Die Handauflegung im Urchristentum*, Diss. Erlangen, 1911, p. 102 ss. ; M. Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges*, Strasbourg, 1924.

[42bis] Il faudrait citer de nombreux documents : cf. H.P. L'Orange, *Sol Invictus Imperator. Ein Beitrag zur Apotheose* (*Symb. Osl.*, XIV, 1935, p. 86-114), qui, à propos de la main droite levée de l'empereur, parle de geste «magique», en relation avec l'apothéose. Le sujet est à reprendre.

[43] Cf. la Lettre du médecin Thessalos à Claude ou Néron (137, 5) : *Cat. Cod. Astrol. Graec.*, VIII, 3, p. 134 ss. ; traduction de A. J. Festugière, *Revél. Hermès Trism.*, I, *L'astrologie et les sciences occultes*, 1944, p. 56-58 et *Hermétisme et mystique païenne*, p. 162 et n. 83, qui note que c'est l'attitude que donnent parfois à Asklèpios ses statues de culte et interprète ce geste comme celui de la salutation. Je pense qu'il s'agit plutôt d'un geste de bénédiction, la salutation vient ensuite. Asklèpios apparaît au médecin, le dieu lève la main droite et salue le «bienheureux Thessalos», avant de lui révéler les rapports entre croissance et dépérissement des plantes, et d'autre part l'influx des astres.

II) *La main droite est aussi celle de l'engagement.*

Se référant aux physiciens (c'est-à-dire aux philosophes), Servius (*Ad Aen.*, III, 608) a noté que chaque partie du corps a sa divinité propre : pour l'oreille c'est *Memoria*, pour le front c'est *Genius*, pour les genoux c'est *Misericordia*, pour la main droite c'est *Fides*. Bien avant lui, Pline dans son *Hist. nat.* (XI, 251) avait attribué un caractère religieux aux différentes parties du corps ■ il avait lui aussi cité *Fides* pour la main droite. C'est donc là une idée qui paraît admise d'associer la main droite à la déesse *Fides*[44].

Reste à définir aussi exactement que possible cette *Fides*. Les juristes[45] en ont naturellement fait une notion juridique, celle de l'abandon du vaincu entre les mains du vainqueur, à la discrétion, au pouvoir de qui ■ s'en remet complètement ; de là en droit international le sens de l'expression *venire in fidem*. En réaction contre cette explication, P. Boyancé a, dans plusieurs études complémentaires, fondées sur les textes des auteurs anciens et sur les figurations numismatiques, montré d'une part que *fides* recouvrait au début une notion non juridique[46], mais morale, sociale, religieuse, d'autre part que, comme tous les concepts sociaux fondamentaux, ■ *fides* avait été divinisée dès la plus haute Antiquité, enfin que *Fides* est bien, comme l'avait déjà vu G. Wissowa, la divinité du serment. Plus récemment encore, P. Grimal, partant d'un rite du culte de *Fides*, ■ qu'il est attesté à Rome et connu aussi par les Tables de Gubbio, ■ savoir que lors du sacrifice, la main droite de l'officiant était voilée d'une étoffe blanche[47], et considé-

[44] Cf. aussi Tite-Live, I, 1, 8 ; 40, 46, 58, 819. Cicéron, *Ad Att.*, 2, 22 ; Isidore, *Orig.*, XI, 1, 67 : *hoc est illud apud Tullium : « Fidem publicam unus senatus dedi, id est dextram »*. Tous les textes anciens qui attestent le « lien étroit » qui existe entre la déesse *Fides* et la main droite ont été réunis par P. Boyancé dans une série d'articles récents : *Fides et le serment*, ■*Hommages à A. Grenier*, Bruxelles, 1962, I, p. 329-341 ; *Fides et la vie internationale*, *Séance publique annuelle des cinq Académies (jeudi 25 octobre 1962)*, Paris, 1962, p. 13 ss. ; La main de *Fides*, *Hommages à J. Bayet*, Bruxelles, 1964, p. 101-113 ; Les Romains, peuple de la *Fides*, *Bull. Ass. G. Budé* (*Suppl. Lettres d'Humanité*), XXIII, 4e sér., 1964, p. 419-435. Ces articles sont réunis maintenant dans *Études sur la religion romaine*, Rome, 1972, p. 91-152.

[45] Voir *supra*, n. 4. De même, J. Imbert, De la sociologie au droit : la « Fides » romaine, dans *Droits de l'Ant. et sociologie juridique*, *Mél. H. Lévy-Bruhl*, 1959, p. 407-415 ; Fides et nexum, dans *Studi in onore di V. Arangio-Ruiz*, I, 1952, p. 350 ; M. Lemosse, L'aspect primitif de la fides, dans *Studi in onore di P. de Francisci*, II, Milan, 1956, p. 39-52.

[46] La loi en effet ne prévoit pas de sanction en cas de rupture de la *fides* ; celle-ci ne comporte pas de règle juridique stricte ; cf. les articles mentionnés *supra*, n. 44.

[47] P. Grimal, « Fides » ■ le secret, *R.H.R.*, CLXXXV, 2, 1974, p. 141-155.

rant que ce rite de la main voilée était tout à fait propre au culte de *Fides*, donc répondait à une caractéristique essentielle, a voulu par là préciser la nature de cette divinité. Elle ne serait pas à proprement parler la déesse des serments. C'est Jupiter, qui au vrai apparaît comme le dieu garant des serments, sous sa forme «lumineuse» par excellence de *Dius Fidius*. Et de fait, n'est par Jupiter, on l'a vu, que jurent les Romains[48]. Quant à *Fides*, qui est bien, comme l'a montré [illegible] Boyancé, au cœur des rapports humains, qui commande aussi bien les relations internationales entre vainqueurs et vaincus ou entre alliés que les relations publiques entre magistrats, plus tard entre empereurs, [illegible] les relations publiques et privées entre patrons [illegible] clients, tuteurs et pupilles, hôtes, parents, etc., *Fides*, omniprésente à Rome, apparaît comme un complément de *Dius Fidius*, comme la déesse du secret du serment. «Jupiter», écrit P. Grimal, «protecteur des serments, protège ce qui existe. *Fides*, la secrète, protège à l'avance ce qui n'existait pas, mais un jour se réclamerait d'elle».

On voit l'objection. S'il y a bien un rapport à établir entre *Fides* et le secret, le rite de la main droite voilée n'a pas que cette signification. Que le secret joue un rôle dans les relations internationales, soit! On voit mal quel secret interviendrait dans [illegible] patronat, dans la tutèle, dans l'hospitalité. Quand Tite-Live décrit le rite de *Fides publica* à Rome, voici ce qu'il dit (I, [illegible], 4): «(Numa) institua aussi une fête solennelle de *Fides*; [illegible] ordonna que les flamines seraient portés à ce sanctuaire sur un char bâché et qu'ils offriraient le sacrifice la main enveloppée jusqu'aux doigts, indiquant ainsi que *Fides* doit être gardée (*tutandam*) et que son siège est consacré dans la main droite également (*sedemque eius etiam in dexteris sacratam esse*)». La *Fides* doit être «gardée». Certes, Servius précise (*Ad Aen.*, XI, 101) que *Fides* doit être «couverte et voilée», doit demeurer «secrète». Silius Italicus (II, 481) dit à peu près la même chose, [illegible] Apulée (*Metam.*, III, 26, 6) parle des *secreta numina* de *Fides*. Faut-il pour autant en conclure avec P. Grimal que «l'efficace de *Fides* ne peut s'accomplir que dans le secret, dans l'ombre»? C'est vrai dans certains cas. Mais il y a,

[48] Voir *supra*, n. 13 et 14. Cf. de même [illegible] serment à Domitien contenu dans la Lex *Salpensis*, XXVI (*C.I.L.*, II, 1963 = Dessau, *I.L.S.*, 6088 = F. Girard et F. Senn, *Textes de droit romain*, Paris, 6e éd., 1937, p. 110-111) et dans la *Lex Malacitana*, LIX (*C.I.L.*, II, 1964 = *I.L.S.*, 6089 = Girard-Senn, [illegible] 115, qui invoque Jupiter, le divin Auguste, le divin Claude, le divin Vespasien, le divin Titus, le *Genius* de Domitien et les dieux Pénates. La formule de serment rapportée par Aulu-Gelle, *N.A.*, L. [illegible], n'invoque que Jupiter.

je crois, une autre raison au rite des mains voilées, la même qui commande le même rite aux Vestales, aux *Quindecemuiri sacris faciundis* et aux prêtres d'Isis par exemple[49] : à savoir une exigence de pureté absolue et de respect profond pour la puissance divine. C'est tout cela qui doit être «gardé», «protégé» (*tutandam*) avec la *Fides* qui siège dans la main droite, pour que soit garantie son efficacité.

Dès lors, si l'on prête attention (a) au fait que tout en étant étroitement associée à Jupiter, *Dius Fidius*, dieu des serments, *Fides* ne saurait être confondue avec lui; leurs temples étaient d'ailleurs, non confondus, mais juxtaposés, en raison, note Cicéron (*De off.*, III, 104) des affinités existant entre les deux divinités; (b) à certaines formules comme celle-ci : *Quod ego per hanc te dextram oro et genium tuum, per tuam fidem ... te obtestor* (Térence, *Andr.*, v, 289) qui juxtapose le serment *per fidem* et le serment *per genium* et à elle seule démontre l'existence d'un lien de dépendance entre le serment et la *fides*; mais non leur identité; (c) à l'évolution propre de la notion de *fides* et de sa signification qui de sociale et religieuse est devenue morale et juridique, *Fides* prenant après sa laïcisation le double sens de confiance (ou loyauté) et d'abandon; (d) à la constatation faite à plusieurs reprises[50] que la *fides* intervenait toujours comme rapport d'inégalité, entre patrons et clients, entre vainqueurs et vaincus et, on le verra, entre divinités de rang inégal ou entre dieux et hommes, alors on se demandera si *Fides* n'est pas en définitive *la déesse de l'engagement*. De l'engagement, qui dans certains cas aboutit, culmine au serment, dont Jupiter est le garant suprême, qui dans d'autres cas, crée simplement un lien strict entre les êtres qui l'ont conclu.

III) *Dès lors la dextrarum iunctio devient le geste qui noue des puissances, qui crée un lien, qui témoigne de l'engagement.*

C'est un des grands mérites des recherches de P. Boyancé, auxquelles il a déjà été fait allusion, que d'avoir mis en valeur la relation entre les mains droites entrelacées et l'idée de *fides*. Sans vouloir reprendre ici tous les textes qui associent la *dextrarum iunctio* à la *fides*, il convient de citer au moins Tite-Live, quand il évoque avec précision

[49] *Infra*, p. 300, n. 77.

[50] Notamment par P. Boyancé, p. 126 et M. Lemosse, *l.l.* Sur la *fides* du *patronus*, à quoi répond la *pietas* du *client*, cf. R. Heinze, *fides*, dans *Hermes*, 64, 1929, p. 151-152 (repris dans *Vom Geist des Römertums*, 1938, p. 25-58).

[illegible] geste qui accompagne normalement l'engagement qui marque la conclusion des traités, qui scelle l'accord (XXIII, 9, 3) : *dextrae dextras iungentes fidem obstrinximus*, «en joignant la main droite à la main droite nous avons noué la *fides*», c'est-à-dire l'engagement d'accord. Et la même valeur est indiquée par Cicéron (*Phil.*, XI, 5) : «les mains droites ont coutume d'être les témoins de [illegible] *fides*»[51]. Là encore on comprendra «les témoins de l'engagement».

Ainsi l'étreinte de deux mains droites, qu'évoquent tant de textes et que représentent tant de revers monétaires[52bis], doit-elle être comprise dans tous les cas comme le signe, [illegible] témoignage d'un engagement volontaire et réciproque. Mieux, elle crée [illegible] lien. Varron ne précise-t-il pas que sont associés (*consortes*) ceux qui se sont liés par le serrement de mains (*manum asserere*)[53] ? Seule varie [illegible] nature de cet engagement, de ce lien.

Sans prétendre ici épuiser [illegible] sujet, on distinguera seulement à titre d'exemples :

l'engagement d'accord résultant d'un traité entre vainqueurs et vaincus (cf. ci-dessus, d'après Tite-Live, XXIII, 9, 3);

— l'engagement d'alliance et de concorde, qui peut résulter d'un traité, scelle le plus souvent une réconciliation ou un pacte de nature politique. A ce titre, les mains droites finirent par être divinisées sous le nom de *Dextrae Augustae*, comme le prouve une inscription récemment publiée, provenant d'Aziz [illegible]n Tellis, l'antique *Idicra*, chef-lieu des *Suburbures* en Numidie[53]. Ces [illegible]mains droites jointes des empereurs Septime Sévère, Caracalla et Géta [illegible] de l'impératrice Iulia Domna, célébrées comme des divinités qui protègent l'union, la concorde de la *domus diuina*, s'inscrivent au terme d'une évolution qui commence avec les monnaies [illegible] les reliefs qui unissent par une *dextrarum iunctio*

[51] Autres témoignages réunis par P. Boyancé, p. 112 et 124. A titre d'exemple, particulièrement révélateur, Ovide, *Her.*, II, 31 : *iura, fides ubi nunc commissaque dextera dextrae?* A propos de [illegible] sensibilité de Properce, J.-P. Boucher, *Études sur Properce*, Paris, 1965, p. [illegible] ss., 98 ss. a noté que *Fides* ne fait pas partie des thèmes de la propagande officielle sous Auguste, parce que, selon lui, c'est une notion typiquement républicaine. Il y a sans doute d'autres raisons : la question est à revoir.

[52bis] Deux mains droites qui s'étreignent, ou deux personnages qui se serrent la main droite au-dessus d'un autel : par ex. sur une monnaie d'*Ilici* (Elche) avec la légende *Iunctio* : [illegible]. Tarradell, *Arte romano en España*, Barcelone, 1969, p. 218, fig. 180.

[53] *De l.l.*, VI, 64. Même formule (*manum adserere*) dans [illegible] Table de Bantia.

[53] Cf. H.-G. Pflaum, *Rec. Constantine*, 1969-1971, p. [illegible] ss. = *A.E.*, 1972, 699.

le peuple et le sénat, les triumvirs en 40, le sénat et l'empereur, ou des empereurs co-régents[54];

— l'engagement d'accueil, d'hospitalité, gage d'amitié : qu'il s'agisse de Latinus accueillant Enée fugitif et suppliant[55], ou de l'accord passé entre Marseille (ou l'un de ses comptoirs) et la peuplade alpestre des Velaunii, accord que concrétise «en signe de reconnaissance» (σύμβολον) une main droite de bronze inscrite[56];

— l'accord d'allégeance et d'hommage : c'est la valeur qui s'attache à la *dextrarum iunctio* dans la cérémonie de l'affranchissement qui fait du maître un patron et de l'esclave un affranchi-client[57]. C'est

[54] Exemples dans P. Veyne, *M.E.F.R.*, 73, 1961, p. 268. En 44, l'année même de la mort de César, le symbole des mains jointes apparaît sur les monnaies romaines : cf. E. Babelon, *Monnaies consulaires*, I, p. 124, et n. 17. Le thème devient très fréquent à partir de la paix de Brindes, cf. A. Alföldi, Der neue Weltherrscher der vierten Ekloge, *Hermes*, LXV, 1930, p. 372. Empereurs co-régents, cf. Mattingly-Sydenham, *R.I.C.*, passim.

[55] Tite-Live, I, 1, 8 : *dextra data fidem futuris omnibus sancivere*. Cf. aussi Cicéron, *Pro reg. Deiot.*, 8.

[56] Actuellement au Cabinet des Médailles, n° 3084. E. Babelon et A. Blanchet, *Cat. des bronzes de la Bibl. nat.*, Paris, 1895, p. 466, n° 1065. F. Benoit, *Rev. Et. Lig.*, 22, 1956, p. 30-31. Sur ces mains d'alliance et de concorde, en usage bien attesté chez les Gaulois (cf. les Lingons envoyant, en 68, une délégation aux légions rhénanes de Mayence : *mutua cuncta Lingonum urbere instituta dona legionibus dextras, hospitii insigne*, Tacite, *Hist.*, I, 54, 1), voir A. Piganiol, Fides et mains de bronze (*Densus dextera*, Cic., *Ad Att.*, VII, 1), dans *Droits de l'Ant. et sociol. juid.*, *Mél. H. Lévy-Bruhl*, 1959, p. 471-473. La main de bronze du Cab. des Méd. porte sur sa paume une inscription grecque en trois lignes : ΣΥΜΒΟΛΟΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΟΥΕΛΑΥΝΙΟΥΣ. Sur les *Velaunii*, voir G. Barruol, *Les peuples pré-romains du Sud-Est de la Gaule*, Paris, 1969, p. 372-373, avec pl. VIII, fig. 1-2 (main de bronze).

[57] Voir L. Harmand, *Le patronat sur les collectivités publiques des origines au Bas-Empire*, p. 20, pour qui la *Fides*, qui suppose la réciprocité, d'où les deux mains associées (?), est devenue le principe de tous les contrats privés ou publics, notamment celui de la clientèle. Dans la cérémonie de l'affranchissement, il semble bien y avoir eu *dextrarum iunctio* entre le maître et l'esclave, le maître transmettant à l'esclave sa puissance, sa qualité d'homme libre, l'esclave devenu affranchi s'engageant dans la clientèle de son patron. C'est cette scène qu'on reconnaissait sur un relief du musée de Mariémont (Van de Walle, P. Lévêque, M. Renard, G. Faider-Feytmans, *Les ant. égypt., grecques, étrusques, rom. et gallo-rom. du Musée de Mariémont*, Bruxelles, 1952, p. 138, pl. 49) interprété comme une image de *manumissio per vindictam*. G. Ville, Le relief R 14 (261) du musée de Mariémont ne figure pas un affranchissement par la vindicte, mais une scène de cirque, *Latomus*, XXII, 1, 1963, p. 14-30 pense plutôt à un geste d'hommage des *desultores* à l'égard du magistrat qui les a engagés, avant la course. Notons que dans le décor du coffret de Londres, trouvé dans le mithraeum (J.M.C. Toynbee, *A silver casket and stamp from the Walbrook Mithraeum in the City of London*, Leiden, 1963, pl. VIII), deux hommes se touchent la main droite. L. Foucher, Nemesis, le griffon et

aussi le sens qu'il faut, à mon avis, donner à la *dextrarum iunctio* de Néron et de Tiridate, l'empereur relevant de la main droite le roi d'Arménie prosterné[58].

De même on a raison d'identifier comme un geste d'hommage, symbolisant l'allégeance de la ville au pouvoir impérial, la *dextrarum iunctio* qui sur des monnaies et des reliefs unit une femme (= la ville) à l'empereur trônant[59]. Au début de cette étude a déjà été évoqué le relief de Sabratha où la δεξίωσις de la Tychè de la ville et de *dea Roma* a été justement interprétée comme le «symbole de la *fides* (c'est-à-dire selon nous de l'engagement) qui unit Rome, cité protectrice et pour ainsi dire patronne, et Sabratha, sa protégée et cliente»[60].

l'engagement scellé par un serment. C'est par exemple celui qu'évoquent les nombreuses monnaies impériales qui, avec la légende FIDES EXERCITVVM ou FIDES LEGIONVM, présentent une *dextrarum iunctio* de l'empereur et d'un soldat comme geste rituel du *sacramentum* militaire[61].

On s'est parfois étonné de la présence sur les monnaies de *Fides* d'un caducée et d'épis de blé, qui accompagnent les deux droites entrelacées. Quoi de plus naturel que de vouloir rappeler — c'est un thème courant de la propagande romaine[62] — que l'abondance,

les jeux de l'amphithéâtre, *Mél. H. Seston*, 1974, p. 187-195, y voit (p. 194) «les préliminaires d'un engagement entre les gladiateurs», il rejette tout rapport entre ce coffret et le mithraeum et verse l'objet au dossier de Némésis.

[58] Suétone, *Nero*, 13.

[59] Exemples sur des monnaies impériales grecques, sur un cippe de Nescania, en Bétique, etc. réunis par P. Veyne, *M.E.F.R.*, 73, 1961, p. 236 ss. Sur la célèbre «épée de Tibère» (J. Gagé, La Victoria Augusti et les auspices de Tibère, *R.A.*, 32, 1930, p. 1; L. Polacco, *Il volto di Tiberio*, Padoue, 1955, p. 170 et pl. 43), où l'on voit Tibère, dans une demi-nudité jovienne, assis sur un trône et couronné par la Victoire, un jeune guerrier (Germanicus?) debout, devant le trône, serre la main du prince en geste d'hommage.

[60] Voir G. Guidi, Il teatro romano di Sabratha, *Africa Italiana*, 3, 1930, p. 35; G. Gullini, La scena del teatro di Sabratha, *Bull. Comun. di Roma*, 71, 1943-45, p. 24; P. Veyne, *l.l.*, p. 248.

[61] Cf. Mattingly-Sydenham, *R.I.C.*, III, p. 420, n° 468 a par ex.; IV, p. 718, n° 160; pl. 94, 5; voir P. Boyance, p. 130.

[62] Voir P. Boyancé, p. 128 ss. Cf. les monnaies impériales par ex. Sur *Concordia*, *Pax* et *Fides* dans le monnayage impérial, cf. P.G. Hamberg, *Studies in Roman imperial Art*, Copenhague, 1945, p. 18-31. Sur les monnaies impériales, *Fides publica* porte le plus souvent d'une main une corbeille de fruits et de l'autre une gerbe d'épis; parfois elle porte aussi un caducée.

la prospérité et le bonheur matériel sont les fruits de la Concorde et de la Paix, qu'apporte et garantit précisément *Fides*? N'est-ce pas déjà ce que veulent dire les auteurs anciens, qui qualifient la main droite, siège de *Fides*, de *felix dextera*, de *salutaris*, de *salutis humanae pignus*[63]?

Que conclure de tout cela?

a) Que la main droite, parce qu'elle est à la fois celle de la puissance et celle de l'engagement, est du même coup celle qui, par la δεξίωσις, noue entre les hommes des liens de toutes sortes, de nature juridique et morale certes, mais d'essence religieuse, des liens qui généralement impliquent une protection volontaire et loyale d'un côté, une soumission volontaire et loyale de l'autre. De toute façon se trouve impliquée l'exigence de confiance mutuelle.

b) Que la δεξίωσις, étreinte de deux mains droites, puissantes, qui engagent les hommes et créent entre eux de tels liens, apparaît comme une source de bonheur et de salut.

On conçoit que, transposée dans le domaine religieux, dans les rapports entre les dieux d'une part, ou si l'on veut dans la mythologie, entre les hommes et les dieux d'autre part, c'est-à-dire dans la religion, la δεξίωσις ait eu une importance d'autant plus grande, une signification, une valeur et une portée d'autant plus hautes.

IV) *La dextrarum iunctio dans les cultes orientaux, et en particulier dans le Mithraisme.*

On a rappelé et souligné tout à l'heure l'importance du serment dans les religions à mystères, notamment dans les cultes alexandrins et dans les mystères de Sabazios. Il est plus difficile de préciser comment se prêtait ce serment. La *dextrarum iunctio* intervenait-elle? On ne peut le dire. En revanche, il est sûr — parce que les monuments le montrent — qu'elle intervenait dans les cultes orientaux à deux niveaux et avec une double valeur.

D'abord comme signe de l'alliance, ou mieux de l'engagement. C'est, semble-t-il, cette signification qui se laisse percevoir sur la stèle aux

[63] *Felix dextera, illa quo nihil est in orbe maius* (Martial, IV, 30; cf. O. Weinreich, *Studien zu Martial*, 1928, p. 145 s.). *Venerabile Fidei numen dexteram suam, certissimum salutis humanae pignus, ostentat* (Val. Max., VI, 6). *Salutarem porrigo dextram* (Apulée, *Metam.*, XI, 25). Cf. aussi Cicéron, *Post red. in sen.*, 24, *Verr.*, V, 153.

dieux palmyréniens trouvée à Rome[64]. Dans un cadre architectural en forme de temple, deux dieux se serrent la main droite : il s'agit, à droite, d'Aglibol, le dieu lunaire au croissant posé derrière les épaules, vêtu d'un uniforme militai[illegible] romain ; à gauche, de Malakbel, un dieu de [illegible] fertilité et de [illegible] fécondité, en costume palmyrénien. Cette *dextrarum iunctio*, scellée devant [illegible] cyprès sacré, [illegible] sans aucun doute une valeur sacrée essentielle, puisqu'on la retrouve ailleurs. D'abord à Palmyre même, dans le temple de Bêl, sur une des deux poutres de calcaire, illustrées de reliefs, qui portaient le plafond du péristyle, devant la *cella* du temple[65]. Ensuite dans un petit sanctuaire rustique, sur la piste caravanière qui conduit d'Apamée à Palmyre[66]. Comme l'a très justement observé H. Seyrig[67], « cette attitude était très probablement celle des idoles dressées dans [illegible] centre du culte, dans le temple » même des dieux qu'évoque le cadre architectural des monuments à reliefs. H. Seyrig ne s'est pas attardé sur [illegible] poignée de mains des dieux, qu'il présente simplement comme parèdres. Toutefois le commentaire qu'il donne sur la nature du dieu Malakbel oriente vers l'explication. D'abord dieu de [illegible] végétation qui favorise l'abondance des récoltes et la multiplication des troupeaux, [illegible] est en même temps, comme il est courant chez les dieux syriens, dieu qui renaît chaque année et donc [illegible] dieu du sa[illegible], qui promet à ses fidèles, après leur mort, la re-naissance et le bonheur dans l'au-delà. C'est ce que suggèrent les reliefs qui ornent les quatre faces de l'autel palmyrénien du Capitole, qui représentent les phases de [illegible] course du soleil, symbolisant la croissance, l'apogée, le déclin et [illegible] renaissance du dieu et offrent ainsi aux mystes l'image de leur salut. [illegible] par delà cette interprétation mystique proposée par Fr. Cumont[68], l'on retient d'autre part que c'est précisément le dieu Malakbel que les Palmyréniens assimilèrent au Soleil, autre dieu naissant, mourant et renaissant, dès [illegible] IIe s. [illegible]ans doute, au IIIe s. sûrement, c'est-à-dire à l'époque où [illegible] syncrétisme solaire commence à s'imposer, on est tout naturellement amené à

[illegible] Au musée du Capitole ; cf. W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 4e, 1963, n° 988 ; [illegible]. Cumont, *Rel[illegible] dans le paganisme rom.*, 4e éd., 1929, pl. IX, 2 ; *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, p. 104 ss. ; H. Seyrig, *Syria*, 1937, pl. XXXI.

[65] J. Starcky, *Palmyre. Guide archéologique*, Beyrouth, 1941, p. 19-20 et fig. 12 ; [illegible]. Seyrig, *Syria*, 1934, p. 172-186.

[66] [illegible]. Schlumberger, *Arch. Anz.*, 1935, p. 618, fig. 13 ; H. Seyrig, *Syria*, 1937, p. [illegible].

[67] *Syria*, 1934, p. 178.

[68] Dans *Syria*, IX, 1928, p. 106 ss.

deux conclusions. La première, c'est que les deux dieux sont non seulement parèdres, mais qu'ils sont unis entre eux par un lien particulièrement étroit. La seconde, c'est que ce lien entre un dieu en costume palmyrénien (Malakbel) et un dieu en uniforme romain (Aglibol), comme le sont d'ailleurs les deux autres membres de la triade de Palmyre (Bêl et Yarhibol), ne peut être un lien de caractère politique unissant Palmyréniens et Romains, puisqu'on sait que les quatre dieux appartiennent au panthéon palmyrénien et que la tenue militaire romaine désigne simplement des dieux protecteurs de la paix dans le désert[69]; il s'agit bien plutôt d'un engagement, d'un pacte entre le dieu guerrier, représentant de la grande triade palmyrénienne, et le dieu lumineux, solaire, de la re-naissance et du salut.

N'est-ce pas le même rapport qui se noue dans la δεξίωσις de Mithra et de Sol, Mithra, le dieu tauroctone, qui vainct les forces du mal, et Sol qui apporte la re-naissance et le salut? C'est pourquoi à la définition de scène de la Réconciliation, je préférerais celle de scène de l'Alliance ou de l'Engagement ou du Pacte[70].

La *dextrarum iunctio* intervient à un autre niveau, comme geste d'introduction et signe d'accueil. Cette valeur, la δεξίωσις la possédait déjà dans le mythe dionysiaque. Un autel funéraire, d'époque impériale (actuellement au musée du Vatican)[71], consacré à des membres d'une famille d'affranchis des *Claudii* et daté au plus tard de l'époque flavienne, le montre clairement. D'après la description qu'en a faite A. Bruhl[72], «Dionysos accompagné de la panthère et tenant le thyrse, donne la main droite à une femme qui porte aussi un thyrse, en qui on reconnaît Ariane; les deux personnages paraissent des enfants». Il l'auteur de se demander : «Cette poignée de mains représente-t-elle l'union par la *dextrarum iunctio*, l'adieu ou la rencontre dans le monde céleste?». A. Bruhl fait là allusion à l'explication de H. Speier dans la réédition du Guide de W. Helbig : «Wie ein römisches Ehepaar sind sie durch die *dextrarum iunctio* verbunden. Diese Ueberträgung erklärt sich daraus dass die Eheschliessung eines Paares mit der bacchischen Mystenweihung zusammenfalten könnte (?), wofür der Fries der Mysterienvilla bei Pompeji das grossartigste Zeugnis ist. Bacchus und Ariadne treten hier als göttliche Vorbilder für die mensch-

[69] Comme l'a montré récemment H. Seyrig, Les dieux armés et les Arabes en Syrie, *Ant. syr.*, 89, *Syria*, XLVII, 1970, p. 77-112.

[70] Voir *infra*, p. 300, n. 78.

[71] Museo Pio Clementino, salle des Muses : cf. W. Helbig, *ouv. cit.*, p. 63, n° 81.

[72] A. Bruhl, *Liber pater*, Paris, 1953, p. 321-322 : excellente reproduction pl. XVI.

liche Paare auf». En fait, l'autel comporte deux dédicaces, qui paraissent successives et font supposer un remploi (Helbig, p. 64) : dans les deux cas il s'agit d'ailleurs d'affranchis des *Claudii*. Mais dans un des cas, la dédicace est faite par deux époux pour eux-mêmes, pour leurs fils et les leurs; l'autre est faite au bénéfice d'un enfant par ses parents. La dédicace «pour eux-mêmes» est mise par [illegible] Speier en relation avec l'idée de la *dextrarum iunctio*. Toutefois, dans deux études récentes, P. Boyancé [73] a proposé de reconnaître, au lieu de Dionysos et Ariane, Dionysos et Sémélé, sa mère, en notant que des dédicants, c'est la mère qui est nommée la première, avec le *cognomen* très dionysiaque de *Nebris*. «Quant à la *dextrarum iunctio*, on sait, observe P. Boyancé [74], qu'elle n'est nullement réservée aux époux. A Rome également elle apparaît, sur les monnaies par exemple, en liaison avec les notions de *fides* et de *concordia*, pour toutes les personnes d'une famille (parents et enfants, frères), et non pas seulement pour les époux ...» Pour moi, il faut aller plus loin. Il existe en effet un mythe, rapporté par une épigramme de l'*Anthologie Palatine* (III, 1), qui fait connaître un relief de Cyzique représentant Dionysos ramenant de l'Achéron sa mère Sémélé, qui y avait été précipitée par la foudre de Zeus. Dionysos conduit alors sa mère au ciel. Cette apothéose céleste est la forme normale de l'*anodos*. Et la *dextrarum iunctio* de Dionysos et de Sémélé me paraît donc, sur la stèle funéraire du musée du Vatican, évoquer en réalité l'introduction dans l'au-delà bienheureux, promise aux mystes, comme suite normale de leur engagement [75].

C'est la même signification qui s'attache à la *dextrarum iunctio* représentée sur la célèbre fresque des catacombes de Prétextat [76], où l'on voit la défunte Vibia introduite par son «bon ange» (*angelus bonus*) dans le paradis des mystes de Sabazios, où elle participe ensuite

[73] [illegible] Boyancé, Le disque de Brindisi et l'apothéose de Sémélé, *R.E.A.*, 44, 1942, et surtout Dionysos et Sémélé, *Rendic. Pont. Accad. d'Arch.*, XXXVIII, 1965-66, p. 100-102.

[74] P. Boyancé, La main de *Fides*, *Hommages à J. Bayet*, p. 111 ss.

[75] Y avait-il un rite de *dextrarum iunctio* dans les cérémonies dionysiaques d'initiation? On ne le sait, mais c'est très probable, si l'on se rappelle la formule du *s.c. de Bacchanalibus* : *neve quisquam fidem inter sed dedisse velet* (*supra*, p. 283).

[76] Garrucci, dans *Mél. d'Arch.* de Cahier et Martin, IV, Paris, 1854, p. 1 [illegible]; Wilpert, *Pitture delle Catacombe*, II, pl. 132-133; H. Haas, *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte, Die Religionen in der Umwelt des Urchristentums*, Leipzig, 1926, n° 166; Fr. Cumont, *Rel. or. dans le pag. rom.*, 4e éd., 1929, p. 61, fig. 3.

au banquet des bienheureux. C'est bien le même geste qui évoque ici l'*Inductio Vibies*, puisqu'ici par chance le livre d'images est accompagné de légendes explicatives. L'interprétation n'est donc pas, dans ce cas précis, sujette à caution. Apothéose céleste d'un côté, accueil parmi les élus de l'autre : il est clair que l'on peut conclure, par transposition normale du mythe dans le rituel, à l'usage de la δεξίωσις dans la liturgie dionysiaque et dans la liturgie sabaziaque[77]. Or, c'est toujours le même geste, porteur de la même signification, que l'on trouve dans le mythe et dans la liturgie mithriaques.

Quand Mithra prend place dans le char de Sol, la *dextrarum iunctio* qui unit les deux dieux évoque directement l'accueil dans le monde céleste, l'apothéose qui sera conclue par le banquet sacré. En même temps, elle préfigure l'accueil du myste. Elle est en quelque sorte l'archétype de la *dextrarum iunctio* par laquelle le *Pater*, une fois l'initiation accomplie et le serment reçu, accueille le nouvel initié et l'introduit dans la communauté des mystes. Il est vraisemblable qu'une fois « introduit », le nouveau myste serrait la main de chacun de ses « co-mystes ». D'où le double sens qu'à mon avis possède le mot *syndexi*, dérivé d'un acte liturgique double[78] : à la fois « ceux que la Père a initiés par une poignée de mains rituelle » et « ceux qui se sont unis entre eux par une poignée de mains fraternelle ».

La δεξίωσις, union de deux mains droites qui détiennent la puissance et expriment la volonté, d'une part scelle l'engagement définitif du myste avec la divinité, crée avec le dieu et entre les mystes un lien fraternel et indissoluble, garanti par le serment, et d'autre part constitue en fin de compte un gage assuré de salut. La *dextrarum*

[77] Le même geste est entrevu dans le rituel l'initiation isiaque, quand, par deux fois, après l'imposition des mains par le grand-prêtre, celui-ci, de sa main droite, conduit Lucius d'abord de la demeure jusqu'à la porte du sanctuaire (la valeur de geste d'« introduction » par l'imposition des mains est nettement précisée : « *Quo deae multinominis diuinis imperiis per istas meas manus pastoris sacrorum arcanis insinueris* », dit le prêtre « *iniecta dextera senex comitatus duxit me* », Apulée, *Metam.*, XI, 22, 6), puis plus tard, après les abstinences et les purifications, le jour même de l'initiation, dans la partie la plus secrète, la plus reculée du sanctuaire (*praepta manu sacerdos deduxit ad ipsius sacrarii penetralia*, Apulée, XI, 23, 4).

Dans les cérémonies cultuelles isiaques, les mains des prêtres sont toujours voilées, c'est un trait caractéristique de la liturgie : cf. Porphyre, *De abst.*, IV, 6, 8 ; la fresque d'Herculanum, le bas-relief du Vatican : toujours les prêtres portent les symboles dans leurs mains recouvertes par leur manteau : souci de pureté? valeur particulièrement sacrée des mains? Cf. Fr. Cumont, *Mem. Accad. Arch.*, [illegible], 1923, p. [illegible] ss.

[78] Cf. Fr. Cumont, The Dura Mithraeum, *Mithraic Studies*, I, 1975, p. 196 ss.

iunctio est certainement le geste rituel qui a valeur de serment, complétant un double engagement : (a) un engagement volontaire et définitif au silence, garant du secret de la révélation ; (b) un engagement réciproque et confiant de fidélité au contrat, ou plutôt au pacte sanctionné par la foi jurée. Mithra étant le symbole et le garant de la justice [79], par la δεξίωσις le myste se soumet à cette justice, se met de son plein gré sous sa coupe et devient son défenseur ; il entre dans la «milice» du dieu. C'est bien le sens qu'il faut donner au fragment

[79] Le Mitra védique est défini comme l'«ami par contrat» par P. Thieme, *Der Fremdling im Rigveda*, Leipzig, 1938, p. 134 ss. et The concept of Mitra in Aryan belief, *Mithraic Studies*, I, 1975, p. 21-39. Pour sa part, J. Gonda, *The vedic God Mitra*, Leiden, 1972 et Mitra in India, *Mithraic Studies*, I, 1975, p. 40-52 (qui critique durement les vues de G. Dumézil dans *Mitra-Varuna*, Paris, 1948) met le dieu Mitra en relation avec les notions d'alliance et de bienveillance active. Dans un article récent (que je n'ai pu consulter qu'après coup), J. Gonda, The significance of the right hand and the right side in Vedic Ritual, *Religion*, 2, 1972, p. 1-22 a rassemblé tous les textes védiques sur la main droite, qui y est présentée comme signe de puissance (et en particulier de puissance virile), aussi comme faste et signe de chance, enfin comme symbole de bénédiction et d'allégeance. On sait que sur les célèbres sculptures de Nimrud Dagh, Mithra est figuré serrant la main du roi Antiochus de Commagène : R. Humann et O. Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, Berlin, 1890, pl. XXXVIII, 2, p. 321 ss. ; F. Cumont, *Mon. myst. Mithra*, II, p. 188, (fig. 1[illegible]; *Rel. or. pag. rom.*, p. 133, [illegible] 9 ; en dernier lieu (avec bibliographie), Th. Goell, Apollo-Mithra, a tutelary deity of Antiochus I of Commagene at his Hierothesion in Southeastern Turkey (communication au 2e Congr. Intern. Mithra, Teheran, 1975). De même, à Arsameia sur le Nymphaios sont représentées des *dexiôseis* de Mithridate I Kallinikos et d'Antiochus de Commagène avec Apollo-Mithra, Héraklès-Artagnès, Zeus-Oromasdès, Tyché-Héra : voir F. K. Dörner et Th. Goell, *Arsameia am Nymphaios. Die Ausgrabungen im Hierothesion des Mithridates Kallinikos von 1953-1956* (Istanb. Forsch., Bd. 23), 1963. Le relief de la *dexiôsis* est publié par J. H. Young, qui interprète (p. 224) les *dexiôseis* comme des «Empfangsszenen» ; de même O. Puchstein, dans Humann-Puchstein, *ouv. cit.*, p. 339 ss., et H. Dörrie, *Der Konigskult des Antiochos von Kommagene im Lichte neuer Inschriftenkunde*, Gottingen, 1964. On considère donc en général qu'il s'agit d'«Empfangsszenen» dans lesquelles le dieu reçoit le roi. Récemment M. Waldmann, *Die kommagenischen Kultreformen unter König Mithradates I Kallinikos und seinem Sohne Antiochos I* (Et. prél., vol. 34), Leiden, 1973, p. 197-202, s'est demandé, si au lieu d'une *dexiôsis*, signe d'une apothéose (le dieu recevant le roi), il ne s'agissait pas plutôt d'une *dexiôsis*, expression de la divinité du roi, traitant d'égal à égal avec les dieux et ici les saluant. La question mérite d'être revue. Un autre relief de *dexiôsis* a été retrouvé dans l'arrière-pays de Besni, en check p. ref. Commagène toujours, à Sofraz Köy : cf. J. Wagner, *Antike Welt*, 1975. Sur le concept de pacte et son importance, voir F. Cumont, The Dura Mithraeum, p. 158 et P. Thieme, *l.l.*, p. 21 ss. Sur la valeur religieuse de l'engagement, acte contractuel, qu'on ne peut réduire «à un sordide *do ut des*», mais qui est fondé essentiellement sur la fidélité et la confiance, on lira la belle page de A.-F. Festugière, *Études de rel. grecque et hellénistique*, Paris, 1972, p. 238.

de rituel d'initiation contenu dans le papyrus de Florence et étudié il y a près d'un demi-siècle par Fr. Cumont[80]. On y constate : 1°) que dans l'acte d'initiation, le serment était essentiel et primordial; tout de suite après une invocation au dieu, sous une forme dont le caractère dualiste a été relevé, vient la formule du *sacramentum* d'engagement : «Je jure [en sincère bonne foi] de conserver [parmi les secrets] les mystères qui m'auront été transmis ... Fidèle à mon serment, [que je m'en trouve bien, mais] parjure, au contraire, [si je révèle rien de tout ceci]»; 2°) qu'immédiatement après le serment mystique, vient un acte liturgique qui en constitue en quelque sorte le signe matériel : c'est le tatouage sacré, la marque indélébile apposée précisément *sur les mains* du myste : «[à l'aide d'aiguilles] acérées, poursuit le texte, [on gravera sur ses mains deux] sceaux (σφραγῖδες) [de façon à] marquer le myste à jamais»; 3°) qu'enfin, le serment prêté et l'engagement scellé dans sa chair, le myste reçoit la doctrine secrète des mystères : «[ensuite] au myste le Père dira [les discours sacrés]».

Après ces trois scènes liturgiques, le *sacramentum* d'engagement prêté par une *dextrarum iunctio* du *Pater* et du candidat à l'initiation, le tatouage sacré imprimé sur les mains du myste et la révélation de la doctrine secrète, le rituel comportait certainement une deuxième *dextrarum iunctio*, d'introduction celle-ci, par laquelle le *Pater* conduisait le nouvel initié parmi ses «très chers frères». Désormais celui-ci faisait réellement partie des συνμύστται (co-initiés) dont parle le papyrus de Florence, ou des συνδέξιοι, que nomment les graffiti de Doura-Europos et sous la forme latine *syndexi* l'inscription du mithraeum du Palais de la Chancellerie. Membres d'une communauté fraternelle, assurés du salut s'ils restaient fidèles à leur engagement, ces *syndexi* pouvaient désormais, comme dit le dernier texte, dans la joie (*hilares*) se réunir dans leur crypte-sanctuaire pour leurs prières et leurs repas en commun.

Conclusion. Peut-on constater, du rituel védique au rituel de l'époque impériale romaine, un enrichissement de la signification et de la valeur de la δεξίωσις? Il est difficile de le dire. Ce qui paraît sûr, c'est qu'à l'époque romaine, la δεξίωσις finit par être beaucoup plus que le geste du serment. Et qu'avec sa triple signification de geste d'introduction, d'alliance et de fraternité, ayant à la fois valeur d'*engagement*,

[80] F. Cumont, Un fragment de rituel d'initiation aux mystères, *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XXVI, 1933, p. 153-160.

de pacte conclu avec la divinité d'une part, avec les mystes d'autre part, et de *garantie du secret*, condition première et fondamentale de la vie communautaire fraternelle, dont elle a signifié l'*inductio*, elle se trouve au cœur des relations qui commandent essentiellement la nature même et la vie des religions à mystères. Et, semble-t-il, celles du Mithraïsme en particulier, étant donné la place sans égale qu'elle occupe dans les mystères de Mithra. D'abord par les relations qu'elle crée avec la divinité, relations de nature complexe (de soumission, d'hommage, d'alliance et de confiance mutuelle), qui par delà l'engagement et le pacte culminent dans l'union mystique de l'apothéose. Ensuite dans les rapports qu'elle fonde entre les mystes eux-mêmes, rapports à caractères *juridiques* et *moraux* de secret et de fraternité[81].

N'y aurait-il pas dans cette double satisfaction apportée aux préoccupations et aux exigences des Romains, que leur formation portait au juridisme et que leurs aspirations orientaient vers le mysticisme, une des raisons profondes du succès remporté en Occident par la religion de Mithra dans les milieux romains et romanisés?

[81] De camaraderie et d'entr'aide fraternelle (liens de *commilitones*). Il est singulier qu'en Afrique, la *dextrarum iunctio* ne figure sur les stèles à Saturne, qu'en deux endroits, à El-Kantara (*Calceus Herculis*) et à *Gemellae*, deux établissements militaires du *limes* de Numidie, où abondaient les éléments orientaux. On ne peut donc éviter de se poser la question d'un apport oriental; le rite, particulièrement en valeur dans les religions de l'Orient, a pu déteindre sur la liturgie africaine, dans une religion qui se prêtait parfaitement à un tel emprunt (M. Le Glay, *Sat. Afr. Histoire*, Paris, 1966, p. 388-389). — Sur les relations entre l'homme et la divinité et entre les initiés, cf. l'article récent et suggestif de M. Meslin, Réalités psychiques et valeurs religieuses dans les cultes orientaux (Ier-IVe siècles), *Rev. Hist.*, 512, 1974, p. 289-314.

DAVID W. MAC DOWALL

MITHRA'S PLANETARY SETTING IN THE COINAGE OF THE GREAT KUSHANS

Mithra as a Kushan coin type

For some 60 years during the reigns of Kanishka and Huvishka, when the power of the Kushan empire was at its zenith, the figure of Mithra with the specific legend MIOPO or MIIPO was regularly used as one of the reverse types of the Kushan coinage[1]. Mithra, as the other Greek, Iranian and Indian divinities in the coinage, is depicted in a statuesque way with standard attributes, like the personifications we see used as Roman coin types in the [illegible] and 2nd centuries A.C.[2] Mithra stands to the left with a nimbus round his head and rays projecting beyond the nimbus[3]. He wears a tunic, mantle, and short boots. His left hand rests on the hilt of a short sword [illegible] his left thigh; he raises his right hand and points forward with two fingers. The same figure with the same attributes has the legend HAIOC in Kanishka's issue with Greek titles[4] and MIOPO or MIIPO in his later issue with Iranian titles[5], so we can conclude that for Kanishka's moneyers Mithra was identified with Helios (the sun), just as Mao was identified with Selene (the moon), Nana with Nanaia, and Athsho with Hephaistos — and that these are Greek and Iranian names for the same divinities.

During the second century A.C., the Kushan empire was the fourth great power of the world, rivalling the empires of Rome, Iran and China, and controlling a long stretch of the central Asian trade route from China to the west[6]. As a result of several recent studies we

[1] R.B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. I, pp. 187-206 (cited throughout as *PMC*).

[2] Cf. F. Gnecchi, *I Tipi Monetari di Roma Imperiale*, parte II, 'Le Personificazioni allegoriche', pp. 35-98.

[3] *PMC*, I, pl. XVII, 63.

[4] *PMC*, I, p. 186, nos. 53-56.

[5] *PMC*, I, p. 187, nos. 61-63 and p. 188f, nos. 68-74.

[6] Cf. John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, pp. 1-5, and R.E.M. Wheeler, *Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, pp. 170-172.

can now make a much better assessment of both Graeco-Roman and Iranian influence in the Kushan state; and this gives us a better basis to interpret the complex symbolism we find in Kushan coinages of the time of Kanishka where Iranian ideas are expressed through the medium of Graeco-Roman techniques in central Asia and the Indian sub-continent.

Graeco-Roman influence in the Kushan empire.

It has long been recognised that Gandharan art is influenced by classical art of the early Roman principate[7]; and the extensive use of stucco by the Kushans may owe something to the important centre of stucco production in Roman Alexandria[8]. Current numismatic research has established more clearly the extent of Graeco-Roman influence in the Kushan coinage. Many Kushan types are derived from Roman prototypes of the later 1st. and early 2nd. century A.C., and the mints of Vima, Kanishka, and Huvishka seem to have been using Graeco-Roman pattern books[9]. The moneyers of Huvishka adopted and applied Roman economic theory about overvaluing the copper coinage, and in Huvishka's later issues we see a sharp reduction in the weight of copper coins to make them more of a token currency on the Roman model[10]. Finally the mints of Kanishka and Huvishka were organised on a Graeco-Roman *officina* pattern with a distinctive reverse type marking the product of each *officina*[11] (or subdivision of the mint) as we see in the early imperial mints of Rome, Corinth, and

[7] Cf. H. Buchthal, 'The Western Aspects of Gandhara Sculpture', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 1-28. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, 'Gandhara Art—a note on the present position', *Le Rayonnement des Civilisations Grecque et Romaine sur les Cultures Périphériques*, Paris, 1965, pp. 555-565.

[8] A number of stucco plaques in the Alexandrian style, a representation of the Pharos at Alexandria and a statuette syncretically combining Serapis and Herakles have been found at Begram. J. Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram*, pp. 91-147.

[9] R. Göbl, 'Roman patterns for Kushana Coins', *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, 1960, pp. 75-96.

[10] D.W. Mac Dowall, 'The weight standards of the gold and copper coinages of the Kushan dynasty', *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, 1960, pp. 63-74.

[11] In my paper 'The mint organisation of the copper coinage of the Great Kushanas' read to the Royal Numismatic Society in December 1969, *Proceedings of the Royal Numistic Society*, 1969/70, pp. xf.

Alexandria[12]. While the use of several reverse types serves a functional purpose, the selection of reverse types used shows us, in the Kushan as in the Roman coinage, the image of itself that the government was concerned to project[13].

Iranian influence.

In concept and ideology, however, Iranian influence seems to have been much stronger than Roman, particularly in the image of the dynasty that was projected. The new observe type, introduced by Vima Kadphises and used for all the copper issues of Vima, Kanishka, Vasudeva and the later Kushans, was the figure of the Kushan king standing offering sacrifice at a small fire altar[14]. This marks an abrupt break with Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian numismatic convention. Whether or not this motif was copied from the coin type of Gotarzes II, as Mukherjee suggests[15], it was certainly a deliberate affirmation of Iranian character. And as with other Iranian elements in Kushan symbolism, it is consistent with Indian tradition because it is derived from ancient Indo-Iranian belief common to both India and Iran[16]. The Kushan king wears the costume of the Iranian nomad, and has an Iranian headdress; and it is this Iranian dress that is worn by members of the Kushan aristocracy in official sculptures at Surkh Kotal and Mathura, and in early Buddhist bas reliefs[17].

Under Kanishka there is a major change in royal titulature on the coins from the traditional Greek ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ (the King of Kings), which had been used throughout Western Asia since Alexander and the Seleucids[18], to the Iranian ΡΑΟΝΑΝΟΡΑΟ (Shah of Shahs)[19], and on several gold coins of Kanishka we can see that dies

[12] R.A.G. Carson, 'System and product in the Roman mint', *Essays in Roman Coinage presented to Harold Mattingly*, pp. 227ff. and my papers to the Royal Numismatic Society in December 1965 and October 1970, *Proceedings of the Royal Numismatic Society*, 1965-66, p. xxiv and 1970-71 p. xi

[13] Cf. M.P. Charlesworth, 'The Virtues of a Roman emperor: Propaganda and the creation of belief', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 1-31

[14] *PMC*, I, Plate XVII, 36

[15] 'The prototype of an obverse device of Kushana coinage', *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, 1960, pp. 109-112

[16] As Rosenfield points out (*op. cit.*, p. 25) in his discussion of the type, sacrifice over a flame is an essential act of worship in Vedic and Brahmanical literature.

[17] Cf. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 154ff.

[18] *PMC*, I, pp. 186-187, nos. 53-60.

[19] *PMC*, I, pp. 187ff, nos. 61-113

which had originally been cut with Greek titles have been recut to substitute the Iranian ones[20]. Vima Kadphises' coins issued in India had given the King's name and titles on the reverse[21], as had all the Indian issues of the Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian kings[22]; but Kanishka abandoned this practice and was therefore able to give on the reverse the names of the divinities which served as his reverse types.

Schlumberger[23] has pointed out that the hill top dynastic sanctuary of the Kushans at Surkh Kotal has an Iranian plan and form of construction. Fussman[24] goes on to suggest that trilingual rock cut inscriptions in remote places, and the introduction of a gold coinage were acts of the Kushans in conscious imitation of the Achaemenids; and that the Kushans were trying to present themselves as the successors of the Achaemenids, kings who maintained Iranian values and were the instrument of an Iranian revival against the successors of Alexander. They were certainly careful to project an Iranian image and to echo elements common to the Indo-Iranian heritage. It is against this double Graeco-Roman and Iranian background in an Indian context that we should try to interpret the Kushan pantheon in which Mithra figures prominently.

The Kushan Pantheon.

The Kushan Pantheon of some 33 deities, as we see them on the gold and copper coins of Kanishka and Huvishka, is most impressive, but the deities are mixed in a strange and complex way[25]. Those from Iranian culture predominate but there are several that are distinctively Indian (such as Buddha and Oesho) and others that are Greek (such as Herakles and Serapis). So far little progress has been made in unravelling the principles on which selection was made. Stein[26] argued that many were Zoroastrian, but Ahura Mazda does not enjoy the pre-eminence one might expect, several deities seem to reflect a more

[20] R. Göbl, 'Zwei Neufunde in der Numismatik der Kuschan', *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft*, 1960, pp. 95ff.

[21] *PMC*, I, pp. 183ff, nos. 31-52.

[22] *PMC*, I, pp. 40-159.

[23] *Syria*, 1960, pp. 145-146.

[24] *Bulletin de l'École Française de l'Extrême-Orient*, 1974, p. 37.

[25] For a recent study and discussion see J. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, pp. 59-103.

[26] *Indian Antiquary*, XVII (1888), pp. 89ff.

popular form of Mazdaism, and there are several non-Iranian divinities. Cunningham[27] suggested that the pantheon was governed by the worship of the seven planets and arranged the reverse types under the seven planets in a system that was further expounded by Bloch[28]. While astrological elements were certainly associated with popular divinities at the time, the extensive Kushan pantheon does not easily fit into Cunningham's system, which has to classify Buddha under the planet Saturn. Rosenfield[29] argues convincingly against Ingholt's[30] view that the deities reflected the belief of external trade zones (because there was no adverse trade balance), and against Sircar's suggestion[31] that they reflect the various communities and religions within the polyglot Kushan empire, because Jaina deities are not represented and Buddhist emblems are very rare, while Buddhism certainly prospered. He concludes that most of the deities were the Kushan *comes augustii* -- the divine companions and supporters of the monarchy—a direct expression of the ideology of the ruling house.

These studies have treated the Kushan pantheon as a whole. We should however consider separately the successive chronological stages of the coinage and distinguish very clearly between the types that were used for substantive issues of coins struck in enormous quantities to provide the standard currency of the empire from rare commemorative issues that mark some special event and from experimental types that were never used in a major issue. In the Kushan coinage, gold coins are singularly rare, and each must have been worth a large sum of money[32]. There was no silver coinage and the coins struck in enormous quantities for general currency were the copper denominations. These are the vehicle by which the Kushan government conveyed its image to the general public.

Types of the copper Kushan Coins.

The types of the common Kushan copper coins are not complex, and from them we can trace a coherent pattern of development—the

[27] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1892, pp. 53ff.

[28] *Zeitschrift der Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft*, 64 (1910), pp. 739ff.

[29] J. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70

[30] H. Ingholt, *Gandharan Art in Pakistan*, pp. 25-26.

[31] D.C. Sircar, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 147

[32] The Kushan gold dinar contained as much gold as a Roman aureus and this represented more than one month's salary for a legionary whose pay was 225 silver denarii per year in the first century AC

conscious adoption of Iranian imagery by the Kushans in which Mithra plays a key role, a concern for the sensitivities of the Indian provinces of the empire, the use of imagery that echoes ancient Indo-Iranian beliefs held in common, and a syncretism of other deities with the basic gods that Strabo[33] tells us were worshipped in Persia in the 1st. century A.C.: "Helios, whom they call Mithra, Selene, Aphrodite, fire, earth, winds and water ... while they regard the heavens as Zeus".

The Nameless King Soter Megas "the great, the saviour", founder of the main Kushan dynasty, who introduced a standard of coinage found equally in central Asia, Afghanistan, and the Indian provinces, has only one type for his general coinage in copper--with the rayed head of Mithra on the observe, and the king wearing a 'Phrygian' cap on horseback on the reverse[34].

Vima Kadphises, his successor, again has only one substantive copper type in all denominations--with the new Iranian observe type of the king sacrificing at a fire altar, combined with an Indian observe type of Śiva standing in front of the bull[35].

Kanishka's early Greek issue in copper, with Greek legends[36], has the observe type of the king standing at a fire altar used with two reverses:

a) HAIOC — the sun (who is also Mithra) the deity who had appeared as the sole type on the general coinage of Soter Megas[37].

b) NANAIA — a composite nature goddess, who had been commemorated on the coins of King Sapadbizes[38] in Bactria during the early Kushan period. She is derived it seems from the Mesopotamian cult of Ishtar-Astarte and is probably syncretically combined with the Iranian Anāhitā, goddess of fertile waters generation and birth, who was assimilated to Artemis, Aphrodite and Magna Mater[39].

The triad of Ahura Mazda with Mithra and Anāhitā seems to have retained its hold on the popular religion of Iran under the Parthians[40].

[33] Strabo, *Geography*, 15. 3, 13.

[34] *PMC*, I, pp. 161 ff, nos. 100-108, and *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, 1968, pp. 1-21

[35] *PMC*, I, pp. 184 f, nos. 36-52

[36] *PMC*, I, p. 186, nos. 53-60

[37] See note 34.

[38] *PMC*, p. 166.

[39] Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-90.

[40] The Achaemenid King Artaxerxes Mnemon (c. 405-361 BC) is described as praying to Ahura Mazda, Anahita and Mithra in inscriptions from Susa and Hamadan (*CIMRM*, I, nos. 7 and 8). Ghirshman has pointed out that after the conquest of

In Armenia we know of cult places with three altars dedicated to these three deities[41]; and they seem to be the deities honoured by the three altars on the coins of Persis in the first century A.C.[42]. Here in the Greek issue of copper didrachms of Kanishka we have the king as earthly representative of Ahura Mazda on the obverse, with Anāhitā (as Nanaia) and Mithra (as Helios) on the reverse, that is, the Kanishka types here echo the triad of popular Iranian religion under the Parthians.

Kanishka's later copper issues with Iranian titles—the large coins that seem to be copper tetradrachms[43]—are struck in six principal reverse types[44]. The types of Buddha and Ardochsho are extremely rare and not normally represented in hoards or site finds. The substantive types are:

MIOPO	Mithra the sun god
MAO	Mah the moon god
NANA	the composite nature goddess as Anāhitā and Venus
OAΔO	the wind god, whose name is probably derived from the Avestan Vāta and the element *vāta* in the *Rig-Veda*.
AΘÞO	Atar of the *Avesta*, the personification of fire.
OHÞO	an epithet of the Indian divinity Śiva 'receiver of the dead', the principle of destruction and reproduction, who is for the Kushans syncretic in character and identified with Herakles.

The six reverse types of course served the utilitarian purpose of marking the six *officinae* responsible for the production of the coinage[45] but the principles underlying their selection can be seen beyond their syncretic forms. We have the sun and moon (Mithra and Mah) wind, fire, earth, and Nana representing Aphrodite, the goddess of waters,

Iran by Mithridates I, the podium at Masjid-i-Solaiman remained reserved to the cult of Ahura mazda, while the temple of Athena was reconstructed for the worship of Anahita and Mithra

[41] Cf. Strabo, *Geography*, 11, 530ff.

[42] G.F. Hill, *British Museum Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia*, etc., p. 196ff, Plates XXVIIIff, have as a reverse type a fire temple—with what Hill describes as three battlements. They may be three altars.

[43] *PMC*, pp. 188-193, nos 68-112.

[44] This can be seen clearly in the representation of reverse types in major hoards and site finds.

[45] See references above in fn. 11 and 12.

all under the firmament of heaven—reflecting faithfully the features of the popular religion of Persia described by Herodotus[46] and Strabo[47].

Huvishka's early copper issues with the unbarred *tamgha* utilised the same six reverse types we see in Kanishka's Iranian issue[48]. But under Huvishka we see the development of the three major mints that shared the empire's production of copper coins[49]; before long the basic unity of the earlier Kushan copper coinage is weakened and we see a different emphasis on different reverse types in different localities. For example in Huvishka's second issue with the barred *tamgha*, we still see six reverse types in Gandhara[50], but AΘΡO is replaced by ΦΑΡΡO[51] personifying Khvareno, who bestows fire in a vessel of flames and wealth in a purse; NANA is replaced by ΑΡΔΟΧΡO[52] who, like NANA, expresses the principle of abundance and is related to the Iranian Anāhitā; the four armed OHΡO is replaced by HPAKΙΛO[53] who is still the god of war and death, but was the divinity that Kujula had used in that province[54].

The sun and the moon.

The figures of Mithra (the sun) and Mao (the moon) have a prominent place in the Kushan pantheon among the substantive reverse types of the coppers. On one gold type of Huvishka ΜΙΙΡO with his nimbus and radiate crown stands facing MAO with his crescent behind his shoulders[55]. The symbols of the sun and moon (as star and crescent) had appeared as adjuncts of the king's head on several issues of Parthia[56] and Elymais[57] and they are found to left and

[46] Herodotus, *Histories*, I, 131.

[47] Strabo, *Geography*, 15, 3, 13

[48] For the early issue of Huvishka see *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, 1960, pp 63-74.

[49] I argued for three mints for the copper coins of Huvishka, distinguished by their three different obverse types in my paper on Kushan mint organisation quoted in fn. 11.

[50] *Ibid.*

[51] *PMC*, I, p. 200, no. 160 and Plate XIX, 160.

[52] *PMC*, I, p. 200, no. 161 and Plate XIX, 161.

[53] *PMC*, I, p 201, no. 162 and Plate XIX, 162.

[54] *PMC*, I, p 178-179, nos. 1-15 and Plate XVII, nos. I and II.

[55] *PMC*, I, p 196 no. 124 and Plate XVIII no 124

[56] Wroth, *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins of Parthia*, Plates XVII, XXII, XXV, etc

[57] G F. Hill, *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins of Arabia etc.*, Plates XXXIV, XL, XLI.

right above the *caitya* on the reverse type of the coins of the Western Satraps[58] (who were allied to the Kushans) from the 2nd to 4th century A.C.—reminding us of the sun and moon in the upper left and right corners of Roman Mithraic reliefs[59]. In the developed system of Kanishka and Huvishka they are presented together with the four elements, and their divinities are those who preside over the planets.

The seven planets and the seven grades of Roman Mithraism.

Whereas the numerous divinities of the Kushan pantheon seen on the relatively rare gold coins cannot convincingly be categorised under the seven planets, the substantive types of the copper coinage of the Iranian issue of Kanishka and the unbarred *tamgha* issue of Huvishka that constituted the regular currency of the empire correspond closely to the spheres, the grades of Roman Mithraism and some of the heraldic emblems associated with the grades[60].

1) *Corax* the raven has the *caduceus* of Mercury and symbolises the air as does the Kushan OAAO.

2) *Nymphus* the bride-groom is under the protection of Venus and because of the purification rites probably represents the element water as does the Kushan NANA.

3) *Miles* the soldier is under the patronage of Mars the war god corresponding to the Kushan Herakles, Oesho and Śiva.

4) *Leo* the lion has as his emblems a thunderbolt (being under the protection of Jupiter) and a fire shovel in reference to the purifying fire – corresponding to the Kushan Athsho.

5) *Perses* the Persian is under the protection of the moon — corresponding to the Kushan Mao.

6) *Heliodromos*, the courier of the sun, is the earthly deputy of Helios-Sol under whose care he is placed—corresponding to the Kushan Helios-Mithra—and here we find a divergence: in the Kushan pantheon Sol-Helios is identified with Mithra. Although many Roman inscriptions invoke Mithras as *deus Sol invictus*, the Roman cult often seems to distinguish Sol-Helios from Mithras.

[58] E.J. Rapson, *British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra dynasty, the Western Kstatrapas*, etc., pp. 78ff and plates X-XVIII

[59] Eg. M.J. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, I, Fig 47, 91, 98, 102, 106, etc etc.

[60] Seen perhaps most clearly in the mosaics in the Mithraeum at Ostia in G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia*, II, *I Mitrei*, Roma (1954).

7) *Pater*, the father, is the highest grade the deputy of the god on earth having as his symbols the sickle of Saturn, the Phrygian cap, the staff, and ring of wisdom. In the Kushan system, the equivalent seems to be the Kushan king himself, shown on the obverse with flaming shoulders as marks of his divinity, who was no doubt presented as the representative on earth of the supreme deity—successor to the Nameless King whose coins show him wearing the Phrygian cap.

Conclusion.

When we exclude experimental types and commemorative issues and analyse the substantive coin types of the Kushans in the 2nd century A.C. to establish the imagery that the government wished to convey, the Kushan pantheon is much more intelligible. Basically we see the features of the popular religion of Persia as described by Herodotus and Strabo—of Mithra (the sun) Mao (the moon) and the four elements presented as Graeco-Roman personifications—sometimes retaining their original name, sometimes in the guise of other deities with whom they are assimilated in a subtle process of syncretism; but they are the deities who preside over the spheres. It is the same sort of process that had happened earlier, when Chaldaean theology was assimilated to Mazdaean belief, when Anāhitā was likened to Ishtar who presided over the planet Venus, while Mithra became the Sun, Shamesh. Roman Mithraism in the west followed a similar path and there are some interesting analogies between Kushan and Roman symbolism. Both show Mithra in a setting of planetary symbolism, developed from the sun, the moon, and the elements. Besides Mithra the nature goddess Nanaia-Anāhitā has her place in the east, as does Magna Mater in the west[61]. But then both the Romans and the Kushans were drawing on a common heritage ultimately derived from Lower Mesopotamia[62] and they were both expressing Iranian concepts in the forms of classical personifications.

Within the Roman empire, the Mithraic cult seems to have been spread by soldiers and traders[63]. Although there is early literary

[61] F. Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, pp. 46ff..

[62] Cf. H. Seyrig, 'Palmyra and the East', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1950, pp. 1-7.

[63] F. Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra* (Dover republication), pp. 33-84. See also C.M. Daniels, 'The Roman Army and the spread of Mithra', in *Mithraic Studies*, II, pp. 249-274.

evidence for Roman acquaintance with Mithras from Cilicia, Cappadocia, and Armenia[64], the long series of dated inscriptions and monuments of the Mithraic cult in Italy date from the early 2nd century A.C.[65]—the period after Trajan's campaigns in the east. This is the period when the Kushans controlled the silk route from China across central Asia, Bactria, and the Indus Valley to the ports at the mouth of the Indus[66]; when the Romans developed trade contacts with the Kushans by the sea routes from the Red Sea and Persian Gulf to the Indus[67]; and when Kanishka's moneyers emphasised MIOPO (Mithra) among the Kushan pantheon. The links between Roman and Kushan symbolism are perhaps rather closer than Cumont suspected[68].

[64] Plutarch, *Vita Pompei*, 24 and E.D. Frances, note 'Plutarch's Mithraic Pirates', in *Mithraic Studies*, I, pp. 207-210.

[65] M.J. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, II, p. 439 with references given there.

[66] R.E.M. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, pp. 140ff.

[67] *Ibid.*, and E.H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, pp. 6-34.

[68] F. Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, p. 19, illustrates the Kushan coins with *MIOPO* but comments that they "have little direct connection with the Mysteries as they appeared in the Occident".

MANFRED MAYRHOFER

DIE BISHER VORGESCHLAGENEN ETYMOLOGIEN UND DIE ÄLTESTEN BEZEUGUNGEN DES MITHRA-NAMENS

1. Dieses Referat soll, aus linguistischer Sicht, vom »ältesten Mitra« handeln; von dem nach einhelliger Meinung schon in die indo-iranische Zeit zurückreichenden Gottesnamen **Mitrá-* und seinem Verhältnis zu dem mit dem Gottesnamen gleichlautenden Appellativum, das ebenfalls bereits der ältesten indoarischen und iranischen Überlieferung angehört (*2.1-3*). Es soll über die für dieses indo-iranische Gebilde vorgeschlagenen Etyma berichten (*2.3*), und in seinem zweiten Teil wird es – kritisch, und vorwiegend skeptisch oder ablehnend – über die Vorschläge handeln, Belege des Mitra-Namens in Fremdquellen aufzufinden, die noch vor dem Einsetzen der vedischen oder der altiranischen Überlieferung liegen; in keilschriftlichen oder hieroglyphischen Texten (*3-4*).

2. Daß aus der lautgesetzlichen Übereinstimmung der Gottesnamen vedisch *Mitrá-* m., jungawestisch *Miθra-* m. und spätachämenidisch *Mθra-*, *Mtra-*, *Mit[ra]-*[1] ein bereits urarischer Gottesname **Mitrá-* erschließbar ist, wird kaum noch bezweifelt[2]; dieser religionswissenschaftlich bedeutende Nachweis eines urarischen Gottesnamens würde linguistisch aber nicht weit führen, da sich ein vorsichtiger Etymologe bei bloßer Existenz der Namensgleichung wohl auf die Feststellung der Grundform beschränken müsste. Die Situation ist jedoch im Falle von **Mitrá-* günstiger, da die Existenz eines Appellativums *mitrá-* m.n. im Vedischen und *miθra-* m. im Awestischen bereits dem Urarischen auch ein Appellativum **mitrá-* zuzuweisen erlaubt. In diesem Falle darf der Linguist weitere Fragen aufwerfen: Ermöglicht der philologische Befund aus den vedischen und awestischen Belegen, auch die semantische Seite des urarischen Zeichens **mitrá-* festzulegen? Kann dieses zur

[1] Zu den Einzelformen s. R.G. Kent, *Old Persian*, New Haven, ²1953, 203b; keine von ihnen gibt die echtpersische Ausprägung des Namens wieder, die **Miça-* lauten müßte. Diese erscheint jedoch vielfach in der Namengebung, s. M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, Wien, 1973, 204f., 328a, 349b. R.N. Frye, *Mithraic Studies* I, Manchester, 1975, 62.

[2] Vgl. F.B.J. Kuiper, *HJ*, 15, 1973, 228; P. Thieme, *Mithraic Studies* I, 21.

Erhellung des urarischen Namens **Mitrá-* dienen? Und ist für **mitrá-/ *Mitrá-* ein »Etymon«, also die Deutung als eine bestimmte Wortbildung aus einer bestimmten Wurzel, zu gewinnen?

Dieser Vortrag ist ein *Referat*; er versucht selektiv zu zeigen, wie sich die recht umfangreiche neuere Literatur zu diesen Fragen gestellt hat. Als »neuere Literatur« werden im Wesentlichen jene Publikationen behandelt, die seit dem Artikel *Mitráh* im II. Band meines altindischen etymologischen Wörterbuches (1963, S. 633*f.*) erschienen sind und die ich so gut wie vollständig zu kennen glaube, da ich sie für den relativ umfänglichen Artikel *Mitráh* in den »Nachträgen und Berichtigungen« zu Band III meines Buches[3] auszuwerten hatte.

2.1. Keine besondere Resonanz scheint die Auffassung zu finden, wonach der Gottesname und das Appellativum miteinander nur verwandt, nicht aber ursprünglich identisch seien[4]. Auch bei verschiedenartiger Übersetzung des Appellativums *mitrá-/miθra-* scheint die Ansicht vorzuherrschen, der Gott **Mitrá-* sei mit dem Wort **mitrá-* formal und inhaltlich gleichzusetzen — ob nun von einer Personifizierung des appellativisch ausgedrückten Konzepts zur Gottesgestalt[5] oder von »coexistence of personal and impersonal representations of the same idea«[6] gesprochen wird.

2.2. Ist dem so, dann bietet uns die nähere Bestimmung des Appellativs den Schlüssel zur semantischen und vielleicht sogar zur etymologischen Deutung des Namens **Mitrá-*. Hier muß ich einbekennen, daß mir Paul Thiemes neuerliche Verteidigung der auf Meillet zurückgehenden Auffassung von **mitrá-* als ursprünglichem Neutrum mit der Bedeutung »Kontrakt« — in den Akten des ersten Mithraismus-Kongresses[7] — völlig überzeugend erscheint. Zweifel an dieser alten Deutung und Gegenvorschläge zu ihr finden sich zwar in neuesten Veröffentlichungen[8], wobei der interessanteste Gegenvorschlag der

[3] Im Satz; erscheint voraussichtlich 1976.

[4] So H. Humbach, *Festgabe für Herman Lommel*, Wiesbaden, 1960, 77 Anm. 5 = *Paideuma*, 7, 1960, 255 Anm. 5. — S. dazu J. Gonda, *Indologica Taurinensia*, 1, 1973, 71 Anm. 1.

[5] Vgl. etwa P. Thieme, *Mithraic Studies* I, 27*f.*, mit Parallelen.

[6] J. Gonda, *ebenda*, 52.

[7] *Mithraic Studies I*, 22 (zum Genus), 24ff. (zur Verteidigung von »Kontrakt«), 28*f.* (zu Mitra als »god Contract«), 32 (zur Genese von Mitras kosmischer Rolle). — Vgl. I. Gershevitch, *ebenda*, 89.

[8] Z.B. J. Gonda, *The Vedic God Mitra*, Leiden, 1972, 102ff., *Indologica Taurinensia*, 1, 1973, 72, *Mithraic Studies I*, 50*f.*; vgl. auch F. B. J. Kuiper, *IIJ*, 15, 1973, 228ff.

von Wolfgang Lentz ist, nach dem arisch **mitrá-* n. etwa als »pietas; jede Art freiwilliger oder auch natürlicher sozialer Bindung« aufzufassen ist, wodurch sich für **mitrá-* – im semantischen Vergleich etwa mit nhd. *Gewogenheit* (~ *wiegen*) = »Verbundenheit, Zuneigung« – ein gefälliges Etymon ergeben soll: als *-trá-*Ableitung zu ai.aw. *mā-* »messen«[9], also idg. **mə₂-tró-m* = griech. μέτρον n. »Maß, rechtes Maß«[10]. Ich glaube, daß Thieme in den *Mithraic Studies* 24f. Lentz' Auffassung der für seine Deutung entscheidenden Stelle schlagend widerlegt hat und zurecht auf der Deutung von **mitrá-* als »Vertrag« beharrt.

2.3. Aber auch, wenn wir dieser Ansicht folgen, — die philologischen und religionswissenschaftlichen Probleme um Mitra-/Miθra- sind so diffizil, daß auch Thiemes glasklare Darstellung in den *Mithraic Studies* keine Einhelligkeit erzwingen wird – so bleibt die Frage nach dem »Etymon« von **mitrá-* »contract« und **Mitrá-* »god Contract« offen. Bezeichnenderweise haben denn auch die letzten eindringlichen Studien von Thieme und Gonda die Frage nach dem Etymon nicht eindeutig beantwortet[11]. Auch ich möchte nur soviel sagen, daß von den beiden strukturell einzig sinnvollen Analysen, **mi-trá-* und **mit-rá-*, die erstere den Vorzug verdient; **mitrá-* ist offenbar durch das Instrumentalsuffix *-trá-* von einer Wurzel abgeleitet, deren schwundstufige Form *mi-* war. Unter den verfügbaren Sippen würde ich auch heute noch, wie in meiner Lexikondarstellung von 1963, die im Indo-Iranischen mit der ausschließlich kurzvokalischen Schwundstufe *mi-* bezeugte Wortfamilie von ved. *mi-tá-* »befestigt«, aw. *(barəzi-)miθ(a)-* »(hoch)-gebaut« bevorzugen, die mit **mitrá-* »Vertrag« wie lat. *pangere* und *pax* semantisch zu vermitteln ist. Daneben möchte ich an die Kenner vergleichender Semantik die Frage richten, ob man von Lentz' Gleichsetzung mit gr. μέτρον — soferne dieses wirklich eine bereits indogermanische Bildung fortsetzt[12] – bei Abkehr von Lentz' Bedeutungs-Ansatz für **mitrá-* unbedingt Abschied nehmen müßte; ob ein Über-

[9] S. auch L. Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, 4, 1958, 98.

[10] *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume*, London, 1970, 245ff., 254; vgl. ferner *Mithraic Studies* I, 133. – Daß indoar. **mitra-* »Maß« < **mə₂tro-* sich im präkrit *-mētta-* erhalten habe, läßt sich nicht erweisen: M. Mayrhofer, *Studia Indologica, Festschrift für W. Kirfel*, Bonn, 1955, 223ff.

[11] Thieme, *Mithraic Studies I*, 22 Anm. 3, Gonda, *The Vedic God Mitra*, 114f. (mit Lit.), 115 Anm. 2, *Indologica Taurinensia*, 1, 105f., *Mithraic Studies I*, 51 Anm. 80.

[12] Vgl. H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, II, Heidelberg, 1970, 221; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Grecque*, III, Paris, 1974, 692a.

gang von **mi-trā-* »Mittel zum Messen« (: *mā-*) zu »Vertrag« nicht durch semantische Parallelen gestützt werden kann[13].

3. Der eine Weg, von den Belegen der Namen *Mitrá-* und *Miθra-* in den ältesten indoarischen und iranischen Texten in eine noch frühere Schicht vorzustoßen, war der Weg der diachron-vergleichenden Linguistik; er erweist für die Periode der gemeinsamen Vorstufe des Indischen und Iranischen mit Sicherheit die Existenz, mit Wahrscheinlichkeit die aktuelle Bedeutung, allenfalls auch noch die sprachliche Genese des Gottesnamens **Mitrá-*. Ein zweiter Weg, den indoarischen **Mitrá-* schon vor den Anfängen des Veda, den iranischen **Miθra-* vor dem Beginn iranischer Textüberlieferung in frühen, außer-arischen *Belegen* festzustellen, ist mehrfach beschritten worden; der zweite Teil meines Vortrages untersucht die Resultate dieser Bemühungen.

3.1. Mit völliger Sicherheit ist der arische Gottesname außerhalb Indiens und Irans als *Mi-it-ra-* im Vertrag Šuppiluliumas I. mit Šattiuazzn[14] von Mitanni nachzuweisen; die meisten Forscher stimmen heute zudem darin überein, daß es sich dabei um ein Gebilde *indo*-arischer Ausprägung handelt[15]. – Nur eine kuriose (und keineswegs geistlose) Arbeit aus dem Jahre 1916 hat den Namen Mitras und der anderen arischen Götter des Mitannivertrages wegzudisputieren versucht[16]; selbst in den hyperkritischen Publikationen des vergangenen Jahrzehnts, denen ich meine programmatische Schrift »Die Arier im Vorderen Orient – ein Mythos?« (1974) entgegengesetzt habe, ist der arische Charakter des Vertragsgottes *Mi-it-ra-* nicht mehr angetastet worden.

3.1.1. Die Existenz von Mitra in Mitanni läßt prinzipiell als möglich erscheinen, daß wir in Mitanni oder seinem Einflußbereich noch weitere

[13] Zu den übrigen etymologischen Vorschlägen s. mein altind. etym. Wb., II, 634 und den Artikel *Mitrá-* der »Nachträge und Berichtigungen« von Band III, 1976, bzw. die dort genannte Lit. – Vgl. ferner É. Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*, I, Paris, 1969, 98ff.; H. Schmeja, *Iranisches und Griechisches in den Mithrasmysterien*, Innsbruck, 1975, 6.

[14] Zur Rechtfertigung dieser Lesung für KUR-*ti-ú-ar-zi-za* s. C. Zaccagnini, *Orient Antiquus*, 13, 1974, 251ff.; M. Mayrhofer, *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient – ein Mythos?*, Wien, 1974, 24f. (mit Lit.); Schmeja, *a.a.O.*, 25 Anm. 1.

[15] Vgl. zuletzt Mayrhofer, *a.a.O.*, 12f. Anm. 6, mit Lit.; Thieme, *Mitraic Studies*, 31.

[16] W. E. Clark, *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, 33, 1916-17, 261ff.; vgl. dazu M. Mayrhofer, *Die Indo-Arier im Alten Vorderasien*, Wiesbaden, 1966, 56f.

Mitra-Belege, etwa in der Namengebung, finden könnten. Doch ist hier bereits Vorsicht geboten: wenn sich in Ugarit ein Name *Mi-it-ra* findet[17], so würde ich in einer vorwiegend arischen Umgebung darin die Kurzform eines theophoren Mitra-Namens sehen, wie ich dies bei dem *Mitra* (*Mi-it-ra*) in dem überwiegend iranischen Namengut der elamischen Tontafeln von Persepolis getan habe[18]; inmitten einer vorwiegend hurritischen und semitischen Onomastik aber kann ein so kurzes Gebilde auch Zufallsanklang sein[19], obwohl ich für das charismatische Geheimwissen Annelies Kammenhubers, wonach der ugaritische *Mi-it-ra* auf jeden Fall nicht **Mitra-* sei, keine Begründung sehe[20]. Der Zufall scheint mir nur bei charakterisierten Namenformen wie *Bi-ri-ja-aš-šu-ga* in Alalaḫ ausgeschlossen, der keilschriftgetreu einen Ariernamen **Priyāsva-* »Philippos« wiedergibt[21].

3.1.2. Ein besonderes Problem ist *Mi-it-ta-ra-at-ti*/*Mi-in-ta-ra-ti* in Nuzi[22]. Auf der einen Seite steht die Lockung, diesen Namen mit dem belegten vedischen Mitra-Namen *Mitrātithi-* gleichzusetzen: für *Mitt°* ~ *Mint°* gibt es die Möglichkeit einer Erklärung[23], und daß *ātithi-* »Gast« in dem archaischen Indo-Arisch von Mitanni noch die ältere Form mit unvokalisiertem Laryngal, **ātthi-*, hatte, aus der sich aw. *aϑi-* erklärt, ist weiterhin glaubhaft. Immerhin erfordert die arische Deutung dieses inmitten einer vorwiegend hurritischen Onomastik stehenden Namens zwei zusätzliche Annahmen; gerade weil ich in diesem Falle Partei bin, möchte ich *Mitn/tarati* als Mitra-Namen zwar nicht als »entfallend«[24], aber doch als ungesichert bezeichnen.

3.1.3. Auf den Alalaḫ-Namen *Mi-tar-za-na* hat meines Wissens deutlich nur A. Kammenhuber, natürlich ablehnend, hingewiesen[25]. Ich

[17] Nachweis bei J. Nougayrol, *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit* (= *Mission de Ras Shamra*, Tome IX), IV, Paris, 1956, 247b.

[18] *Onomastica Persepolitana*, Wien, 1973, 206.

[19] Für arischen Charakter des Namens haben sich ausgesprochen: A. Goetze, *JCS*, 16, 1962, 49a; M. Mayrhofer, *IF*, 70, 1965, 155; F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*, Rom, 1967, 299; D.F. Kinlaw, *A Study in the Personal Names in the Akkadian Texts from Ugarit*, Brandeis Univ. Phil. Diss., 1967, 344, 352f.; L.A. Gindin, *Étimologija* 1970, Moskau, 1972, 291.

[20] A. Kammenhuber, *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient*, Heidelberg, 1968, 173.

[21] M. Mayrhofer, *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient — ein Mythos?*, 191f., mit Lit.

[22] M. Mayrhofer, *Sprache*, 5, 1959, 82f., *HJ*, 4, 1960, 137f. und 138 Anm. 10; *IF*, 70, 1965, 155.

[23] *HJ*, 4, 138 Anm. 10.

[24] Kammenhuber, *a.a.O.*, 171, mit weiteren Verweisen.

[25] *Die Arier* . . ., 173. Daß B. Landsberger hier an ein Etymon wie indoar. **Mitra-sunu-* »edler Mitra-Sohn« gedacht hatte, läßt sich aus seinen Andeutungen in *JCS*, 8, 1954, 129b und 130b wohl erschließen.

lasse offen, ob der *jána-* im Rig-Veda 1, 41, 1, den *Mitrá-* und andere Götter beschützen, eine arische Deutung dieses Namens anregen kann; in Alalaḫ kamen jedenfalls arische Namen, wie der oben erwähnte *Birjaššuw* (*3.1.1*), vor.

3.2. Daß — bei der im Alten Orient nachweisbaren Entlehnung von Gottheiten — die Kassiten Götter aus dem Pantheon der arischen Schicht im Mitannireich übernehmen konnten, ist in einem Falle höchst glaubhaft: um für die Ähnlichkeit von kassitisch *Šurijaš* »Sonnengott« und vedisch *súrya-* »Sonne(ngott)« die Möglichkeit eines kausalen Zusammenhanges a priori auszuschließen, dazu bedarf es schon einer robusten Überzeugung[26]. Der für Mitanni sicher nachgewiesene Mitra (*3.1*) könnte also prinzipiell auch bei den Kassiten gesucht werden. Der vorgeschlagene Beleg ist freilich wenig ansprechend: es ist der Eigenname *Mi-it-rat*(?)-UR-*ši* auf einem kassitischen Siegel[27], von dem, wie mich Hermann Hunger belehrt, das Zeichen <*rat*(?)> nach den Fotos kaum bestimmbar ist; für UR wird teils *ur*, teils *taš* gelesen[28]. Auch bei einer an *Mitra-* anklingenden Lesung des Namens — z.B. *Mi-it-tar-taš-ši*, wie zuletzt bei Limet[29] — ist die Annahme eines arischen, mit Mitra komponierten Namens sehr gewagt; daß es im Rig-Veda die Textfigur *mitráxva-* . . . . *dhási-* gibt, möchte ich nur als Sirenenlockung anmerken.

3.3. Im zweiten Jahrzehnt unseres Jahrhunderts hat man den mitannischen Mitra in einem Fremdnamen auf dem hieroglyphisch beschriebenen Fragment eines Kanopenkruges nachweisen wollen[30]; in dem

[26] S. Kammenhuber, *Die Arier* . . . 49ff., dazu die Bem. bei Mayrhofer, *Die Arier* . . ., 13 Anm. 12. — Vgl. besonders W. v. Soden, *ZAss.*, 60, 1970, 226f. (Kammenhubers Feststellung, daß das Kassitische keine arischen Lehnwörter enthalte, sei »angesichts der Tatsache, daß allenfalls 300 kassitische Wörter bekannt sind, von denen nur ein Teil deutbar ist, eine nicht zu rechtfertigende Behauptung«)

[27] Lit. bei M. Leibovici, *Word*, 11, 1955, 492.

[28] Leibovici, *a.a.O.*

[29] H. Limet, *Les légendes des sceaux-cassites*, Brüssel, 1971, 97 (Nr. 7.12).

[30] Über die sachlichen Umstände des Belegs hat mich Elmar Edel, wie schon so oft, in dankenswerter Weise unterrichtet. Der heutige Aufenthalt des Stückes ist wahrscheinlich nicht mehr feststellbar. Über eine »Datierung« einer solchen Scherbe ist schwerlich Genaueres zu sagen. F. Böhl, *Kanaanäer und Hebräer*, Leipzig, 1911, 16 Anm. 5 hatte dazu bemerkt »419 Dynastie[!]«, also einen Zeitraum angenommen, der später ist als die Erwähnung von Mitra im Mitanni-Vertrag. Auch Edel scheint »18. oder 19. (?) Dyn[astie] nach der Schreibung recht gut möglich«. — Erwähnungen des hieroglyphischen Fragmentes in neuerer Literatur scheint es, wie mir E. Edel bestätigt, nicht zu geben.

»arisch-ostsemitischen Namen«[31] *Mitrôn*, dessen Hinterglied eine Form des assyrischen Verbs für »hören« enthalten sollte. An der Beurteilung dieses Namens kann man die plötzliche Überschätzung des mitannischen Ariertums gut beobachten, die durch das Bekanntwerden der arischen Götter des Mitanni-Vertrages ausgelöst worden ist: hatte Max Burchardt 1910 im Vorderglied noch »mit allem Vorbehalt den Gott Mithra« erkennen wollen[32], so heißt es in seinen beiden Miszellen von 1912, es könne »seit dem Funde von Boghasköj ..... nicht mehr zweifelhaft sein, daß in dem *mir* der Gott Mithra steckt«[33]. Die Diskussion über diesen Namen ist dann aber zu Recht versandet. Es gibt keine unbestrittenen Zeugnisse für das Weiterleben mitannisch-arischer Traditionen bei den Assyrern, obwohl Assur dem Machtbereich des Mitannistaates angehört hatte, und wir kennen keine sichere Parallele zu einem solchen hybriden Namen; damit erübrigt sich wohl auch, auf die Problematik des angeblichen semitischen Hintergliedes näher einzugehen[34].

4. Hier, auf iranischem, ja medischem Boden, mag es von besonderem Interesse sein, daß man auch den iranischen — und dann gewiß den medischen — Gott **Miθra-* in einer Quelle außerhalb Irans und aus vorachämenidischer, vorawestischer Zeit zu finden geglaubt hat.

In einer assyrischen Götterliste[35] erscheint unter den vielen Namen des Sonnengottes Šamaš auch die Glosse AN.PA$^{mi-it-ra}$.ŠU.UL = MIN, was bedeutet »der Gott, der PA.ŠU.UL geschrieben wird, ist

[31] So der Titel zweier Kurzaufsätze von Max Burchardt: *Zeitschr. f. ägypt. Sprache*, 50, 1912, 122, und *OLZ*, 15, 1912, 151f.

[32] M. Burchardt, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdwörter und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen*, II, Leipzig, 1910, 29a; ähnlich Böhl, *a.a.O.*

[33] *Zeitschr. f. ägypt. Sprache*, 50, 1912, 122; inhaltlich gleichlautend *OLZ*, 15, 1912, 153 (»Wie uns der Fund von Boghasköj lehrt, steckt in dem *mir* der Gott Mithra«). Mit ähnlicher Zuversicht äußert sich auch W. Max Müller, *OLZ*, 15, 1912, 252.

[34] S. schon die Einwände bei [F.E.] Peiser, *OLZ*, 15, 1912, 154. Auch E. Edel (briefl.) wendet sich gegen Burchardts »hat erhört« und würde vielmehr den Imperativ *šemi* »höre!« oder das Partizip *šemi* »ist (immer) ein Erhörender« in *-šu* sehen; daneben verweist er auf das hurritische Namenelement *šemi* in den *Nuzi Personal Names*, 130, 255. Daß die Ägypter ein hurritisches *šemi* nach semitischem *šmʿ* mit »Ohr« determiniert hätten, spräche nicht gegen einen hurritischen Namen; so haben sie auch *Tešub* mit den umgekehrt laufenden Beinen determiniert, weil sie semit. *šub* »umkehren« darin sahen.

[35] Zum Philologischen s. A. Ungnad, *OLZ*, 46, 1943, 199.

derselbe (nämlich der Sonnengott)«; zur Erleichterung der Lesung hat ein Schreiber die Glosse *mi-id-ra* hinzugefügt. Daraus ist schon 1887 bei P. Jensen »unter einer Reihe von Namen für die Sonne (!) das an persisches *Mitra* erinnernde Wort *mi-it-ra*« geworden[36], F. Hommel hat den »god *Mitra*«[37] aufgenommen, der sich bei I. Scheftelowitz[38] und C. Fossey[39] wiederfindet. Die Abschrift des in Frage kommenden Textes wird durch den Schriftduktus in das 8./7. Jahrhundert verwiesen; freilich gehen solche Götterlisten oft auf ältere Zeiten zurück[40]. Wäre *mi-it-ra* als Sonnengott ernstzunehmen, dann dürfte man in ihm wohl nicht einen Nachhall des mitannischen *Mi-it-ra-* aus dem 2. Jahrtausend sehen, sondern einen Gott der Meder, die durch Namen von Häuptlingen in assyrischen Quellen seit dem Beginn des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. sprachlich in Erscheinung treten.

Der Gott Mithra in assyrischer Überlieferung gilt seit Arthur Ungnads Untersuchung in der *Orientalistischen Literaturzeitung* von 1943 als philologisch abgetan[41]. Wenn ich – mit Unterstützung von Hermann Hunger – den Ungnadschen Aufsatz noch einmal nachgeprüft habe, so deshalb, weil mir Ungnad in dem selben Aufsatz die Möglichkeit eines frühiranischen **Asura-Mazdā̆s* in assyrischem Kontext vorschnell verworfen zu haben scheint[42]. Im Falle von »Mithra« hat sich jedoch die Schlüssigkeit von Ungnads Beweisführung bei kritischem Nachlesen neuerlich ergeben. Sie braucht deshalb nicht wiederholt zu werden; nur soviel sei erwähnt, daß der dritte Punkt in Ungnads Darstellung besonders beweiskräftig ist, wonach *mi-id-ra* nur eine Glossierung von PA »Szepter« ist, die sich aus der sumerischen Sprachgeschichte erklären läßt, und der Gesamtname PA.ŠU.UL als sumerisch *midrašuḫ* »Szepterträger« zu lesen ist[43].

Es gibt also keinen medischen **Miθra-* in der Nebenüberlieferung vor dem Einsetzen altiranischer Texte. – Später, in der achämenidischen Zeit, gibt es ihn reichlich in nichtiranischen Quellen, wie etwa

[36] *ZAss* 2, 1887, 195 Anm. 2

[37] *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 21, 1899, 139

[38] *KZ*, 38, 1905, 277

[39] *Journal Asiatique*, 10e série, tome 15, 1910, 523 ff.

[40] Hermann Hunger, mündl.; s. auch Ungnad, *a.a.O.*

[41] Ungnad, *a.a.O.*, 199-201.

[42] Vgl. die Zweifel an Ungnads Ablehnung bei O. Szemerényi, *Die Sprache*, 12, 1966, 193f. Anm. 8, M. Mayrhofer, *Domum Indogermanicum, Festschrift für Anton Scherer*, Heidelberg, 1971, 51f.; s. J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Commémoration Cyrus, Hommage Universel*, III, Teheran-Lüttich, 1974, 13

[43] Ungnad, *a.a.O.*, 200.

in dem elamisch überlieferten *Mi-ut-ra-ba-da*, dem griechisch überlieferten Μιτροβάτης, dem aramäisch überlieferten *Mtrpt*, die alle ein Nomen proprium **Miθra-pāta-*, mit der medischen lautlichen Ausprägung des Mithra-Namens, wiedergeben[44]. Aber das ist bereits synchron mit den altpersischen Inschriften: es liegt somit außerhalb dieses Referates, das dem »ältesten Mi(h)ra« nachzuspüren hatte.

[44] Lit. bei M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, Wien, 1973, 207.

ALEXANDRU POPA

L'ICONOGRAPHIE MITHRIAQUE D'APULUM

Ainsi qu'il est bien connu, le centre romain d'Apulum, avec ses deux villes — *colonia Aurelia Apulensis*, située dans le quartier de Partoş, et *colonia nova Apulensis*, groupée autour de l'ancien camp de la XIIIe légion Gemina — a joué un rôle de premier plan dans la vie de la province de Dacie[1]. Il est même arrivé, au IIIe siècle notamment, à surpasser la métropole, Ulpia Traiana[2].

Quoique l'on ne dispose pas encore de données précises à cet égard, les débuts des deux établissements peuvent être datés entre les années 107 et 110 de n.è., juste après les guerres daciques[3], lorsque Trajan fit venir dans la province nord-danubienne nouvellement constituée des colons de tous les coins de l'empire[4].

La venue en Dacie de ces colons, ainsi que de certaines unités militaires, a eu pour conséquence la pénétration d'une multitude de divinités adorées dans différentes zones du monde romain. Parmi celles-ci

[1] Au sujet de l'histoire des deux villes romaines d'Apulum et des discussions à cet égard, voir notamment A. Cserni, dans *AEM*, p. 143-146, 159-170, 198, 210-211, idem, *Jelentés a colonia Apulensis területen végzett ásatásokról*, dans *MKÉ*, VI/2-3, p. 106-108; E. Korneman, dans *RE*, IV 1, col. 547-548, C. Daicoviciu, *La Transylvanie dans l'Antiquité*, Bucarest, 1944, p. 128-129 et note 4, idem, *Săpăturile autorităţii de la Apulum (Alba Iulia)*, dans *SCIV*, I II, 1950, p. 225-226, C. Daicoviciu et H. Daicoviciu, *Urbanisation et romanisation dans la Dacie trajane*, dans *Venligia. Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für griechische und lateinische Epigraphik, München 1972*, Munich, 1973, p. 97; I. I. Russu, dans *Apulum*, III, p. 145-161, idem, *Dacius Appulus*, dans *Apulum*, IIII (= *Studii şi Comunicări*), p. 119 sqq.; Gr. Florescu, dans *Apulum*, III, p. 162 sqq., An. Alföldi, *A got mozgalom és a Dacia feladása*, dans *Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny*, 1920-1930, p. 32 et note 11; idem, *Zu den Schicksalen Siebenbürgens im Altertum*, 1944, p. 182; F. Vittinghoff, *Die Bedeutung des Legionslager für Entstehung der römischen Städte an der Donau und Dakien*, dans *Studien zur europäischen Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, 1969, p. 140-142; D. Tudor, *Oraşe, târguri şi sate în Dacia romană*, p. 144-172; M. Macrea, *Viaţa în Dacia romană*, 1969, p. 144; Th. Mommsen, dans *CIL*, III, p. 182-183, Al. Popa et E. Al. Aldea, *Colonia Aurelia Apulensis Chrysopolis*, dans *Apulum*, X, p. 210-211; idem, dans *Studii şi Comunicări*, Sibiu, 18, p. 33-34.

[2] Comme étude plus récente sur l'histoire des deux villes romaines d'Apulum, cf. Al. Popa, *Oraşul roman Apulum*, dans *Alba Iulia 2000*, Alba Iulia, 1975, p. 36-103.

[3] *Ibidem*, p. 51-62.

[4] Eutropius, VIII, 6, 2: *Trajanus, victa Dacia, ex toto orbe romano infinitas eo copias hominum transtulerat, ad agros et urbes colendas.*

une place importante revient aux divinités gréco-orientales, dont on sait que la plus répandue était le dieu iranien *Mithra*.

A Apulum, selon la statistique du savant bien connu M. Vermaseren[5], complétée par les trouvailles de ces derniers temps, environ 72 monuments se rattachant au culte de cette importante divinité orientale ont été enregistrés jusqu'à ce jour[6]. Sur ce total, 27 pièces sont des reliefs, dont certains comprennent des inscriptions, cumulant ainsi un double intérêt, sculptural et épigraphique. Ces reliefs représentent Mithra et ses acolytes dans le cadre des scènes classiques de l'iconographie mithraique. La première place, représentée par 16 pièces, revient à la scène du sacrifice, à côté de laquelle apparaissent parfois d'autres scènes de la légende de Mithra et de ses acolytes. Parmi ces monuments on remarque en premier lieu les reliefs composés de trois registres, (voir fig. 1, 2 et 3) au nombre de 6 pièces[7]. Relevons tout d'abord deux bas-reliefs mis au jour au siècle dernier[8]. Ils présentent en position centrale, comme la plupart des monuments mithraiques, le groupe du Tauroctone (fig. 1) : Mithra, dans une grotte, immole le taureau, encadré par les deux dadophores Cautes et Cautopates. On relève, de même, la présence du chien et du scorpion, mais le serpent fait défaut. On remarque encore le corbeau, l'oiseau favori du dieu, sur un crutère, Sol et Luna, ainsi que les signes du Zodiaque. Dans le registre supérieur, on distingue Mithra entraînant le taureau à reculons, puis le taureau dans une nacelle, Mithra tirant de l'arc contre un rocher, le taureau dans une maisonnette, une personne agenouillée, une autre assise, un personnage en marche et une représentation de Mithra pétrogénète. Le registre inférieur, enfin, est occupé par les scènes suivantes : Mithra et Sol pendant le repos sacré, Mithra tenant en main un rhyton avec Sol à son côté, puis Sol aidant Mithra à monter sur son bige et Saturne en buste émergeant d'un rocher.

Mentionnons ensuite quatre autres reliefs à trois registres[9]. Le premier[10] représente comme d'habitude, au registre médian, Mithra

[5] M. Vermaseren, *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis mithriacae*, II, 1960, n°s 1935-2005; O. Floca, *I culti orientali nella Dacia*, dans *ED*, VI, 1935, p. 215-218; Al. Popa, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[6] I. Radu, dans *Apulum*, IV (= *Studii și Comunicări*), p. 103, n° 10; I. Berciu et A. Popa, dans *Apulum*, V, p. 189, n° 6; C. Băluță, dans *Apulum*, XII, p. 130-132.

[7] M. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, II, n°s 1935-1938, 1958, 1972, 1974, 1975-1976, 2000.

[8] F. Cumont, dans *RÉG*, XIII, 4, 1893, p. 290-291, fig. 1 et 2; M. Vermaseren, dans *CIMRM*, II, n°s 1974 et 2000.

[9] M. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, II, 1935-1936, 1958-1959, 1972 et 1975.

[10] *Ibidem*, n°s 1935-1936, fig. 505.

taurocione flanqué des deux dadophores; le chien, le serpent et le scorpion sont présents. Puis, à droite, en position verticale, un lion surmontant un cratère; au-dessus, Mithra jeune naissant d'un rocher. A gauche, la même Mithra entraînant le taureau, puis le dieu chevauchant le taureau. Dans le registre supérieur, un buste de Sol, Mithra assis lançant ses flèches contre le rocher, un personnage en costume oriental agenouillé devant un rocher, le taureau dans une nacelle; puis, surmontant sept autels, le taureau dans une maisonnette en forme de cage; plus loin, un bélier et un chien, un personnage debout tenant un bâton, un personnage barbu, incliné et partiellement recouvert d'un manteau, représentant Oceanus ou Saturne; au-dessus de celui-ci, le buste de Luna. Dans le registre inférieur sont conservées les scènes du repos sacré, de Sol aidant Mithra à monter sur son quadrige, de Saturne-Aion le corps entouré d'un serpent, ainsi qu'une inscription dédiée par l'affranchi Euthices à *Deus Sol Mithras* pour la santé de M. Aurelius Timotheus et d'Aurelius Maximus[11].

Le deuxième relief[12] est, dans les grandes lignes, semblable au précédent, aussi n'en mentionnerons-nous que certaines particularités. Ainsi, Oceanus-Saturne est placé à droite du registre central et non au registre supérieur (fig. 3). Dans le registre inférieur, Sol tenant de la main droite un flambeau est à côté de Mithra sur le quadrige. Les différences les plus importantes apparaissent dans le registre supérieur, où l'on relève Sol dans un bige, Mithra debout tenant un bâton ou un flambeau, puis un personnage en costume oriental coiffé d'un bonnet phrygien, les jambes croisées, appuyé sur un bâton incliné (un *pedum*) — probablement Attis; à l'extrémité du registre, Luna dans un bige.

Le troisième relief[13] est, lui aussi, fort semblable aux deux pièces décrites ci-dessus. Voici les principaux détails iconographiques par lesquels il s'en écarte : dans la partie centrale (dont une partie manque), de part et d'autre de la scène du sacrifice, on distingue Sol et Luna; la scène est flanquée de deux colonnes à chapiteaux, motif ornemental plutôt rare dans les monuments mithriaques. Le registre supérieur comprend également quelques éléments nouveaux par rapport à ceux mentionnés jusqu'à présent. Ainsi, au-dessous de la nacelle abritant le taureau, on distingue deux béliers et une chèvre aux pattes

[11] *Ibidem*, p. 278, n° 1936.

[12] *Ibidem*, n° 1972, fig. 513.

[13] *Ibidem*, n° 1958, fig. 512; V. Christescu, dans *Dacia*, III-IV, p. 620-623.

de devant appuyées sur les épaules d'un personnage oriental. Les autres scènes sont celles décrites plus haut. Précisons encore que le monument est dédié à Mithra invaincu par le vétéran Titus Aurelius Marcus, de la XIIIe légion Gemina, ainsi qu'il ressort du texte épigraphique[14].

Il ne serait point exclu que les trois fragments du monument mithriaque signalé par M. Vermaseren au n° 1979 de son catalogue[15] appartiennent également à la catégorie des reliefs à trois registres. Mais étant donné que la plus grande partie du monument manque, nous ne pouvons en donner ici une image tant soit peu complète.

Toujours dans la catégorie des reliefs à trois registres, arrêtons-nous maintenant sur une dernière pièce, un petit bas-relief[16] qui laisse à désirer tant sous le rapport de la qualité de l'exécution que de l'état de conservation (fig. 2). Le registre central est occupé par la scène habituelle du sacrifice, auquel prennent part le serpent et le chien; de part et d'autre, Cautes et Cautopates; en haut, à droite et à gauche, Sol et Luna. Dans le registre supérieur on distingue, quoique difficilement, un personnage en pleine marche et Mithra assis sur un rocher; puis le taureau dans une nacelle en forme de croissant, la maisonnette abritant le même animal, un personnage agenouillé devant un rocher et Mithra naissant du rocher. Le registre inférieur est occupé par Sol et Mithra dans une grotte, les mêmes au moment du repos sacré, puis debout sur un bige, enfin Oceanus. Ce relief porte une inscription dédiée par l'Oriental Euhemedus à Mithra à la suite d'un vœu.

Pour épuiser cette catégorie de monuments, mentionnons encore un fragment de relief découvert ces derniers temps, qui conserve au registre principal le taureau, le serpent, partiellement Mithra, le chien et une partie de la jambe de Cautes; au registre inférieur, Sol, flambeau en main conduisant le quadrige où a pris place aussi Mithra[17].

Une autre catégorie de reliefs mithriaques mis au jour à Apulum consiste en huit pièces comprenant un ou deux registres[18].

Parmi celles-ci, mentionnons d'abord un intéressant autel[19] qui — à part la scène principale, celle de Mithra tauroctone, dont il ne manque

[14] M. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, II, n° 1959; V. Christescu, *op. cit.*, p. 623.
[15] M. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, II, p. 288, fig. 516.
[16] M. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, II, n° 1975, fig. 515.
[17] C. Băluță, dans *Apulum*, XII, p. 130-132, fig. 4.
[18] M. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, II, n°s 1938, 1947, 1954, 1973, 1981, 1986, 1992, 2001.
[19] *Ibidem*, n° 1973, fig. 514.

aucun des éléments iconographiques essentiels — présente au registre supérieur, sur la bordure du monument, entre Sol et Luna qui occupent les angles, sept autels encadrés d'arbres, de poignards et de bonnets phrygiens (fig. 4). On relève de même, dans le coin de droite, le corbeau perché sur une plante qui orne les côtés droit et gauche du relief.

Un deuxième relief[20] montre la scène habituelle du sacrifice dont, point par hasard sans doute, il ne manque que le scorpion. Cette pièce présente une inscription grecque dont il ressort qu'elle a été dédiée au dieu Mithra par Αὐρήλις Στέφανος[21].

Le troisième monument de cette catégorie[22] représente la même scène du sacrifice, malheureusement son mauvais état de conservation interdit des observations plus détaillées.

Mentionnons ensuite, dans la même catégorie de pièces, quatre fragments de reliefs[23] représentant, plus ou moins bien conservés, la scène du sacrifice (fig. 5). Trois d'entre eux gardent partiellement leurs épigraphes[24]. Quant au quatrième fragment, disparu aujourd'hui, il ne nous en reste que le texte de l'inscription en l'honneur de Mithra, due aux deux *conductores armamen(tarii) Turanius Marcellinus* et *An[to(nius)] Senecio Iunior*[25].

L'avant-dernière pièce de cette catégorie est un petit relief[26], déjà publié par M. Vermaseren, qui y distingue le buste de Sol portant une couronne rayonnante.

Nous avons laissé intentionnellement pour la fin le petit bas-relief à inscription découvert par nous en 1956, vu le caractère singulier — reconnu par M. Vermaseren lors de sa visite à Alba Iulia en 1958 — de cette représentation (fig. 6). En effet, le dieu Mithra y est figuré en buste, revêtu d'un manteau agrafé sur son épaule droite par une fibule ronde; il est coiffé du bonnet phrygien. L'inscription montre

[20] *Ibidem*, n° 2001, fig. 524.

[21] *Ibidem*, n° 2002.

[22] *Ibidem*, n° 1938.

[23] *Ibidem*, n°s 1947-1948, 1954-1955, 1981-1982, 1986.

[24] *Ibidem*, n°s 1948, 1955 et 1982. [*Sol*] *invicto* / *Mithrae signum* ... [*Sec*]*unditus ex voto posuit*, ... *imus bene* / *ministrans* / *conservatoribus suis* / *M. Ulp(ius) Linus* ou [*T. Ael.* ?*A*]*mulius imaginifer* / *legionis XIII geminae* ; cf. également V. Christescu, *op. cit.*, p. 620; C. Daicoviciu, dans *Dacia*, VII-VIII, p. 308; Al. Popa, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

[25] M. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, II, n° 1992.

[26] *Ibidem*, n° 1986; cf. A. Buday, dans *Dolgozatok*, VI, 1930, p. 39, fig. 4.

que le monument a été dédié à Mithra invaincu par l'Oriental Potinus, à la suite d'un vœu[27].

Passons à un groupe de trois statuettes (fig. 7) à l'état fragmentaire représentant Mithra pétrogénète[28], sans aucun élément qui s'écarte de l'iconographie habituelle du thème : Mithra naissant d'un rocher, qu'entoure un serpent. Nous croyons pouvoir ranger dans ce même groupe les deux têtes de statuettes représentant, à notre avis, plutôt Mithra pétrogénète qu'Attis ou l'un des dadophores[29].

Une dernière pièce où nous reconnaissons Mithra est un petit relief faisant partie de la base d'un monument, où le dieu chevauche le taureau, tenant de la main droite un flambeau allumé, coiffé d'un bonnet phrygien et son manteau flottant au vent[30].

Une place à part dans l'iconographie mithriaque d'Apulum revient aux deux statues de pierre[31] découvertes parmi les ruines romaines, sur l'emplacement de l'ancienne colonie, *colonia nova Apulensis*, (fig. 8) là où s'élevait selon toute probabilité un *mithraeum*. Elles représentent deux personnages vêtus de costumes orientaux et tenant de la main gauche ce qui semble être un bucrane. Une interprétation complète de ces représentations est impossible, vu leur état fragmentaire.

Toujours ici, mentionons une base de statue à inscription[32].

Les deux derniers monuments se rattachant à l'iconographie mithriaque d'Apulum sont deux autels à inscriptions. Le premier montre sur l'un de ses côtés un dauphin et un trident, peut-être en rapport avec la présence d'Oceanus (fig. 9) sur les reliefs mithriaques; il a été dédié à Mithra invaincu par Dioscurus Marci[33]. Le second présente sur son fronton la tête de Sol à couronne rayonnante et, sur l'un de ses côtés, une patère. L'inscription votive, en l'honneur du même Mithra invaincu, est due à l'Oriental Chrestion[34].

Nous avons tâché — dans les limites de l'espace typographique disponible — de passer succinctement en revue l'iconographie mithriaque d'Apulum, iconographie qui s'intègre entièrement aux canons habituels

[27] M. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, II, n° 2004, fig. 525; Al. Popa, *O tablă votivă luchnitală zeului Mithras*, dans *Omagiu lui C. Daicoviciu*, 1960, p. 443-446, fig. 1.

[28] M. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, II, n°s 1949, 1991 et 1994.

[29] *Ibidem*, n°s 1987 et 1988.

[30] *Ibidem*, n° 1985, fig. 516.

[31] *Ibidem*, n°s 1956 et 1957, fig. 510-511.

[32] *Ibidem*, n° 1970 : [*Sol*]*i invicto* [*et i*]*mperi*.

[33] *CIL*, III, 1113, M. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, II, n°s 1942-1943.

[34] *CIL*, III, 1112, 1390; M. Vermaseren, *CIMRM*, II, n°s 1944-1945.

de ce genre de représentations sculpturales, telles qu'elles sont attestées tant dans la province de Dacie que dans l'ensemble de l'Empire romain.

Toutefois, quelques observations s'imposent. Soulignons d'abord le grand nombre de monuments mithriaques mis au jour, quoique dus pour la plupart à des découvertes fortuites. Compte tenu du volume restreint des recherches archéologiques pratiquées jusqu'à ce jour à Alba Iulia, notamment sur l'emplacement de la *colonia Aurelia*, on est en droit de présumer que les recherches et trouvailles ultérieures enrichiront considérablement le répertoire sculptural et épigraphique de cette divinité.

Quant aux représentations en elles-mêmes, rappelons une idée émise par E. Will[35], selon laquelle les reliefs à trois registres ont leur origine sur le territoire de la Dacie, fait que nous estimons des plus intéressants pour l'évolution générale de l'iconographie mithriaque.

Mentionnons encore une fois le petit bas-relief à inscription découvert en 1956, intéressant par son unicité dans l'ensemble de l'iconographie mithriaque, et plus particulièrement pour ce que cette unicité implique sur le plan local, à savoir qu'il a très probablement existé à Apulum des ateliers autochtones de sculpture monumentale[36], fait qui confère une note hors du commun aux manifestations culturelles-artistiques de cette cité.

Enfin, une remarque qui s'impose d'ailleurs d'elle-même : le nombre considérable d'adorateurs de Mithra attestés à Apulum, centre qui occupe le deuxième rang dans la hiérarchie des découvertes mithriaques de Dacie.

[35] *Le relief cultuel gréco-romain*, Paris, 1955, p. 395.

[36] H. Daicoviciu, *Coroanamentele în formă de trunchi de piramidă pe teritoriul provinciei Dacia*, dans *Apulum*, VII/1, p. 344-345; L. Teposu-Marinescu, *Despre originea unor tipuri de monumente funerare din Dacia Superior*, dans *SCIV*, 23/2, p. 219; Al. Popa, *Orașul roman Apulum*, dans *Alba Iulia 2000*, p. 101.

JAAN PUHVEL

MITRA AS AN INDO-EUROPEAN DIVINITY

Whether by chance or design, the *Proceedings of the First Congress of Mithraic Studies*—apart from Jan Gonda's Indic synopsis in line with his recent book *The Vedic God Mitra* and the Indo-Iranian essays by H.W. Bailey and Paul Thieme—dealt almost exclusively with Iranian and Western Mithraism. Indo-European comparative reconstruction, as it has been practised during the past half-century by Émile Benveniste, Georges Dumézil, Jan De Vries, Stig Wikander, and others, was conspicuously missing. And yet this dimension of Mithraic studies is well deserving of a hearing, the more so since Antoine Meillet's interpretation of Mitra in his 1907 *Journal asiatique* article has remained a landmark for subsequent approaches to both Indo-Iranian and Indo-European comparative mythology. If there has been anything that Paul Thieme and Georges Dumézil could agree on, it is Meillet's notion that the Indo-Iranian Mitra is the personification of contract. This common piece of ground in their epic debate has not obviated such radically divergent approaches as encompass also their disagreements concerning Varuṇa and Aryaman: on the one hand, Thieme's insistence on literal text-interpretation in a monoglossal abstract mold—Contract, True Speech, Hospitality—on the other, Dumézil's theological system-building on an Indo-European scale. As one who admires *Studien zur indogermanischen Wortkunde und Religionsgeschichte* and has greatly profited from the philological methods employed there, it pains me that in the matter of "True Speech" and "Hospitality" I must nevertheless part company with Paul Thieme. "Contract" can stand for Mitra—Wolfgang Lentz and, in particular, Gonda have opposed this interpretation, but it seems to be a possession for evermore, as Thucydides would put it—but a different rendering of Varuṇa and especially Aryaman is in my thinking crucial for an Indo-European interpretation of Mitra as well.

Thus, instead of seconding Thieme's approach to Varuṇa which again ultimately goes back to Meillet, I consider that Abel Bergaigne and Heinrich Lüders were on the right track after all: *váruṇa-* is an adjective like *árjuna-* or *dhariṇa-* and is palpably derived from *vṛ-* 'enclose,

confine, restrict' (in *RV* 7.82.6 Varuṇa actually 'confines' *prá vṛṇoti*): *váruṇa-* is originally an epithet of *Ásura-*, thus 'Lord Confining,' much like the Iranian counterpart is *Ahura Mazdāh* 'Lord Wise.' As such he may indeed personify the Oath, the magical pendant and reinforcement of the Contract: the semantic link is similar to that of Gk. *hórkos* 'oath' beside *hérkos* 'enclosure'[1].

The single proto-meaning 'Hospitality', commonly attributed to *Aryamán-*, is also in jeopardy. The Modern Persian *ērmān* 'guest' and Ossetic *limän* 'friend' are no more reliable guides to the most ancient gloss than are the modern meanings of *mihr* 'sun' and 'friendship, love' for *Mitrá-* (*Aryamán-* and *Mitrá-* being the Indo-Iranian proto-forms). I agree with Thieme[2] that *aryamán-* is an abstract derivative with the suffix **-men* or **-mn* (rather than a compound with the root **men-* 'think') and that there is evidence of its erstwhile neuter character (*RV* 5.29.1), beside the personified god *Aryamán*. It is also well known that the Gathic masculine or neuter use of *airyaman-* is an abstract one in contrast to the post-Gathic personification. But Dumézil seems to me compellingly right in seeing in *aryamán-* the abstract embodiment of the positive self-identification of the social in-group, something like 'aryanhood'. The presence of a well-defined cognate to Skt. *árya-* and Avestan *airya-* in Hittite[3] offers strong support for the Indo-European, rather than inner Indo-Iranian, character of this term. Hitt. *ara-*, of either sex, means 'member of one's group, fellow, peer, friend', implying mutuality, and is even used as a reciprocal pronoun in iteration *arai aran*, like the Slavic *drugū druga* 'each other'. The derivative *âra-* (with long *â*) means 'right, proper', originally 'appropriate to the in-group, communally acceptable, congruent with social order', and is found especially in the interdiction *natta âra* 'it is not right', a phrase which censures "non-Hittite behavior" when, for example, a vassal is told to conform to the Hittite norm. There is also a divinity *Ârai*, clearly a personified abstraction, grouped with

[1] Cf. my remarks in *Indo-European and Indo-European* (Philadelphia, 1970), 380-381. P. Thieme, *Mitra and Aryaman* (New Haven, 1957), 60-61, considered both approaches but opted for the connection with *vratá-* 'vow'.

[2] *Mitra and Aryaman* (1957), 77-81.

[3] See E. Laroche in *Hommages à Georges Dumézil* (Brussels, 1960), 124-128. Cf. also E. Benveniste, *Hittite et indo-européen* (Paris, 1962), 108-110; *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* (Paris, 1969), I, 369-373. Benveniste takes *árya-* to refer to "l'autre moitié d'une société exogamique".

"Abundance" and "Well-being"[4], and, finally, a derived adjective *arawa-* 'free'. It thus seems that Ved. *árya-* and Avest. *airya-* are to be connected not with Ved. *ari-* 'stranger, guest, enemy' (whether it is related to Lat. *alius* or Gk. *éris*) but with a Vedic homophone *ari-*, *aryá-* 'righteous, loyal, devout' and with Indo-Iranian **ara-* 'fitting, proper', seen in RV *Arámati-*, Avest. *Ārmaiti-* 'Right Thought', RV *evárū-* 'truly fitting', Ved. *áram* 'fittingly'. The root connection is uncertain[5] -perhaps it should be compared with Ved. *rtá-*, in the sense 'fit, arrange'- but another lexical match may be present in Gk. (Mycen.) *a-ro-ye* = *áryoes* 'better' and superlative *áristos* 'best'. We may thus postulate an IE noun-adjective **aro-* or **ari-*, **aryo-*, a derivative **âro-* or **ăryo-* (similar to **swékuros* from **swékuros*, cf. German *Schwager* beside *Schwäher*), and an abstract **aryo-mn̥* 'belongingness, propriety', capable of personification as a deity.

Among Western Indo-European counterparts, the Celtic data are notable, Old Irish *aire*, genitive *airech* (consonant stem, but cf. Skt. *āryaka-*) 'free, noble' (Lat. 'optimas' in glosses), Continental Celtic *Ariomanus*, and Old Irish *Eremon*. The comparison of *Eremon* with *Aryamán-* is at least a century old, going back to Adolphe Pictet and Whitley Stokes[6]. It was originally advanced in the wrong form *Airem*, with genitive *Eremon* or *Airemon*, and was so repeated for a long time[7]: the correct nominative *Eremon* was verified by Kuno Meyer in 1912[8] and utilized by Joseph Vendryes in his article of 1918,

[4] ^{D}*Ārat* is attested in *KUB* XVII 20 II 7, ^{D}*Arāt* in *KBo* III 30 Vs. 4, and datives *ANA* ^{D}*Āru* in *KUB* XXX 27 Vs. 14, ^{D}*Āra* in *Bo* 2432, 11. In the god-list *KUB* XVII 20 II ^{D}*Ārat* occurs next to ^{D}*Hinkallat* 'Abundance' and ^{D}*Kelu* 'Well-Being' (for the meaning of the last-mentioned name, see E. Laroche, *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung* 52, 1957, 135, and A. Goetze, *Language* 36, 1960, 466.

[5] There is little Indo-European semantic probability in H. W. Bailey's postulation of an Indo-Iranian *ar-* 'get, possess' or 'beget' ("Iranian *Arya-* and *Daha-*", *Transactions of the Philological Society 1959* [*1960*], *71-115*), although L.R. Palmer ties it in with notions of land tenure and hereditary landed gentry (*Antiquitates Indogermanicae* [Innsbruck, 1974], 11-19).

[6] Cf. e.g. A. Pictet, *Les origines indo-européennes*[2] (Paris, 1877), 1.43; H. Zimmer, *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen*, hrsg. von A. Bezzenberger, 3, 1879, 146 fn. 1.

[7] By E. Windisch, K. Brugmann, P. Kretschmer, H. Güntert, and A. Hillebrandt; cf. the latter's *Vedische Mythologie*[2] (Breslau, 1929), 2.69; also P. Thieme, *Der Fremdling im Rigveda* (Leipzig, 1938), 134, G. Dumézil, *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 124, 1941, 58. In reality *Airem* means 'Ploughman' and has the genitive *Aireman*.

[8] *Revue celtique* 33, 94-95.

"Les correspondances de vocabulaire entre l'indo-iranien et l'italo-celtique"[9]. *Eremon* has the variant spellings *Éremòn*, *Erimon*, *Eirimon*, *Heremon*, *Herimon*: it cannot well be merely an artificial derivative from *Ériu* 'Ireland', as Julius Pokorny[10] and Thomas F. O'Rahilly[11], for example, have claimed. Coupled with the continental Ariomanus, *Eremon* (genitive *Eremoin*) may indeed be a personified thematized variant of an IE **aryo-mn*. But there is also something very specific in the traditions surrounding Eremon. Apart from his conquest of Ireland as the ancestral head of the Sons of Mil, the dossier of Eremon in the *Book of Conquests* involves his role as builder of causeways and royal roads. In the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius, the *Book of Leinster*, the *Book of Lecan*, and some other sources[12], Eremon arranged a cure against poisoned enemy arrows which consisted in pouring cow-milk into furrows on the battlefield[13]; he also provided wives to his allies and arranged for hereditary succession in favor of the Irish, his own people. It is curious and surely more than coincidental that all three traits are distinctly "Aryamanic" in Indo-Iranian terms: Aryaman is connected with roads and pathways from the *Rig-Veda* onward[14]. Airyaman invented the *gaomaēza* ritual

[9] *Mémoires de la Société de linguistique de Paris* 20, 269-270, cf. G. Dumézil, *Le troisième souverain* (Paris, 1949), 167-168, 178-179.

[10] *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern, 1959), 24: so already Kuno Meyer, *Ériu* 1, 1904. *Ériu* (= Welsh *iwerddon*), on the other hand, may have exerted folk- or learned etymological interference on the phonetic shape of *Eremon*.

[11] *Early Irish History and Mythology* (Dublin, 1946), 195-196. Cf. also the more general doubts on the Celtic data of R. Thurneysen (*Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 20, 1936, 353-355), who implausibly connected *aire* with the ethnicon *Arevaces*. The thematic nominative *aireth* 'leader' (gloss *primus*), on the other hand, may reflect a Celtic *areko-* 'in front'; J. Vendryes, *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien* (Dublin-Paris, 1959), A-42-43. F. Specht (*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 68, 1943, 51-52), under the influence of the inner-Indo-Iranian trend of P. Thieme's *Der Fremdling im Rigveda*, also unduly discounted the value of the Celtic data. Regarding *Ariomanus*, see J. Schmitz, *Glotta* 16, 1928, 127-131.

[12] Collected and cited in G. Dumézil, *Le troisième souverain* (1949), 167-186; cf. J. Puhvel, in *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans* (1970), 376-378.

[13] The cathartic properties of cow-milk are known elsewhere in Irish lore: the warrior-madman Suibhne, doing penance in the house of St. Molling, drank milk out of a hole made as a footprint in a pile of cowdung (cf. M. Dillon, *Early Irish Literature* [Chicago, 1948], 99). The sage Corc was sent to Inish Boffin (a locale with Suibhne-associations), to be purified by cow-milk (cf. N. K. Chadwick, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 5, 1942, 150).

[14] Cf. G. Dumézil, *Le troisième souverain* (1949), 141-149, "Aryaman et les chemins"; this trait was of course downplayed by P. Thieme, *Der Fremdling im Rigveda* (1938), 109-123.

consisting of filling furrows with bovine excretions, specifically urine, and both Aryaman, Airyaman and Vidura—Aryaman's epic transposition in the Mahābhārata—are connected with marriage-rituals[15]. Such an east-west accordance, involving Indo-Iranian and Anatolian on the one hand, and Celtic on the other, and comprising mutually reinforcing linguistic, mythological, and areal considerations, greatly strengthens the chances of finding Western traces of the Mitra-figure as well. The name of Mitra as such is of course not found in the West, that is, in Celtic, Germanic, or Italic. The Indo-Iranian Aryaman was clearly satellitic to Mitra, a kind of hypostasis of the Mitra-type proper, an abstraction expressing the self-sense of the community and championing the operation of communal welfare and health, especially in terms of marital compacts and rituals of healing. In the tradition of the Celts, Eremon was the ancestral king of the Irish in their acquisition of the soil, supplanting the Tuatha Dé Danann, the "previous" inhabitants, who are in fact the Celtic gods in epic guise. Thus a curious linear downward projection has replaced the "timeless" level of theological and mythical coexistence of figures such as Mitra and Aryaman. Eremon is in fact a diachronic hypostasis of the King of the Tuatha, appropriately closer to mankind proper, even as Aryaman was in contrast to Mitra. We can observe the same phenomenon in operation in the Tacitean Germanic anthropogony, where Mannus is the son of Tuisto, although in origin Mannus and Tuisto correspond to the Indic pair of reconstructed twins, Manu and Yama[16].

The king of the Tuatha and by implication the Irish Mitra-figure is Nuadu Argatlám, who lost his arm in battle and forfeited his rule until fitted with a silver prosthesis. Here we rejoin by our own route typological assumptions long since made by Dumézil, De Vries, and others. We might call this Western "Mitra" type the Trothkeeper or Peacemaker, a role not alien to Nuadu and expressed by the Old Irish verb *nasc-* 'bind by contract' and the noun *naidm* 'contract'.

[15] Especially in *RV* 10.85 (the *Sūryāsūktam*) and *AV*. For Avestan, cf. esp. G. Dumézil, *Le troisième souverain* (1949), 76–79. P. Thieme, *Der Fremdling im Rigveda* (1938), 123–129, 144, naturally tried to minimize this aspect in favor of the single 'Hospitality' notion. Regarding Vidura, cf. e.g. G. Dumézil, *Mythe et épopée* (Paris, 1968), 1.159–160.

[16] Cf. J. Puhvel, "Remus et Frater," *History of Religions* 15, 1975, 146–157.

cognate with Skt. *nāhyati* 'bind'[17]. In Rome this figure survives on a theological level as Dius Fidius, the patron of trothkeeping, with his temple on the Collis Mucialis[18], and on a euhemerized anecdotal level as Mucius Scaevola, who lost his right hand in fire in a gesture of noble perjury. In terms of dynastic saga-history he appears as Numa Pompilius, who not only institutionalized the cult of *Fides* with priests whose hands were wrapped in the fingers in symbolic mutilation, but whose main achievement was his *tutela pacis* (Livy 1.27.5), his guardianship of peace. Such a figure appears in dynastic projections after a turbulent (and often multiple) founder-level, what Dumézil would call "Varuṇaic", for example, Remus and Romulus in Rome, or Sineus, Truvor, and Rurik in the Old Russian *Nestor Chronicle*. In the latter Oleg, Rurik's successor, is the Mithra-figure; his career is renowned for its treaties and covenants and crowned by his "dwelling in peace with all nations[19]". In the Indo-European epics the peacemaker is usually followed by an aggressive and ruthless warrior, exemplified by Tullus Hostilius at Rome and by Igor in Russia. It is difficult to know how much of this tradition is primary Slavic and how much is of Varangian Norse provenance; Oleg and Igor bear Scandinavian names (from Helgi and Ingvarr). Moreover, parts of Oleg's career seem "Odinic" and thus "Varuṇaic" rather than "Mitraic"[20]. In all likelihood, much as Odin has eclipsed Týr in Scandinavian religion and assimilated his trothkeeping function, in the epic the Oleg-figure is basically "Odinic" but has also incorporated the function of a peacemaker.

In Norse religion Týr is the relatively faded deity who lost his right hand as a pledge in the maw of the wolf Fenrir, forswearing himself so that the beast could be bound until Ragnarök. Snorri's *Edda* (*Gylfaginning* 25) tells the story, adding that Týr is *einhendr ok ekki kallaðr sáttr manna* 'one-handed and is not called a peacemaker',

[17] Nuadu's name is of course unrelated to *naudo*, cf. Welsh *Nudd* and the Old British god *Nodons* or *Nodens* (Lydney Park in Gloucestershire), cognate with Gothic *nuta* 'fisherman' (IE **newd-*) and probably the source of the Arthurian "Fisher King"; cf. J. Vendryes, *Revue celtique* 39, 1922, 384.

[18] Cf. G. Dumézil, *Mitra-Varuna* (Paris, 1948), 139; *L'héritage indo-européen à Rome* (Paris, 1949), 165.

[19] *Russian Primary Chronicle*, year 912: *I živaše Olegŭ mirŭ imĕa ko vsĕmŭ stranamŭ*.

[20] Cf. R. L. Fisher, in *Myth and Law Among the Indo-Europeans* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970), 150-153; J. Puhvel, in *Antiquitates Indogermanicae* (Innsbruck, 1974), 184.

This is a curious negative statement: why *not* a peacemaker? It makes sense only in terms of a disqualification: Týr had really been a peacemaker but had been disbarred because of his perjury-based[21] mutilation, even as Nuadu was deposed as a consequence of his disability. We know from a Latin inscription found near Hadrian's Wall in northern England that Mars, the Roman interpretation of the Continental Germanic **Tīwaz*, had the epithet *Thingsus* and was thus the patron of the judicial assembly, the *þing*. Among the ancient Saxons Tīw-Sahsnōt remained the preeminent deity[22] and had besides him *Irmin*, whose name has also been tentatively connected with *Aryamán-* by Jan De Vries[23]. It is thus possible that in the Germanic area there is also a survival corresponding to the Mitra: Aryaman-pair, but on a theological rather than epic level.

We have essayed a comparison of fringe survivals in the Indo-European East and West. There is another dialectological device which may be brought to bear, namely a study of Late Indo-European common survivals in the Center, which would be mainly coterminous with the dialectal *satem* group (Balto-Slavic and Indo-Iranian), with Greek a presumed early apostate.

In this Center there are no surviving theological, epic, or onomastic congruences outside Indo-Iranian. On the other hand, the etymon of Mitra persists in appellative uses, suggesting that the name of the deity is of relatively late Indo-Iranian adoption. In the *Ṛiḍ mitrē* denotes a metal waistband and lends some support to a base-meaning 'bond, band' among the numerous possible roots which have been postulated for *Mi-trá-*[24]. It is easy enough to dismiss *mitrē* as some

[21] If *Mitrá-* is etymologically connected with the root **mey-* 'exchange, deceive' (as has been plausibly done by A. Meillet and others), it is mindful that German *mein-eid* 'perjury' comes from the same root.

[22] Cf. Jan De Vries, in *Hommages à Georges Dumézil* (Brussels, 1960), 83-95 = *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin, 1965), 151-161.

[23] *Cahiers du Sud* 36, 1952, 18-27; cf. J. Puhvel, in *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans* (1970), 382. This connection, too, was first proposed in the 19th century.

[24] In addition to the four etymologies codified and discussed by M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* (Heidelberg, 1963), 2.634, newer hunches include connections with Gk. *mítron* 'measure' (W. Lentz in *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume* [London, 1970], 254), Old Church Slavic *mĕsto* 'place' (R. W. Bailey in *Mithraic Studies* [Manchester, 1975], 1.15), and Skt. *máyas-* 'restoration, refreshment' (J. Gonda in *Mithraic Studies* 1.51, *The Vedic God Mitra* [Leiden, 1972], 115, *Indologica Taurinensia* 1, 1973, 105-106). See also Mayrhofer, *op. cit.*, 3.778 (1976).

kind of oriental loanword in Greek, but such a tack merely begs the issue and is less plausible when one considers Homeric armor terminology in general.

The Slavic term *mirŭ* is even more significant. It already has the generic translation-meanings (Gk.) *eirḗnē* 'peace' and *kósmos* 'world' in Old Church Slavic, and most of the modern Slavic languages continue the same sense. A somewhat parallel term is *světŭ* which means both 'light' and 'world.' In each case the meaning 'world' is secondary; it has been stunted in the case of *mirŭ* and become dominant with *světŭ* in Polish and Czech where *mir, mier* means 'peace' and *świat, svet* is 'world'; when a Russian slogan reads *mir miru* 'peace to the world', the Czech version says *mier světu*. Thus the meaning 'peace' is basic to *mirŭ* in Common Slavic terms. Yet the "peace" involved is originally not the antonym of "war" but rather the peace of the community, the type of peace which may be disturbed in police reports. Thus in the Old Russian laws, the *Russkaja Pravda*, the meaning of *mirŭ* comes to be that of 'peace community, rural settlement, township'. The semantic link ("peace" > "settlement") is inversely similar to that between Old Russian *gojĭ*, glossed by 'pax, fides, amicitia' (cf. Serbo-Croatian *gȍj* 'peace'), *izgojĭ* 'one who is outside the community'[24], and the Rig-Vedic *gáya-* 'abode, settlement, possessions, livelihood' ("peace" < "settlement"). The semantic range of *mirŭ* is thus quite well circumscribed, and I see no need to subscribe to Helmut Humbach's suggestion[26] that the "multiplicity of meanings" requires an assumption of borrowing from Iranian via a Scythian **mihro-*. Whether *mirŭ*, with its fluctuation between *o-* and *u*-stem case forms, goes back phonetically to **mitro-* or **mitru-*[27], or to **meyro-* or **meyru-* from the same root[28],

[24] Thus 'extracommunal' not 'outlaw,' and therefore not a loan translation of the Norse (Varangian) *utlegr* but a primitive Slavic legal term. Cf. W. Schulze, *Kleine Schriften* (Göttingen, 1966), 201.

[26] *II. Fachtagung für indogermanische und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft* (Innsbruck, 1962), 124-125.

[27] The *u*-stem forms may represent what has been called the Indo-European "sacral *u*." The fate of **-u-* in Slavic is somewhat uncertain: it seems to be stable in intervocalic paradigmatic contexts (*vĕtro-*, etc.), but the parallelism of e.g. **-dl-* (in *rało*, etc.) underscores the possibility of an alternative loss of dental.

[28] Cf. in this case Old Lith. *mieras* 'peace,' and, granted the etymology **mey-* 'exchange,' Lith. *maĩnas*, OCS *měna*, Skt. *mená-* 'exchange', Skt. *mení-* = Avest. *maēni-* 'revenge;' for the *r/n* suffix variation, cf. e.g. OCS *darŭ*, Gk. *dōron*; Lat. *dōnum*.

remains uncertain. On the other hand, [redacted] posit a Slavic origin is more plausible than the assumption that Scythians taught village life to the early Slavs[29]. The Iranian Mithra with his constant Avestan epithet *vouru.gaoyaoitiš* 'wide-pastured' seems more appropriate to pastoral nomadism, whereas the closest parallels to the Old Russian situation are found rather [redacted] the *Rig-Veda*, where Mitra explicitly regulates (*yātáyati*) the tiller-folk (*kṛṣṭír*, *carṣaṇír*: 3.59.1, 6)[30] and is associated with the word *kṣéma-* (7.82.5), literally meaning 'settlement', but more properly 'quiet' or 'security'. The appellative *mitrám* also has an almost hendiadys-like 'peace' meaning [redacted] 2.11.14 *rāsi kṣáyaṃ rāsi mitrám asmé* 'give us settlement, give us peace.' *RV* 4.33.10 reads [redacted] *rāyáḥ póṣaṃ drávināny asmé dhattā ṛbhavaḥ kṣemayánto ná mitrám* 'make increase of wealth a[redacted] possessions for us, Ṛbhus, even as security-seekers make a compact'[31]. Thus the Vedic *mitrá-*, common noun and deity alike, seems [redacted] entail a specific sense of 'peace-compact' or 'peace-giver' in a rural communal context[32]. This is a probable newer feature which Indo-Iranian and Slavic share and which [redacted] at variance with the more "heroic" Western Indo-European notions of the Trothkeeper and the Peacemaker.

[29] According to I. Gershevitch (in *Mithraic Studies* I.81-89), the Scythian version of Mithra was noted for solar characteristics rather than any "peace" notion.

[30] Cf. the epithet *carṣaṇi-dhṛt* in the *RV*, applied [redacted] Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and *víśve devāsaḥ*. V. N. Toporov (in *Pratidānam* [The Hague, 1968], 108-113) has even reconstructed a Proto-Slavic formula "*mirí jatiti* 'gather (people into) a commune', matching the Vedic terms.

[31] Cf. also *RV* 2.4.3: *agnim ... dhuḥ kṣeṣyánto ná mitrám* '(the gods) have set Agni (among the clans of men), even [redacted] those who want to settle set down a compact'.

[32] Cf. the remarks of P. Thieme in *Mithraic Studies* I.32-33.

HANNS-PETER SCHMIDT

INDO-IRANIAN MITRA STUDIES: THE STATE OF THE CENTRAL PROBLEM

0. The increasing interest in Mithraic studies in the widest sense makes it imperative to take stock of the results achieved in the various branches and to focus attention on the problems still unresolved. The present paper is meant as a contribution to this effect. It is not a survey of all the details—this would fill a whole volume -, but is concentrated on what I consider to be the central problem, namely, the meaning of the Indo-Iranian common noun or appellative *mitra* which also serves as the name of the god.

I

1. In 1907 Meillet published his paper "Le dieu indo-iranien Mitra" in which he controverted the then prevalent opinion that this god is a deity of light, more especially the sun, whose moral characteristics as protector of truth and antagonist of lie and error are secondary accretions and that the name of the god became by metaphorical process an appellative[1]. Meillet set out by considering the etymology. According to him the name Mitra-Miθra is not different from the common noun Sanskrit *mitra* m. "friend," *mitra* n. "friendship," Avestan *miθra* m. "contract," Persian *mihr* "friendship." Meillet follows Brugmann in deriving the word from the Indo-European root **mei* "to exchange" which is attested in Sanskrit, Latin, Germanic, Baltic and Slavic. Especially in Old Slavonic *měna* "change, exchange; contract" we find a particularly close semantic parallel to the Avestan *miθra* "contract." Meillet maintained that the deity Mitra is not the "friend," he with whom one has contracted "friendship." One could play on this sense of the word *mitra* in Sanskrit, but it cannot be reconciled with the general character of the deity. Meillet's thesis is that Mitra is the personification of contract just as in Greece Themis and Dikē are personifications of justice. It must be stressed that,

[1] Cf., for example, Spiegel 1864-68: I 118, 1871-78: II 79ff.; W. Geiger 1882: 335; Darmesteter 1892-93: II 41f.; Bartholomae 1904: 1185.

properly speaking, Meillet's study is not a semantic investigation: the appellative meanings "contract" and "friendship" he employs are taken for granted, and there is not even a discussion of their relationship. Meillet seems to have presupposed that the meaning "friendship" derives from "contract." His main concern was to demonstrate that the characteristics of the deity Mitra can be explained by associating them with what he considered the basic meaning of the appellative, *viz.* "contract."

Meillet's article had a tremendous impact, not only as a classic example for the study of the personification of abstract concepts, but also as a crown witness for the view that the original and central meaning of Indo-Iranian *mitra* is "contract." The latter view went virtually unchallenged for a long time. Scholars of otherwise quite divergent theoretical or methodological persuasions repeated it and *Mitra* became one of the few central terms of the Indo-Iranian socio-juridico-religious vocabulary on which a consensus seemed to have been achieved. The etymology has remained a matter of controversy, but this is a minor point, though sometimes illegitimate conclusions have been drawn from hypothetical etymologies.

2. The main objections against Meillet's personification thesis came from scholars of the then older generation. Hillebrandt (1910:123; 1925: 1ff.; 1927-29: II 49) reasserted the view of Eggers (1894) who followed the trend prevalent in the nineteenth century. For Hillebrandt Mitra remained an Indo-Iranian sun-god. He was joined by Oldenberg (1917: 188 n. 3) who stated that Mitra's role as protector of contracts and friendship covenants fits well with his solar nature: the all-seeing eye of the sun watches over the conclusion and keeping of contracts. Thus *mitra* assumed the meaning "alliance, contract," then further in India "ally, friend." Hertel (1927: 219ff.), who assumed the night-sky to be Mithra's original nature, argued that the god's rulership over peace and non-peace is the starting-point of the semantic development: since peace in public and private is conditioned by friendship and this is often based on formal agreements, it is easy to see how Mitra could finally become a common noun meaning "friendship, alliance, contract." Oldenberg and Hertel considered the name of the god as primary, but they did not contest the meaning "contract" for what was, in their opinion, the secondary appellative, while Hillebrandt (1925: 4ff.) also took issue with Meillet and his followers (in particular Güntert 1923) on this count. He maintained

that since in India Mitra does not occur as the protector of the contract in the two—in his opinion—oldest Indian examples where the situation of a contract is given, *viz.* the Tanūnaptra rite, by which priest and sacrificer enter an alliance of mutual fidelity, and the story of Namuci and Indra, where *saṃdhā*, not *mitra*, is used for "contract" or "treaty." Hillebrandt, however, did not contest the meaning "contract" for the Avestan *miθra* since in this field he relied completely on the work of the Iranists.

3. To my knowledge only twice have attempts been made to reconcile the physical aspects of the god Mitra with his moral ones by looking for a meaning and etymology of the word which covers both.

Windischmann (1857: 52f.) was of the opinion that in his physical aspect Miθra is "das geschaffene, alles durchdringende Licht und zwar in seinem Unterschied von Sonne, Mond und Gestirnen aufgefasst" (*Yašt* 10.145; *Nyāyiš̌n* 2.6). In his moral aspect he is "die personifizierte Wahrheit und Treue" which must exist between the different classes, men and countries (*Yašt* 10.115-118). Though he made an attempt to derive the moral aspect from the physical one, he later tried to find a common denominator (56f.). He took the cue for this suggestion from Plutarch's statement (*de Iside et Osiride* 46) and an incorrect etymology. According to Plutarch Mithrēs is the "middle one" (μέσος) between Ōromazēs and Areimanios, and therefore the Persians also call Mithrēs "mediator" (μεσίτης). Windischmann contended that this agrees quite well with the description of the first chapter of the *Bundahišn* where the empty space between the realms of Ohrmazd and Ahriman is called Vāi; according to the Rām-Yašt Vāi is identical with Rāma *vvāstra*, and under this name he is the inseparable companion of Miθra because the air is the nearest substratum of light. Assuming that Miθra means "der Verbinder" in the physical sense this also allows us to account for Miθra's moral function as the representative of truth and fidelity, as mediator in human life who protects and mediates in social intercourse. As the created light he mediates especially the relations of creatures and men to Ahura Mazdā who dwells in the unapproachable light.

An approach to the problem similar to that of Windischmann was taken by Gray (1929: 96f.). He wanted to find a base from which the meanings "compact," "friend," and "sun" may be derived by a

natural and unrestrained semantic development. The most plausible etymology is in his opinion that from *mā* "to measure:" "From *mitrám*, originally meaning 'measurement' was developed *mitrás* 'measurer,' apotheosized as Mitrás-Miθras, the 'Measurer' of (a) the day (i.e., the sun) and (b) of (right) relations between men (i.e., the deity of compacts, and hence of justice and friendship)." Gray was in principle of the view that in any religious development the physical aspect is primary and he accordingly considered Mitra-Miθra as an original solar deity whose special function was measuring the day and whose ethical aspects were developed after his physical characteristics had become fixed.

If a solution in this direction could be proved, we would have much less trouble understanding the god Mitra. The proposals of Windischmann and Gray are, however, open to serious objections. There is no evidence for the assumption that the word *mitra* meant originally "light" or "sun." *Mitra* is not attested in the appellative meaning "light," and since in the Veda and the *Avesta* Mitra-Miθra is not the sun—this meaning is attested only much later—the god's identification with the sun must be based on a secondary development[2]. As an appellative *mitra/miθra* does not occur in a concrete meaning like "measurement," but only in an abstract meaning, so that there is little choice but also to take this as the central and basic aspect of the god.

It must also be mentioned that the school of thought which insisted on the primacy and priority of the natural or physical aspects of gods never deemed it necessary to demonstrate or make plausible by analogies that the name of a god became by metaphorical process an abstract appellative. It is known that the Babylonian sun-god Šamaš was also the guardian of truth and justice, but his name was never used metaphorically in the abstract meanings of truth and justice. I have been unsuccessful in my search for parallels which would leave a chance to the nature mythologists.

4. Though the theory of personification of abstract concepts in archaic societies is still a matter of controversy among philologists and historians of religion, there has been no revival of the approach

[2] The origin of the identification of Miθra with the sun is controversial. Gershevitch (1959: 41) assumed Parthian influence, now (1975: 83f.) he advocates Scythian origin; Gnoli (1974: 133) considers Babylonian influence.

prevalent in the last century. Generally the appellative meaning is nowadays viewed as primary; the meaning of the god's name is taken to be essential for the understanding of his character. I do not intend to enter into a discussion of the personification theory. To view the personification of abstract concepts in an archaic society as analogical to deliberate and conscrious personifications in poetry, as Thieme (1957: 22ff.) does, may oversimplify matters to a certain extent, but I fail to see that his critics have offered a more plausible approach. The exact mental and psychological processes may elude us, but the fact of a personification and deification cannot be denied, and whether we borrow the terms describing the phenomenon from poetics or not is irrelevant.

An intermediate position was taken by Lommel (1927:64f.)[3]. He was of the opinion that the problem of whether the god was originally a sun- and light-god or a god of friendship and fidelity to contracts cannot be resolved in a cogent and generally convincing way and that it is more important to determine that he combined both functions. In contradistinction to Rašnu, the spirit of justice, who was conceived as an abstract deity, Mitra was, in Lommel's opinion, from the beginning a full personality who had several functions, one of which need not have developed from the other[4]. This attitude is rather evasive: it leaves one wondering why apparently unconnected functions should be attributed to a god who bears a name whose meaning accounts only for one of these functions.

An attempt to bridge this gap was made by Kuiper (1961: 53; cf. 1959: 211f.) who seeks the solution in the concept of a cosmic contract (cf. Kristensen 1946: 22f.). According to him the god Mitra was the god of deliverance, that aspect of the nether world that is turned towards the upper world and who cooperates with the heavenly gods, connecting as mediator *par excellence* both cosmic moieties and as such the personified Contract that realizes the totality by a balance of the antagonistic forces. Irrespective of the question whether Kuiper's conception of Indo-Iranian cosmology is correct or not, his approach does not invalidate that of Meillet and Thieme. There is general agreement that the god Mitra and the appellative

[3] Geldner, in a very brief remark (1881: 484), seems to have expressed a view quite similar to that of Lommel.

[4] Schlerath (1961: 230) says that Lommel takes Miθra as an epithet of the god (like *Šakra*, of Indra), but this does not entirely agree with Lommel's own words.

mitra are concerned with peace which creates wide and free space for living by eliminating narrowness caused by enemies. From this one can conclude that the cosmic function of deliverance was modeled after the human example. The fact that the word *mitra* is used appellatively only in the abstract sense of "contract, alliance" (or whatever term may finally be found more appropriate), the view that the abstract is the starting point of the development remains preferable. This rational conclusion does not of course deny the fact that the Indo-Iranians who believed in the God Mitra considered the god as the source of every human *mitra* or saw in every human *mitra* a manifestation of the principle represented by the god.

5. Hillebrandt's refusal to accept "contract" as the original and central meaning of the appellative *mitra* was probably also motivated by the fact that in Sanskrit lexicography, native and Western, this meaning was not recorded at all. The notion "contract" seems to have found its way into the interpretation of the Vedic *mitra* via the Avestan equivalent *miθra*. In the earliest period of Avestan research this notion did not yet occur. Anquetil Duperron (1771 : II 609) defined the deity Miθra in the following way: "... c'est Mithra, le Génie qui préside à la fertilité de la Terre, l'Ized de la bienveillance, l'ennemi de la couleuvre qui seme l'envie et la mort; c'est lui qui est chargé de faire naitre et d'entretenir cette harmonie entre les différentes parties du Genre-humain." Windischmann (see § 3) defined the abstract concept as truth and fidelity.

The term "contract" ("Vertrag") was, to the best of any my knowledge, first introduced in 1859 by Spiegel who derived it from a Zoroastrian *Rivâyat* (*Codex Anquetil* XII 95) where the six kinds of *mihrdruž* (based on *Vendidad* 4) are interpreted as the breaking of a promise (*qaul*), contract (*paymân*) or bargain (*bai'*) (Spiegel 1852-63: II lv and note)[5]. The term "contract," with slight variations like "agreement" or "covenant," was generally adopted from this moment without discussion or controversy, neither between Parsi and Western scholars nor among the latter themselves, though many scholars continue to use "fidelity" side by side with "contract" (*e.g.* Lommel 1927; Jackson 1928:59; Boyce 1969 *etc., passim*).

[5] Earlier (I 92 n. 1) Spiegel had used the term "promise" ("Versprechen").

The meaning "contract" was codified by Bartholomae in his dictionary (1904:1183). He gave "Vertrag, Abmachung" and only for the single Gathic occurrence of the word a slightly different connotation, *viz.* "religiöse Bindung, Verpflichtung". For *miθrō.drug* he has "den *Miθra* belügend, betrügend", auch sva. "den Vertrag brechend" with reference to a Modern Persian Zoroastrian text (Sachau 1872: 848.2; cf. 849.4) where *mihrdruž* is glossed as *qaul šikastan nām (i) div(i) ziddi Mihr Īzad ast, qaul šikanad.* "Mihrdruž 'to break a promise' is the name of a demon, the antagonist of the deity Mihr; he breaks the promise." Bartholomae seems to have assumed a distribution of the two meanings, "contract" on the one hand and "religious bond, obligation" on the other, on the basis of religious and profane contexts, but there is no evidence that for the speakers of the language such a distinction existed. Later scholars did not take up this approach, but generally viewed the religious contexts from the standpoint of the contract theory as well.

6. The scholarly peace regarding the appellative meaning of Avestan *miθra* was disturbed by Herzfeld (1947: 467ff.). Though admitting the connotation "contract, promise" in specific contexts, he came to the conclusion (482ff.) that "miθra does not signify 'contract,' it is the moral obligation upon which the society was founded." He maintained that "there is no difference between the Ved. n. pr. mitra, mitrah 'friend', and the Iran.n.pr. miθra, nor between Ved. mitram 'friendship' and the Aw.m.sg. miθra, the Gath.pl. miθra. The god bore the name Mitra already in the Aryan epoch, not as a pale personification of the notion 'contract' ... but as 'the friend'. In NP 'mihr, love, friend' the original meaning is maintained to the present day." He further claimed that "the words in the beginning of the Karnamak Art., 'he made mihr u dōstīh with Ardashir' have the full sociological meaning of Roman societatem et amicitias, or as Oir. miθra and rvaθa."

The view of Herzfeld was rarely even noticed. I myself (1958: 116) dismissed it because the apodeictic statements and the generalizing comparison with Roman institutions seemed implausible to me. I did not see how and why the concept "contract" should be inadequate to serve as the basis of moral obligations of Aryan society. The same position had independently been taken by Thieme (1957: 24) who explicitly referred to the "contrat social." For Thieme and myself the meaning "friend" which *mitra* has in Sanskrit was easily conceivable as a development from "contract partner."

However, Gershevitch (1959: 30, 41 n. 3), who otherwise subscribes to the contract theory, considers Vedic *mitra* "friend" as an accidental homonym of the name of the god and, together with NP *mihr* "love, friendship, affection, kindness," connects it etymologically with Russian *milyi* "dear."

Actually the contract theory was so firmly established in the minds of many scholars that for a long time it was not even deemed necessary to test it in detail in the Rgvedic occurrences of the appellative. The first attempts in this direction were made by Renou (1958: 50ff.) and myself (1958: 37ff.).

7. On the part of the Iranists the problem was taken up again by Lentz. In a study on a particular passage of the *Mihr-Yašt* (1964: 123) he expressed doubts with regard to the generalized idea of the "social contract." In his study of the social functions of the Old Iranian Mithra (1970: 246) he raised the general objection that, though contractual situations and institutions are widely attested in the Ancient Near East, "they have been poorly confirmed among Old Iranians." He further points out that "a unified concept, term and theory of contract have not been evolved even in the far more highly developed legal systems such as those of the Babylonians, Roman and even some modern societies." He then proceeds to discuss two of the Avestan passages hitherto considered as cornerstones of the contract theory. In the list at *Yašt* 10.116 the interpretation of the *miθra* between two fellow-students, two brothers, father and son *etc.* as "contract" would be far-fetched since it comprises blood-relationships. It must be admitted that this is a serious obstacle for the contract theory which earlier had not been adequately considered. The list culminates in the *miθra* of the Mazdayasnian Religion. This was interpreted by Gershevitch (1959:268) as the contract between the religion and the faithful. Lentz (1970:248) rightly pointed out that grammatically the expression differs from the preceding ones which all state a relationship between (*antara*) two partners, and he maintained that it "can only refer to Mithra or a mithra as identical with or possessed by or directed towards the religion." Lentz concluded that the common denominator of the relationships "may be 'piety' in the broad sense of reverence for the godhead and regard for religious obligations including dutiful respect or regard for parents and others."

The decisive proof for the meaning "contract" has always been seen in the fourth chapter of the *Vendidad* which gives a systematic

list of *miθras* and the punishment for their violation. These *miθras* were generally understood as business agreements, and this interpretation seemed to be corroborated by close ancient Indian parallels (Spiegel 1876: 567; Lüders 1917) though in the Indian material the term *mitra* does not occur. Lentz (1970: 242ff.) challenged this view by a fresh analysis of the whole chapter which had hitherto been considered as a compilation of disconnected pieces. He started out with the working hypothesis that it forms a structural unity and arrived at the conclusion that the list constitutes "a formal scale made up of comparisons with objects of daily life," and that the six measures "have no immediate connexion with the content of *miθra*." An example for the violation of a *miθra* occurs only at the end of the chapter: conscious perjury, expressly stated to be an offence against Miθra and Raśnu, and the punishment is equal to the third grade of para. 13 ("sheep-size"). Miθra is known as guarantor of truth in general and especially of the holiness of oaths. In Lentz's opinion paragraphs 49-55 paraphruse the key-words *nəmah* "respect" and possibly *miθra* (if we adopt the reading presupposed by the Pahlavi translation) in paragraph 1. "Respect" is a notion related to "piety," and Lentz takes this as an argument in favour of his interpretation of *miθra* which he finally defines "as the striving of man to act according to the religion by telling the truth and by behaving in a balanced way and with liberality towards his neighbour." He does not exclude the possibility that the meaning of *miθra* may occasionally have been narrowed down to "contract," but this would be easily derivable from the more general concept. Middle Persian *mihr* sometimes occurs in parallel to *pašt* "stipulation" or *paymān* "measure," used also for "agreement." However, Lentz insists, "the latter word (*paymán*) is, above all, the formula for the ethics of the holy 'Books', the 'mean'." Finally Lentz pointed out that on the Indian side the picture is similar to the Iranian one. Here we have *mitra* "friend, friendship" which is supposed to have developed within Sanskrit from "contract." The existence of the meaning "friendship" in Modern Persian, raises the question as to whether this connotation was not already present in Indo-Iranian.

In his latest remark on the problem Lentz (1975: 133) suggested that the later developments of *mitra/miθra* (*mihr*) which centre around the concept "love, benevolence, compassion" may be the starting point for the detection of continuity in Mit(h)ra(s)'s character. An important element of this kind of friendly affections seems to him to be the balance of mind and mood.

8. On the part of the Indologists the contract theory was challenged by Gonda in five publications (1971; 1972; 1973; 1974; 1975). Gonda contends that the "Vedic Mitra is the god who puts things right, who, while peacefully maintaining the fundamental and universal order, regulates the contacts between men and the divine powers, the god who keeps the manifestations of that order in the right condition, who stabilizes, redresses, adjusts, restores, appeases, who also unites men" (1973: 71ff.; cf. 1972: 109). Gonda rejects the view that Mitra is the personified contract mainly because he has not succeeded in discovering unmistakable traces of contracts, pacts or covenants in the proper senses of these terms in the Vedic texts. What Gonda gives in his formulation of the character of Mitra is a distributive description of the god's activities as he sees them, rather than an attempt to define the central function, the common denominator of these activities. Gonda translates the appellative, or rather the two appellatives, as "friend, ally" and "friendship, alliance," thus returning to the meanings given by Boehtlingk and Roth in the Petrograd dictionary. The relationship between this general meaning and the activities of the god Mitra are described as follows: "as far as the Veda is concerned there is a god Mitra and an appellative *mitra* which expresses the main idea the god stands for, *viz.* the maintenance, without wrath or vengeance, of right, orderly relations, manifestations of which were, first and foremost, the active benevolence and willingness to help and redress. The Vedic 'friend' is an ally or supporter, but the term 'alliance' suggesting reciprocity, is hardly applicable because it is comparatively rare in the dual and plural ... What is called *mitram* 'friend' or 'friendship', whether denoting a person or an affective relationship to a person, may be understood as manifestations or representatives of the idea the god stands for." (1972: 112ff.) The opposition to Varuṇa, crucial for the understanding of the Vedic god Mitra, is summed up by Gonda in the formula that Varuṇa is the representative of the static aspect of kingship and the guardian of *ṛta* ("order" according to Gonda) while Mitra is rather the maintainer of *ṛta* while Mitra is rather the maintainer of *ṛta*, the one who keeps its manifestations in the right condition (1972: 109; cf. 1974: 207).

Gonda's studies have made the widely dispersed material available also to the non-Sanskritist and will probably be referred to by non-specialists more than any other studies, but they are open to serious objections. His method of arriving at the central meaning of a word is by all standards of semasiology insufficient: he adds up possible

context connotations instead of really trying to find a common denominator. He contradicts himself not only in minor details, but also in essential points. His contention that *mitrá* (in contradistinction to *sakhyá* "companionship, friendship") does not imply reciprocity is an obvious error: the rarity of the use of Vedic *mitra* m. in the dual or plural is no proof for it. If it were, the translation of the term as "friend" or "ally"—even in parenthesis as Gonda consistently does—would be absurd. While treating the use of *mitra* n. "friend, ally" in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* Gonda (1973: 101 f.) maintains that contracts or (peace-)treaties (*saṃdhi*) are not concluded with a *mitra*, but rather with an enemy (*ari*). This is only to be expected. But that a *mitra* "ally" can be acquired also through a treaty is explicitly stated in the text (7.18.29), quoted by Gonda himself.

Gonda (1972: 37, 67) tries to minimize the importance of passages where Mitra is explicitly introduced in connection with agreements and contracts as in *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* 2.1.8.4 where a white animal should be offered to Mitra by somebody who desires an agreement (*samaya*). Through this sacrifice one is brought together with one's *mitra*. Rather than seeing here the central function of Mitra, Gonda views it as a specific instance of redress, reparation or maintenance of order. Since the agreement here explicitly refers to the outbreak of a conflict and the person with whom the *samaya* is effected is called *mitra*, the passage denotes a settlement or conciliation with people with whom the *mitra*-relationship had already existed. The redress then can only refer to the restoration of the earlier conclusion of the *mitra* in which no redress, but simply the alliance, was involved. Gonda has obviously confused the basic function of Mitra, *viz.* to create not yet existing *mitra*-relationships, with the derived one, *viz.* to protect and maintain them.

Why Gonda (1973: 92) speaks of instances of *mitra* in the *Ṛgveda* "which, perhaps with some exaggeration may be regarded as belonging to a military or political sphere of thought," is not clear at all, since the term occurs in such contexts with great frequency. *Mitrá* and *amitra* refer to "friends" and "enemies," and the latter term in particular is characteristically applied to enemies in the military sense.

In his attempt to incorporate the concomitant association of "benevolence" in the meaning of *mitra* Gonda occasionally goes so far as to translate the term by "benevolence" itself (1973: 90). A more detailed interpretation of the passage concerned (*Ṛgveda* 9.96.6) will be given below (§ 28). It is still more curious that Gonda refers to

the passage of the *Saramā*-hymn (10.108.3) where the Paṇis want to conclude a *mitra* with Indra and make him their *gopati* "lord of cows". Here it is clear that a contractual situation is implicit: the Paṇis want to make a peace-settlement.

While constantly emphasizing the implication of affection inherent —in his opinion— in the concept of *mitra*, Gonda (1972: 73) all of a sudden stresses the lack of affective connotation in *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* 3.7.2.4: in this passage Mitra is now "the supervisor and regulator of contacts between human beings and other entities" rather than a "friend" in the sense of "a person for whom one entertains feelings of affection." In fact, we have an instance where Mitra acts as "mediator."

When Agni is called a *mitra* among men, this refers rather to his being a messenger and mediator sent by the gods to men than to the favours he distributes, as Gonda has it (1973: 88f.). The favours are the result or effect of his presence among men since he mediates all divine favours.

As to Vedic *mitradruh* Gonda contends that the compound does not mean "deceiving or belying the *mitra*", but "hurting, injuring a friend" (1972: 98 n. 4), actually following Hillebrandt's interpretation the inconclusiveness of which will be shown later (§ 9). Gonda also claims that *mitradrohin* in the *Mahābhārata* is not synonymous with Avestan *miθrō.druj* (1973: n. 77), without making clear what he means to say. Apparently he refers to the fact that in later Sanskrit *mitra* is not used any more as an abstract and that the root *druh* does not still mean "to deceive, lie," but "to harm, injure." He is definitely in error when he suggests (1972: 107 n. 2) that *druh* already means "to harm" in the *Ṛgveda*. The original meaning "to deceive, lie" can be demonstrated from the Ṛgvedic contexts themselves, and the Iranian parallels support this conclusion (cf. Thieme 1973: 339f.).

These examples will suffice to show that Gonda's treatment of the problem is so unsatisfactory that it is an unsafe guide particularly for the non-specialist. He has completely failed to give a systematic and consistent argument of his case. Even though it may be granted that he has made some stray observations worth following up, it is difficult to sort them out. In his zeal to disprove the contract theory he has completely ignored the close relationship of alliance and contract.

But for rare exceptions Gonda neglects the Iranian evidence. This procedure is justified since the Vedic meaning can and should first be established on the basis of internal evidence. On the other hand it

is inadmissible to propose, as Gonda does (1973: 106f.), a new etymology on the basis of the Indian material alone, all the more since the word *mitra* was no longer connected with any relative in the associative system of the language.

9. Thieme (1938: 139f.) had objected to the translation of *mitra* by "friendship" since in *Ṛgveda* 10.34.14 the gambler does not ask the dice for "friendship," but for "peace," and in 10.108.3 the Paṇis do not want to establish "friendship" with Indra, but rather make a "settlement;" peace and settlement are more readily understood as connotations of "contract" than of "friendship." In his "Mitra and Aryaman" (1957) he dealt in detail with the god Mitra/Miθra by trying to show that many functions of the deity are explicable in terms of a derivation from the appellative meaning of the name, "contract," thus supplementing and deepening Meillet's sketch*. In his paper "The concept of Mitra in Aryan belief" (1975) he presented the most clearcut and detailed defence of the contract theory so far. He defines the term *mitra* as "an agreement between persons or parties of a solemn and binding character," comprising "family agreements (in particular, marriage contracts), promises of rewards, the conclusion of a personal friendship, the pact between a stranger and his host, and the agreement by which a messenger or mediator becomes inviolable" (1975: 23f.). He insists that "we have to leave in the background, or even forget about, certain legal and legalistic ideas that present themselves to us so easily and naturally in the context of 'contract' ... The validity of a modern contract is enforced by law and worldly jurisdiction, in Indo-Iranian antiquity a 'contract' is protected by its sacredness: it is watched over by a god or gods or defended by magical powers". While Gonda denies that the sense of the masculine appellative *mitra* as "ally" in the *Ṛgveda* implies a contract, Thieme considers this sense as evidence for the underlying meaning "contract." Lentz had rejected "contract" as the central meaning of Avestan *miθra* partly on account of the list in *Yašt* 10.116-117 where we hear *inter alia* of the (or a) *miθra* between brothers, father and son. Thieme maintains that *miθra* does not here refer to the blood-relationship, but to a *miθra* between brothers, father and son *etc.*, if they choose to conclude such a *miθra*, and thus the

* Cf. also Thieme 1959: 147; 1960a: 273f.; 1960b: 306f. Gershevitch (1959: 26ff.) follows in principle the same line of reasoning as Thieme.

meaning "contract" is justified in this context. The classification in this passage is then not one of "human relationships" (Lentz), but of different "contracts" whose kind is determined by the relationship in which the partners stand before they conclude a contract[7].

Thieme then proceeds to reconstruct certain idioms (26f.). "To break a contract" is in Avestan *miθrəm jan* "to smash a contract" or *miθrəm druj* "to belie a contract" (actually: "to show, by breaking a contract, the contractual vow one has given at the conclusion to have been a lie" or "to turn it into a lie"). Both have counterparts in Old India: the name of a demon Mitraghna: *mitradruh* in classical Sanskrit (cf. also *mitradroha, mitradrohin*) is understood as "he who harms a friend." In the older language *druh*, as Old Iranian *druj*, is still used in the sense "to deceive, to harm by deceit," and *mitra* n. in the sense of "contract". This becomes evident, in Thieme's opinion, from the story of Indra and Namuci (*Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā* 4.3.4; *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* 1.7.5). We should recall that Hillebrandt used this same story as proof for the opposite view and Gonda has now joined him. Strictly speaking, the passage does not prove either view: the word *mitradruh* is spoken by the severed head of Namuci when rolling after Indra. It can be translated either way and there is no clue in the context that gives us an indication as to what the author specifically intended. The word *saṃdhā* "treaty" used for the contractual situation only shows that Indra and Namuci had made a peace treaty. Nor is the use of the term *sakhi* "companion, friend," upon which Hillebrandt relies, of more relevance. By the *saṃdhā* Indra and Namuci become *sakhi*, and conceivably also *mitra*, or *mitra* resumes *saṃdhā* as a quasi-synonym, substituting it by the more solemn and possibly also more general term. A decision is not possible. One may argue that *mitradruh*, in all probability historically identical with Avestan *miθrō.druj*, has retained its original meaning, but one could equally well argue that, since *mitra* n. is no longer attested as an abstract in the *Brāhmaṇas* (being replaced by *mitradheya*), it should mean "friend deceiver." Thieme views the passage in the light of *Yašt* 10.2: "he harms the whole country, the contract deceiving knave," since Indra has not just "harmed a friend," but committed an unforgivable crime and thereby endangered the whole heavenly world. Though the analogy is striking, it cannot establish the meaning "contract deceiving" for *mitradruh* in the *Brāhmaṇas*.

[7] A similar interpretation was already given by Tarapore 1930: 617.

An Avestan idiom for "to conclude a treaty" is *miθrəm fras* (med.), literally, according to Thieme, "to mutually ask for the contract/contractual word (from one another: abl.)," which has a counterpart in *Ṛgveda* 4.18.2cd, where however the object *mitrám* does not occur. The comparison is convincing; I would only suggest that the agreement Indra makes is not necessarily a compact of peace since it can as well be an agreement on an alliance in war.

The rest of Thieme's paper summarizes and supplements his earlier studies on certain functions of the god Mitra in relation to the appellative meaning. In an appendix he gives a selection of Vedic passages and attempts to demonstrate the specific contract situations which are presented to justify his contention that *mitrá* primarily means "contract". In most of these passages Gonda emphatically denies any relation to a "contract."

10. Kuiper has reviewed the three major publications on the subject and stated his own position on the problems involved. His reaction to the approach of Thieme and Gershevitch has already been mentioned (§ 4). In reviewing Gonda (1972) Kuiper states that Gonda's emphatic denial that *mitrá* ever means "contract" in the Veda "imposes on every scholar who endorses Meillet's view the obligation to reconsider the whole Vedic evidence in the light of the interpretation Gonda here offers of it" (1973: 224). The review was written before the publication of Gonda's supplementary study of 1973 and it is very guardedly formulated. Kuiper convincingly refutes Gonda's hypothesis (1972: 114ff.) that the god's name should not be regarded as a development from the neuter and interprets it instead as "the dispenser of active benevolence par excellence" in analogy to Greek δαιτρός "*der* Vorschneider": δαιτρόν "one's portion." To Kuiper's arguments, based on prehistoric reconstruction, it may be added that the hypothesis of Gonda fails to account for *mitrá* n. "friend, ally," in use from the *Atharvaveda* onwards, which is best explicable on the assumption of metonymical transfer. The Ṛgvedic *mitrá* m. is an innovation which remained restricted to the "dialect" of this text. The Avesta masculinized the abstract*. Gonda's supposition (1972: 115 n. 5) that "the neuter with an (older) sense 'manifestation or representative of friendly benevolence' may perhaps

* The arguments adduced against Gonda apply also to the remarks of Humbach 1960: 255 n. 5.

be retained owing to a tendency to differentiate the noun from the name of the god" only complicates matters unnecessarily.

Kuiper offers some observations of his own on the meaning of the appellative. He emphasizes that it has something to do with peace (229f.) and concludes that the meaning "alliance" would be more appropriate than "friendship." He surmises that the phrase *mitrá ná, mitrá iva* "like a *mitrám* Mitra" is due to Agni's function of an intermediary between gods and men and suggests that in this connection the expression *jáne mitró ná* might deserve closer examination in the light of the sense of *jánu* as "foreign people." The meaning "alliance" is supported by the survival of *mitra* in Classical Sanskrit as a technical term for the king's ally. Kuiper also contends that the expression *mitrám dhā* "shows that a formal act was needed to establish this relation, whereas for *sakhyám* 'friendship' no corresponding term occurs." Gonda claims that there is reciprocity in *sakhyá*, but not in *mitrá* (1972: 112; 1973: 83). In my opinion neither view is plausible. I have already refuted Gonda's contention. *Sakhyá* is a closer relationship than *mitrá*, but the expression *mitrám dhā* as such does not imply anything about a specific formal act. Indeed a formal act is attested in the *Ṛgveda* for both *mitrá* and *sakhyá* (see below § 35 end).

11. Slavic *mir* is attested in two meanings, "peace, concord" and "community, world" and is potentially of great importance for the understanding of the background and development of the concept of *mitrá/miθra* if it could be ascertained whether the word is either etymologically related or a borrowing from Iranian. Toporov (1968: 188ff.) maintains that the Vedic proper name Viśvāmitra and Avestan locutions like *Yašt* 10.120 *miθrō vispō nuzdayasnanqm* ... find their correspondence in Old Czech *vsego mira* and that *mitró jánam* (*jánân*) *yatati* (*vātayati*) is paralleled by the use of Slavic *jato, -a* "*agmen, grex*" which is to a certain extent used synonymically with *mirъ*. In his opinion the latter allows the probable reconstruction **mirъ jatiti* "to gather (people into a) community" (and similar phrases) which corresponds exactly to the Indo-Iranian expression. Apart from the fact that the reconstructed phrase is not exactly parallel to the Indo-Iranian one, the combination is arbitrary speculation. The first comparison with regard to Viśvāmitra is of far too general a character to prove anything.

12. Bailey (1975: 15) sees in the root *yat* "to place in proper place, to control, marshal, tame," a gloss of the obsolete root *mit* from which the name of the god is derived in his opinion. *Mitra* "friendship" derives, according to Bailey, from *mai:mi* "to be kindly", and Avestan *miθra* "mutual contract" from *mai:mi* "to exchange". Thus we would have to assume three homonyms which were secondarily contaminated. Though theoretically the existence of homonyms is not to be rejected offhand, in the case of *mitra* there is no indication that the different connotations or meanings scholars believe to have discerned were ever distinguished by the speakers of the language: the term *mitra* was understood to belong to one single concept. The only homonym known is *mihr* in the meaning of "sun" and this is clearly derived from the name of the god who had become identified with the sun.

13. Having followed this survey of the various opinions on the meaning of Indo-Iranian *mitra*, the reader will be left in confusion. The main problem, however, can be stated in rather simple terms: Is a more general meaning like "friendship"—or something similar, still to be accurately defined—the original one, of which "contract" is a specialized connotation, or is "contract" the original meaning, of which "friendship" or the like is an extension?

The latter solution, most consistently and persuasively advocated by Thieme, presupposes that the more general meaning attested in both the later Indian and Iranian sources is due to convergent developments. The former solution, advocated by Herzfeld and Lentz, presupposes that the connotation "contract" was present in Indo-Iranian as a contextual connotation or specialization of a more general notion. Gonda, who maintains that there is not any Vedic passage requiring the sense "contract," carries things to an extreme though he recognizes that *mitra* frequently stands for alliances which, it must be added, can hardly exist without an agreement or the consent of both parties. That *mitra* denotes contract situations has not been disproved by Gonda. The methodical shortcomings of Gonda's work rather contribute to the confusion of the issue.

I am under the impression that much of the present controversy is not so much based on different methodological approaches, but rather on a confusion of the terms in our own languages. The word "contract" has for many a rather narrow application, and this is to a

large extent caused by its terminologization in the civil law codes where a contract refers only to the agreements made on specified legal transactions. Thieme (1957: 18 n. 8.; 1975: 22) has tried to forestall objections based on such a misunderstanding. The proposal of Lentz (1970) found little resonance because "piety" in the sense used by him is so archaic in English that it does not evoke any adequate association with the contexts in which *mitra/miθra* appears.

14. A serious objection against the contract theory was raised by Lentz (1970: 246) on the ground that a unified concept of contract has not been developed in other archaic societies. The weight of this objection should not be underestimated. In the post-Vedic law codes no unified contract theory was evolved. Kane (1946: 411) remarks: "Our writers [i.e. the *dharmaśāstra* authors] do not set out with an analysis of the conception of contract in general." Though they apparently evolved certain general principles about contracts – which can be deduced from their treatment of the conditions for contracts – they have no standard term for "contract" as such. We find terms like *vyavahāra* which is very general and signifies any legal transaction, from the legally valid property transaction to the juridical procedure, *samaya* "agreement, convention," *saṃvid* "consent, compact, established usage," *saṃdhā* "treaty, contract," also the word *bhāṣā* "speech" is used in the sense of "promise, agreement," and so is *kriyā* "deed" and *karaṇa* "business". If no general term for contract in the narrow sense of civil law existed in the times of the *dharmaśāstra*, it is difficult to imagine that there was one in Indo-Iranian times which did not only comprise the contract in civil law but also that in public or constitutional and international law. Furthermore, provided that *mitra* really did mean "contract" in Indo-Iranian, we would be faced with the problem that the term fell into oblivion in post-Vedic times. This would be a retrogressive development.

Lentz did not pursue in detail the problem he raised, but restricted himself to referring to general works on legal history and some specialized studies on Ancient Near Eastern law. Because the problem is of principal and fundamental importance, it is useful to discuss the matter at some length though it is not possible to investigate it in all its complex ramifications.

15. Also among the historians of law, sociologists and anthropologists who have propounded theories about the development of

the contract concept we meet with the difficulty of terminology. Some use the term "contract" in the very narrow sense of contractual business or commercial transactions while others apply it to a much wider variety of human relationships. Thus Diamond (1971: 379) states: "In the law of the Late Codes, in England, Rome, Babylonia and Assyria, in India and China, in Hebrew and Islamic law, we must still not talk of contract, but of transactions, that is to say, transfers. The history of primitive contract is the history of primitive commerce." We must also take into account that the contract concept is often one-sidedly used in the sense of individual transactions (e.g. Hoebel 1954: 328), and that Maine's famous generalization "from Status to Contract" overshadows the field. Some authors include international relations, others do not. This makes it difficult to find all the material which might prove of relevance for our purposes.

Seagle is not over-restrictive in his terminology, and since his work is one of the most general histories of law, I shall discuss the picture he draws of the development of the contract concept.

Seagle (1946: 41, cf. 68f.) recognizes that the first compositions were doubtless voluntary and the amounts were fixed by agreement. Sometimes the composition was accepted before any act of retaliation and sometimes only as the *quid pro quo* of the treaty of peace which follows retaliation[9]. Nevertheless he plays down the contractual element because he has defined "contract" in a purely theoretical way, based on the idea that archaic law is primarily a law of wrongs or of tort or delict while mature law is primarily a law of obligations derived from the agreement of individuals. In archaic law the breach of a contract is treated as a wrong while in mature legal systems even a wrong is frequently treated as a violation of a "quasi-contract" (1946: 252). This is theoretical fiction since commonly murder and theft are not understood as violations of a "quasi-contract," but as torts, and also the breach of a contract is considered as a delict, irrespective of what legal theoreticians say in their scholastic interpretations.

Maine himself conceded that there is no society entirely destitute of the conception of contract (1930: 338; for examples cf. Post 1894-95: II 617ff.), and Seagle rightly rejects the opinion of those scholars

[9] On this subject cf. now Colson 1974, where the "social contract" is brought to the fore again. — In passing it may be mentioned that contrary to this approach Leist (1892-96 I 438f.) went so far as to exclude even marriage from the contractual situations.

who assumed that primitive and archaic societies were incapable of understanding the nature of the exchange of promises (1946: 255). Nevertheless he asserts that non-payment of a debt is considered by primitive man a crime against the god of Property rather than against the god of Contract (256). This can hardly be proved: though the cheated creditor will certainly try to get his property back, he will also loose confidence in the debtor and avoid making another deal with him, and here the contractual element or aspect comes to the fore. To exclude the covenant between Jahwe and the children of Israel from the discussion simply on the ground that in this context the legal procedures for enforcing it are lacking, is equally one-sided and wrong. The Old Testament concept of the covenant has been evolved from contractual or alliance situations between independent masters and between lord and serf (cf. below § 18 and the literature in n. 10).

Seagle's discussion of the development of European feudalism is also based on a fallacy (254). He concedes that it was in a sense founded on contract and that the public law or the foundation of state relations is not infrequently based on agreements. "In this constitutional sense contract plays a far greater role in archaic than in mature societies. If feudalism, however, was founded in contract, it was a contract to end all contracts. Where relations originating in contract became absolutely fixed and customary, the original 'social contract' may as well be forgotten, and the relation may be included within the scope of Maine's generalization. The working of an institution, not its origin, is what determines its true nature." The fallacy of this argument is too obvious to require much explanation. The development from feudalism to absolutism actually disproves Maine's generalization, and it should be thrown out of the text-books once and for all. There is no universal law of linear development in human institutions. In the Middle Ages an absolutist theocratical interpretation of kingship vied with the feudalistic one (Ullmann 1975: 215ff.), and in certain respects this situation continued in the successive German empires till the end of the Second Reich.

In our context it is importance to note in primitive and archaic societies elective kingship is known (Post 1894-95: I 392ff.), and it is conceivable that in such a society the general concept of contract would take shape and gain prominence earlier than elsewhere. For the Indo-Aryan society there is some evidence that elective kingship existed (cf. Zimmer 1879: 162ff.; Rau 1957: 85f.; Schmidt 1958: 147;

Schlerath 1960: 113ff.). The Avesta does not furnish any unambiguous evidence (Geiger 1882: 432). There is, however, some evidence for the Medes, Achaemenids, Arsacids, Sasanids, and Northern and Eastern Iranian peoples (Widengren 1969: 102ff.).

16. Dumézil (1948: 79ff.) also bases his treatment of Mitra on Meillet's whose "quelques pages font date dans l'histoire de nos études, car c'était la première fois que l'on voyait avec cette assurance collaborer la linguistique [illegible] sociologie." Dumézil looks for further support in the works [illegible] Davy (1922) and Mauss (1921; 1925) who believed to have found one [illegible] the starting-points of the contract notion in the *potlatch* [illegible] the Indians [illegible] British Columbia, parallels for which they tried to trace [illegible] many other cultures. The *potlatch* is supposed to [illegible] a competitive or agonistic exchange of gifts, with obligatory reciprocity. The *potlatch* has [illegible]en used for comparison in other instances of Indo-Iranian religious and social history, too, but [illegible] should not be left unmentioned that the interpretation given to it by Davy and Mauss is open to criticism (Birket-Smith 1967: 31ff.), and that anthropologists have not yet arrived [illegible] a definite interpretation of this complex ritual. Dumézil's argument is completely dependent on Meillet's etymology: "ce mot **mitra-* a dû désigner d'abord le moyen ou l'agent d'opération du type *potlatch*, c'est à dire d'échanges obligatoires de dons'; [illegible] évoluant avec les mœurs, et sans doute au contact de très vieilles civilisations à codes, [illegible] sens du mot s'est naturellement précisé en 'contrat'; c'est ce qu'on observe dans l'Iran. Mais d'autre part, l'état de paix, d'ordre, de collaboration, avec droits et devoirs alternants, que crée inévitablement [illegible] *potlatch* entre ceux qui y participent, est bien un commencement d''amitié', surtout chez les demi-civilisés, où la simple absence de relations équivaut déjà à l'hostilité: l'Inde n'a fait que développer ce germe dans un sens sentimental, sans en perdre toutefois de vue les anciennes origines économiques et sociales" (1948: 81). The reconstruction is based on the unproved etymology, an equally unproved interpretation of the *potlatch* and [illegible] presumed contact with more advanced cultures. The latter can of course not be excluded, but it is hardly admissible to draw any far-reaching conclusions from it. The lack of a fixed general contract terminology in Mesopotamia seems to eliminate influence from this side, and there is no other contemporary candidate available. From Indo-European sources Dumézil (1948: 83) quotes Irish *cairde* as an analogy; the word means actually "friendship"

(cf. Latin *carus* etc.) and then also every treaty concluded between two tribes, from mere armistice to larger agreements (Thurneysen 1925: 326). This clearly shows that for *mitra* also a basic meaning "friendship" could plausibly explain the development to the more specific "contract." Depending on Meillet's etymology Dumézil has to presuppose the opposite development—from "exchange" *via* "contract" to "friendship". The comparison with the *potlatch* could only become relevant if it could be shown that *mitra* is used in similar situations, and this is not the case.

Incidentally it may be pointed out that Davy (1922: 80f.) refers to Meillet's paper in the context of the blood-covenant without making any attempt to correlate the material furnished by Meillet with his specific topic. To my knowledge there is no evidence in Indo-Iranian which relates *mitra* to the blood-covenant.

17. Davy and Mauss looked for the origin of the concept of contract in exchange rites. Another theory which stresses the alliance rather than the exchange of goods was propounded by Hocart in a stimulating paper. He gives an interpretation of the Hako ceremony of the Pawnees, an American Indian tribe, based on the model description of Fletcher (1904). He states that the Hako belongs to those covenants "which alongside the more restricted aim of alliance retain the original wider purpose—peace, prosperity, offspring, in short, life" (1952: 189). "The Hako is very valuable for theoretic purposes since it represents a stage of development from the creation ritual to the covenant pure and simple. It has not ceased to be a creation ritual, but it is commonly resorted to in order to bind two tribes together... The Hako ... relates the two parties in the peace-making as father and son; those who take the initiative—the visitors—appoint one of their number as father, the hosts select one of their number to be the son." (190) "A certain ritual readily narrows down to a covenant, and as readily to a ceremonial transaction. In fact, covenant and ceremonial transactions are often indistinguishable, since it is chiefly with a view to the exchange of goods that communities like to get together." (192)

A comparison of several of the phenomena in this ritual with characteristics of the Iranian Mithra is quite striking. Mithra guarantees peace, facilitates thereby travel in the wilderness, grants prosperity and offspring, he is also connected with the creation and thus, in sum total, is concerned with life in general. The Iranian Mihragân festival

possibly was a ritual of the Hako type, but for the time being it would be idle to speculate about this. From ancient sources we have only scanty information, and what we can gather from its present day form among the Zoroastrians of Iran (Boyce 1975a) is not specific enough to allow any conclusions.

The anthropological descriptions do not, as far as I see, furnish us with native terms for "covenant" or "contract," they only record the phenomena and label them by modern terms. They may be suggestive in making us understand certain ramifications of contract situations in our sources, but for determining the exact meaning of terms they do not furnish any usable analogies.

18. The problems which have beset the study of the Indo-Iranian term *mitra* are not unlike those Semitists have encountered with the Hebrew term *bryt* which for a long time was interpreted as "covenant." In recent years this meaning has been questioned, and some scholars now prefer to render *bryt* by "commitment" because a *bryt* can be one-sided as well as reciprocal. The reciprocal "covenant" would thus be only a specialization of the more general "commitment" (cf. especially Kutsch 1973). It is of interest and instructive to compare the Ancient Near Eastern covenant terminology which has conveniently been collected by Weinfeld (1973)[10]. According to Weinfeld the terms for covenant and pact concentrate around two semantic fields: oath and commitment and grace and friendship. In Akkadian we have *riksu māmītu* "bond and oath", and in Hebrew *bryt w'lh* "commitment and oath." On the other hand covenantal relations are also expressed by terms for "peace," "brotherhood," "love" and "friendship." In Greek and Latin we find similar expressions: for the first category πίστις "fidelity" and *fides* "fidelity", *foedus* "treaty, compact", for the second φιλότης "friendship", εὔνοια "goodwill", εὐεργεσία "beneficence", χάρις "grace", and εἰρήνη "peace". It can hardly escape anyone's notice how many of these terms have also been used to translate Indo-Iranian *mitra*.

[10] We are here not concerned with Weinfeld's thesis according to which much of the Near Eastern covenant terminology was borrowed by Greek and Latin in calques. Some correspondences are striking, in particular *krt bryt* "to cut a covenant or commitment" : ὅρκια τέμνειν. However, they cannot prove borrowing since we find similar customs with the Chinese and many primitive peoples (Post 1894-95: II 487). – On Ancient Near Eastern covenants cf. further Bikerman 1950-51; Hillers 1969; Korošec 1964: 88, 106, 149, 199ff.; Mendenhall 1955; Moran 1963; Priest 1964; Weinfeld 1970; Whitley 1963.

19. In order to arrive at a more accurate understanding of the Indo-Iranian concept of *mitra* it is necessary to take another and closer look at the evidence from both the Indian and the Iranian sources. It is reasonable to assume that the oldest ascertainable meaning of the term is the one that accounts for the specific connotations present in both the *Ṛgveda* and the *Avesta*. Since the Avestan evidence for the appellative is very scanty, the Middle Iranian material may be of great help. Clear Middle Iranian parallels to Vedic usage can be considered as survivals of old ideas. The word *miθra/mihr* is after all a term that stayed alive and has possibly not undergone any drastic changes of meaning. This does of course not exclude the possibility that the word also acquired some new connotations in the course of history. Both factors, the agreements and the differences, deserve equal attention. In the following section I shall confine myself to a few observations, selecting besides the clear agreements such cases which tend to show a difference of usage between the *Ṛgveda* and the *Avesta*. A fuller treatment of the material, including especially the Middle Iranian evidence, must be reserved for a separate study which will, it is hoped, further clarify many points raised in the present sketch.

II

20. In the *Avesta* the most general statements concerning the appellative *miθra* are found in *Yašt* 10.2; their position at the beginning of the *Hymn to Miθra* lends them special prominence, and they can be understood as programmatic preambles.

The first statement runs as follows:

maraṇcaite vispəm daiŋhuəm
mairyō miθrō.druxš spitama
yaθa sātəm kayaδanəm
avavaṇ aśava.jaṇt

"The *miθra*-deceiving knave, o Spitama, destroys the whole country, slaying even truthful ones (of his own country) so much as a hundred obscurantists (would do)."

This is sufficiently clear in itself. It refers to the warrior who betrays an alliance, a non-aggression pact or a peace-treaty. Much of the *Hymn to Miθra* is concerned with warfare between countries one of which has broken the peace. The aggressor is supposed to lose the war since the divinity Miθra guarantees victory to those who have kept the *miθra*.

21. The *Ṛgveda* also offers ample evidence for this use of *mitrá*. Here Indra, the war and warrior god, is the lord of *mitrás*:

1.170.5 *tvám īśiṣe vasupate vásūnām*
tvám mitrāṇām mitrapate dhēṣṭhaḥ,
índra tvám maríbhiḥ sám vadasva
ádha prāśāna ṛtuthā havīṁṣi.

"You, o lord of the goods, have power over the goods, you (have power) over the *mitras*, o lord of *mitras*, best establishing (them)[11]. Indra, come to an understanding with the Maruts; then eat the oblations at the proper time."

This refers to the reconciliation of Indra and the Maruts who had fallen out with each other over their claims on a sacrifice. The priest mediates between the two parties. The verb *sám vad* "to come to an understanding" expresses an idea close to that of *mitrá* and can be taken as a kind of paraphrase, stressing the connotation of conciliation. The emphasis on Indra's overlordship over the *mitras* is intentional: he is constantly entering alliances with people who ask for his help in warfare, so why should he now be so reluctant to come to a settlement with the Maruts who have been his closest companions (*sákhāyaḥ*) since time immemorial? Here Indra is a party in a *mitrá* that is aimed at conciliation. Other aspects of *mitrá* will appear in the course of the investigation.

22. Indra is not only a god who establishes alliances, but also the avenger when an alliance is broken:

10.89.8 *tvám ha tvād ṛṇayā índra dhīro*
'śir ná párva vṛjinā́ ṛṇā́si,
prá yé mitrásya váruṇasya dhā́ma
yújaṃ ná jánā minánti mitrám.

"You, Indra, (are) a wise avenger: Like an axe (crushes) the joints, you crush the wrongs (of those) who (deceive) the institutions of Mitra and Varuṇa, like people who deceive a yoke-fellow[12], an ally."

9 *prá yé mitrám práyamānaṃ durévāḥ*
prá suṃgíraḥ prá váruṇam minánti,
ny ámitreṣu vadhám índra túmraṃ
vṛ́ṣan vṛ́ṣāṇam aruṣáṃ śiśīhi.

[11] On the construction cf. Kuiper 1973: 229.

[12] *yúj* is probably a term for a close companion especially in battle.

"Those of evil intentions who deceive Mitra (alliance), Aryaman (hospitality), agreements, Varuṇa (true-speech), against those who are without alliance sharpen your powerful weapon, the bull-like, reddish one, a bull."

The poet plays upon the appellative meanings of the divine names which is essential for understanding the context as Thieme (1957: 62) has rightly pointed out; for *aryamán* and *váruṇa* I adopt his interpretations[13]. *Mitrá* is used here twice in appellative meaning and this indicates that the poet is mainly concerned with *mitrá*, not so much with *váruṇa* and *aryamán*. The word *amitra* "without alliance" refers here in all probability to people who have broken an alliance; elsewhere the term is also used of people who have not established an alliance in [illegible] (e.g., 2.12.8).

The involvement of the god Indra clearly suggests that *mitrá* refers to an agreement between people who have either established an alliance or concluded a peace-treaty. In stanza 10 it is said that Indra is to be invoked in peace and war (*índraḥ kṣémе yógе hávya índraḥ*). His concern with peace may in this context imply ostentation of power to deter potential attackers (cf. 7.82.5 § 24).

23. In the *Avesta* the divinity Miθra rules over peace and non-peace of the countries (*Yašt* 10.29 *tūm āxštōiš anāxštōišcā miθra xšayehe dahyunąm*). One of the prime aims, if not the prime aim of *mitra/miθra* is peace. Also Miθra's most frequent epithet *vouru.gaonyaoiti* "of wide cattle pastures" refers to the peace Miθra guarantees to those who worship him and do not violate the *miθra*. This was seen by Thieme (1960a: 273f., cf. 1975: 33) and Benveniste (1960). It may be added that it is also the interpretation of the Pahlavi translation. In the *Zand-i Khūrtak Avistāk* (242.3ff.) the gloss on the word reads as follows[14]:

"Of wide cattle pastures: that means you keep the steppe without fear (= safe) and you are the purifier of man from evil thought, word and deed."

[13] They are, of course, also subject to eventual modification or improvement. Thieme's "true-speech" for *váruṇa* is decidedly preferable to the proposal of Jacobsohn (1969) since it makes better sense in passages like the present one where the appellative meaning is implied.

[14] Since I intend to present the Middle Iranian material separately elsewhere, I have not given a transliteration or transcription here. For the transcription of words I follow MacKenzie 1971. The titles of the texts are given according to the editions used.

In the translation of *Nyāyiśr* 1.15 (ibid. 21.5f.) we find a similar statement:

"The characteristic of having wide cattle pastures refers to (the condition) when one can come and [illegible] in the steppe alone by means of universal concord (*mihr*)."

24. In the *Ṛgveda* a common term for peace is *kṣémá*, [illegible], "dwelling," which is several times mentioned together with *mitrá*, as are also other derivations of the root *kṣi* "to dwell".

4.33.10cd *sé rāyás póṣaṃ drāviṇāny asmé*
dhattá ṛbhavaḥ kṣemayánto ná mitrám

"Grant to us, [illegible] Ṛbhus, thriving [illegible] wealth, riches, establish an alliance like people making peace."

It could be objected that peace does not require the establishment of an alliance and that "non-aggression pact" suits the context better. I do, however, think that in Vedic times the making of peace, as a rule involved co-operation and the present context indicates this by referring to the wealth expected by the partner who takes the initiative. Without an alliance there would [illegible] no distribution of wealth, be it through agreements on grazing land or other resources an inimical neighbour can make unsafe (just as you can make [illegible] unsafe for him). Non-aggression pacts like the one the gambler asks from the dice (10.34.14) were probably rare exceptions.

7.82.5b *indrāvaruṇā yád imā́ni cakráthur*
víśvā jātā́ni bhúvanasya majmánā,
kṣémeṇa mitró váruṇaṃ dhavasyáti
marúdbhir ugráḥ śúbhaṃ anyá īyate.

"O Indra and Varuṇa, ever since you created all the beings of the universe by your might, Mitra serves Varuṇa by (establishing) peace [15], the other, the forceful (Indra) makes (military) ostentation with the Maruts."

The implication of the antithesis is that Mitra establishes peace while Indra guarantees [illegible] by the display of military strength which keeps the *amitra* in check. Indra's function may refer to restraining potential peace-breakers as well as to his involvement with people who never concluded a *mitrá*. The latter is meant in the preceding stanza where it is said that "we invoke you two, Indra and Varuṇa, [illegible] fights, battles, ... at the initiation [illegible] peace, you who dispose of both

[15] My suggestion (1958: 40 n. 69) was wrong.

goods (= those of war and peace) ..." (*yuvám id yutsú pṛtanāsu ... kṣémasya prasavé ..., īśāná vásva ubhāyasya ... indrāvaruṇā ... havāmahe*).

25. In the collocation of *kṣáya* and *mitrá* in

2.11.14ab *rási kṣáyaṃ rāsi mitráṃ asmé*
rási śárdha indra mārutaṃ naḥ

"Give us dwelling, give us an alliance, give us, ■ Indra, the Marutian troop!"

the connotation of "peace" in *kṣáya* is not self-evident since ■ may very well refer to the land to be conquered and *mitrá* ■ the alliance to ■ concluded with Indra who sends his auxiliary force, the Maruts. Thieme understands *kṣáya* and *mitrá* even as hendiadys for "peace" (1975: 35 n. 2). I would rather suspect that the poet intends a double-entendre (*śleṣa*).

26. When Agni is sent by the gods to men in order to establish relations and to convey the offerings back to heaven, he is a mediator.

2.4.3ab *agníṃ devā́so mānuṣīṣu vikṣú*
priyáṃ dhuḥ kṣeṣyánto ná mitrám

"The gods have installed Agni as ■ dear ally (mediator) among the human clans like people who desire peaceful dwelling."

1.67.1 *vāneṣu jāyúr nṛtéṣu mitró*
vṛṇīté śreṣṭhīṃ rájeva vājayúm,
2 *kṣémo na sādhúḥ krátur na bhadró*
bhúvat svādhúr hótā havyavā́ṭ

"Victorious among the trees, an ally (mediator) among men, he chooses for himself obedience, indefatigably like a king. Productive like peaceful dwelling[16], auspicious like wisdom, he has become the well-intentioned *hotṛ*, carrying the libations (to the gods)."

The opposition between *jāyú* and *mitrá* stresses the fact that *mitrá* is connected with peace, and this idea is taken up again by *kṣémo ná sādhúḥ*. That he is commanding obedience like a king, introduces a further aspect, probably meaning that ■ is the senior partner of the alliance.

[16] Cf. also 8.19.8 ... *dṛtiṣu ná mitríyaḥ* ... *té kṣémāso api santi sādhávaḥ* ... "like a guest coming from allies, ■ in you are the productive dwellings ..." and 8.31.14 *mitrám ná kṣetrasādhasam* "like an ally who makes the fields productive" (cf. Renou 1955-69: XIII 156, XIV 35.105, XVI 119).

27. The intimate involvement of the king with *mitrá* is explicitly stated in two other contexts.

1.73.3 *devó ná yáḥ pṛthivīṁ viśvádhāyā*
upakṣéti hitámitro ná rājā,
purahṣádaḥ śarmasádo ná vīrā́
anavadyā́ pátijuṣteva nā́ri.

"He (Agni) who resides on earth like a god providing all nourishment, like a king who has concluded an alliance, like soldiers sitting on guard, sitting in cover, blameless like a woman enjoyed (only) by her husband."

The verses *a-c* occur in 3.55.21[17] with variations: *imā́ṁ ca naḥ pṛthivīṁ viśvádhāyā úpa kṣeti* ... "he resides on this earth, all nourishing for us ..." Here the nourishing function is attributed to the king, and this fits well with the establishing of an alliance for peace which guarantees prosperity. The verses *c* and *d* emphasize loyalty and faithfulness, and this may refer in a double sense of *hitámitra*: as a soldier the king protects his people, and like a faithful wife he does not deceive his ally by conspiring with a third party.

9.97.30 *divó ná sárgā asasrgram áhnām*
rājā́ ná mitrám prá mināti dhī́raḥ,
pitúr ná putráḥ krátubhir yatāná
á pavasva viśé asyā́ ájītim

"The downpours (of Soma) have just poured down like (those) of heaven (= rain), like those of the days (= light); like a king (Soma) does not deceive an alliance, the wise one. Aligning yourself like a son with the will of the father, grant by purifying yourself freedom from violence to this clan here!"

The first verse probably implies that Soma, when flowing into the vessels guarantees rain and light and thereby fulfills the commitments of the king towards the people. In the second hemistich the relation is inverted: Soma acts like an obedient son, and this cannot be called *mitrá* unless we assume that in alliances the Vedic Indians followed the same custom as the Pawnee Indians according to which one partner assumes the role of the son, the other that of the father (cf. § 17). One may also think of the king as the embryo of the

[17] Where the deity is uncertain Sāyaṇa suggests Indra; Geldner and Renou (1955-69: V 16) propose Agni because of 1.73.3. Bloomfield (1916: 93.587) opts for Indra and sees, probably rightly, in 1.73.3 a secondary adaptation of 3.55.21, especially because of *devó ná*.

people, attested in the Brāhmaṇas (cf. Heesterman 1957: 52f.). In either case Soma guarantees continuous prosperity by producing rain and light on the one hand, freedom from violence by leading the people to victory over irreconcilable enemies or by establishing alliances with potential enemies on the other hand.

[illegible]. In the *Ṛgveda mitrá* can also refer to the allegiance of the people to the king. When Indra takes his mace in his arms in order to slay Vṛtra, the mountains, the cows, the priest poets cry out, approaching Indra:

8.96.6cd *índreṇa mitrám didhiṣema gīrbhir*
úpo námobhir vṛṣabhám viśema

"With Indra we want to establish an alliance through songs, we want to approach the bull with obeisance."

The context of the whole hymn makes it likely that Indra is here not called upon as a partner with whom one contracts a war-alliance, but as the king whom one chooses as the leader and to whom one swears allegiance (cf. the epithets *vṛṣabhā carṣaṇīnām* "bull of the people," 18, and *carṣaṇīdhṛ́t* "supporter of the people," 20).

Also in 10.22.1-2 it is rather more than a mere alliance that Indra concludes:

1ab *kúha śrutá índraḥ kásminn adyá*
jáne mitró ná śrúyate

"Where has Indra been heard? With which people is Indra heard to-day like an ally?"

2 *ihá śrutá índro asmé adyá*
stáve vajrī́ ṛṣīṣamaḥ,
mitró ná yó jánēṣv ā́
yaśás cakré ásāmy ā́.

"Here Indra has been heard, with us he is praised to-day, the mace-bearer, the ... (?), who like an ally among the peoples has gained unequalled fame."

The purpose of winning Indra as an ally is to make him the leader in war which is described in largely mythological terms, taken mainly from the Śuṣṇa myth. Indra comes from far, from heaven and earth, to the mortal man (6). He incites heroism (3), drives men on in the slaying of Vṛtra or in the breaking of resistence (10).

Provided I have interpreted these instances correctly, there arises the general problem of whether all alliances with Indra are of this type. He is, after all, king particularly as a war-lord. Coming from

the outside he fulfills his task and then apparently withdraws again. It must be left to further investigation to determine what conclusions regarding kingship in Vedic times can be drawn from this phenomenon.

29. Among the faults peculiar to the warriors the Pahlavi text *Dênâk-u Mainyô-i Khard* 58.8 mentions *mihrdrujîh*. In the context which enumerates oppression, violence, *mihrdrujîh*, unmercifulness, fornication, haughtiness, contemptuousness, the sense "treachery" would suggest itself. This may of course, quite generally refer to the warrior's conduct towards his fellow-men, but the ultimate treachery he can commit is that against his sovereign by breach of loyalty. That *mihrdruj* also designates the disloyal subject or feudal lord is known from the Pahlavi *Kârnâmê i Artakhshîr i Pâpakân* where Ardašir is so called obviously because he has revolted against his overlord, King Ardavân (9.5). Whatever more general sense the word may have assumed in Middle Iranian, the old sense of "allegiance is covered by it."

In all probability this sense is also attested in Old Persian. Thieme (1971b) has convincingly explained *hamiçiya*, used by Darius of the the rebel lords and people, as **ha* "without, away from" (cf. Latin *sed*)+*miça*[18]. The most appropriate translation is "without allegiance" or "disloyal."

30. In connection with Mitra's function as giver of rain, health, life etc. Thieme (1975: 32) has drawn attention to the wide-spread idea according to which the moral conduct of the king is responsible for the welfare of his country and people. The keeping of treaties is an essential part of the king's obligations in order to ensure peace and prosperity. It may be added that not only the conduct towards foreign people with whom one has an alliance or a peace-treaty, but also the conduct towards one's own people is of relevance in this respect. Internal inequity has exactly the same results.

In the Pahlavi text *Šâyast-nê-šâyast* 10.18 the idea is transferred to the judge. This shift may be due to the late compilation of the text when,

[18] Schmitt (1975: 182ff.) doubts the etymology because **so* "without" is attested only in Latin, not in any other Indo-European language. He does not discuss Old Persian *hacā*, which is the main support for Thieme's hypothesis, and offers as his own proposal a haplology for **hamamiçiya* "of the same contract" = "ally" and "enemy" which raises more problems than it solves.

under Muslim rule, the Zoroastrians did not have a king, but only jurisdiction in their own communities.

"One (rule) is that in a country (or city), when they appoint a lying judge, and they consider him as trustworthy, (then,) on account of the sin and the *mihrdrujih* which the judge commits, in that country (or city) there are little rain and few clouds, and the sweetness and fatness and healing power of the milk of the large cattle and the small cattle diminish, and the children in the womb of the mother become more frequently destroyed."

Tavadia translates *mihrdrujih* here as "breach of trust," but this hardly covers the meaning properly since the term does not refer to the obligation the judge has to take upon himself, but rather to his inequity and partiality. I therefore prefer to translate "betrayal of equity". That this is a fair approximation appears from the use of the antonym *humihrih* which is defined as one of the characteristics of a king in the *Dēnkart* (D 732.2ff. M 134.6ff.) in the following way:

"And one (characteristic) is *humihrih*: for because of *humihrih* of the sovereign enemies can trust on his wrath[19], and the lowly on his mercy; from the world turmoil is cut off, from the empire disturbance, from men fear."

The translations proposed for *humihrih* — "good grace, good love"[20] and "fulfilling the promise"[21] — do not do full justice to the context, the latter especially is much too narrow. It is rather "equity," keeping the proper balance between due severity and mercy.

Humihrih, then, approaches *paymān* in the sense of the "mean," which in the theological speculation of the Pahlavi books was made the principle of Zoroastrian religion and proper government[22].

31. The term *paymān* is of particular interest in connection with *mihr* since it serves as one of the glosses or "synonyms" of *mihr* in the New Persian Zoroastrian writings and in the Pahlavi sources closely associated with the deity Mihr. The basic meaning of *paymān* is "measure" (in space and time), the transferred senses are "moderation," "mean" (in the sense of balance between excess and deficiency),

[19] de Menasce (1972: 132) reads **dēhhar* (misprint for *dēhahr*), Kanga (1974: 227) **sōhr*.

[20] de Menasce, Kanga

[21] Bharucha 1928: 50.

[22] Cf. in particular de Menasce 1945: 30f.; Zaehner 1955: 250f., 262f.; 1961: 139, 285ff.; Lentz 1970: 253.

and "contract," all of which are also by us conceivable as "measure" [illegible] some kind.

In the Pahlavi translation of *Nyāyiśn* 2.14 (*Zand-i Khūrtak Avistāk* 25.1) the words *harvisp paymān* are used [illegible] connection with Mihr. Unfortunately the wording [illegible] the context is ambiguous so that we cannot draw any definite conclusions as [illegible] its sense[23].

Mihr is the guardian of the compact between Ohrmazd and Ahriman. This appears clearly from the *Zand-i Vahūman Yasn* 7.31-32 where Ahriman sees his case lost and appeals to Mihr to rise up in truth or in righteousness (*pad rāstih*), but is reminded by Mihr that the pact (*paēt*)[24] of 9000 years is expired. In the *Bundahishn* (A 6.11ff., Zaehner 1955: 279,314), where Mihr [illegible] not mentioned, we find two terms for the pact, *pasn* and *paymānag*. The latter term can here ambiguously also refer to the measure of time

In the case [illegible] the pact between Ohrmazd and Ahriman Mihr acts as the arbiter who decides when the terms are fulfilled and the parties free of further commitments. He [illegible] thus a judge, a[illegible] this is clearly stated also elsewhere. Mihr is a judge, true or righteous and without deceit (*rāst dādwar ud apisnānd*)[25], and he renders judgement and true or righteous mediation (*dādwarih ud rāst miyānēgih*) to the spiritual and earthly beings (*Zand-i Khūrtak Avistāk* 242.1-2). At the judgement of the dead he shares the function of mediation with Srōš and Rāšn, the deities of obedience and justice (*Dānāk-u Mainyō-i Khard* 1.118).

Mihr's arbitration and mediation in a legal sense agrees with his concern for the *paymān* "the mean". The function of mediator apparently continues the Indo-Iranian activity [illegible] the *mitrá* as a "mediator" between peoples, but [illegible] has been extended to a more formalized juridical task, a development which did not take place in India.

[23] Zaehner (1955: 102) has "he who deals with all treaties," but (1961: 139) "[illegible] who observes moderation in all things." We are, however, not even certain whether the words form a compound or not. Cf. Dhabhar's translation and note.

[24] On this term cf. Bartholomae 1917: 3ff.

[25] *apisnānd* is probably connected with Avestan *apiśman* (*Yašt* 10.105) and with *pišyeinti* (*Yasna* 44.20). The latter is related by Insler 1975 to Vedic *piśuna*. Other opinions are mentioned in Dhabhar's translation (447 n.2), where K.E. Kanga's "guileless" for Av. *apiśman* is noteworthy. — Zaehner (1955: 101 n. [illegible]) reads *ātōmand* with the Pāzand version.

The connection of Mihr as mediator in the Pahlavi sources and Plutarch's μεσίτης has long been recognized. But according to Plutarch Mithrēs is also physically the μέσος between the realms of light and darkness.

32. The physical position of Miθra in the middle is also reflected in the Iranian calendar: he is the eponymical deity of the 16th day of the month and of the 7th month of the year. This function of Mitra may well be already Indo-Iranian. In India the god Mitra is the regent of the 15th of the 28 *nakṣatras* (cf. Kirfel 1920: 35). This is all the more remarkable since the calendar systems of India and Iran have otherwise little in common, and since the Indian *nakṣatra*-system is, in the *Saṃhitās*, somewhat in flux. While other regent deities have been changed, Mitra has throughout held his position in the middle. The middle position of Mitra occurs also in another context in much later times: he is the presiding deity over the seventh of the twelve plots in temple architecture (cf. Gonda 1972: 126).

To my knowledge, no instances from the *Ṛgveda* have been pointed out so far which might reflect Mitra's physical position in the middle.

A possible reference to Mitra as mediator between light and darkness may be contained in the following two stanzas.

6.8.3 *ástabhnād ródasī mitró ádbhuto*
'ntarvā́d akṛnoj jyótiṣā támaḥ,
ví cármaṇīva dhiṣáṇe avartayad
vaiśvānaró viśvam ádhatta víṣṇyam.

"As Mitra, the wonderful, he (Agni) stemmed the two worlds apart, he made the darkness pregnant[20] with light, he unfolded the two *dhiṣaṇā* like two hides. Vaiśvānara assumed all his male powers."

By separating heaven and earth Agni as Mitra allows light to spread in the intermediate space (*antárikṣa*), without however banning darkness altogether—it will return in due course in the evening.

The same idea is expressed inversely in

5.81.4 *utá yāsi savitas tríṇi rocaná-*
-tá sū́ryasya raśmíbhiḥ sám ucyasi,
utá rā́trīm ubhayátaḥ pāriyasa
utá mitró bhavasi deva dhármabhiḥ

[20] On the meaning of *antarvā́rant*, cf. Schmidt 1968: 102.

"And you, Savitṛ, go to the three firmaments, and you dwell together with the rays of the sun, and you encompass the night from both sides, and you, god, become Mitra through the functions (you fulfill)."

Here it is the night that is encircled from both sides; it is, as it were, kept in its bounds. Savitṛ, the God "Impeller" or "Initiator," rules not only over the day, but also over the night.

Both these passages can of course also be quoted in support of the Ṛgvedic age of the Brāhmaṇa identification of Mitra as the day (in opposition to Varuṇa as the night), and Mitra's concern with light is also well attested in the *Ṛgveda* in other contexts. But it seems to me that here the emphasis is on creating a balance between the two moieties, of which the one, darkness or night, ruled supreme before Mitra's intercession.

33. Agni, the god of fire, is frequently called *mitrá* or identified with the god Mitra in the *Ṛgveda*. There is no controversy about the interpretation that this refers mainly to Agni's function as mediator between gods and men. We also frequently find the phrase *mitrá ná (iva) jáne* and it is worthwhile to investigate it in the light of *jána* "foreign people"[27], as Kuiper has suggested (1973: 230).

2.4.1 *huvé vaḥ sudyótmānaṃ suvṛktiṃ*
viśām agnim átithiṃ suprayásam,
mitrá iva yó didhiṣāyyo bhūd
devó ādeve jáne jātávedāḥ.

"I call for you, Agni, of beautiful lustre, the hymn (incarnate), the guest of the clans, granting satisfaction, whom one should wish to be installed like an ally (mediator) just now, the god among the people inclined towards the gods, the one who knows the origins."

From the point of view of the *mitrá* the *jána* are in this instance the foreign people: Agni is the mediator sent by the gods to men to establish good relations, or invited by men for this purpose.

The term *jānya* is opposed to *mitriya* in

4.55.5.cd *pāt pátir jānyād áṃhaso no*
mitrò mitriyād utá no urusyet

"May the lord (Varuṇa or Aryaman?) protect us from the anxiety caused by foreign people, may Mitra deliver us from (the anxiety) caused by allies."

[27] Cf. especially Renou 1939: 207f.; 1958: 34; Rau 1957: [illegible]; Hara 1968: 256ff.

The opposition is here probably that between foreign people with whom no *mitrá* exists and between other foreign people with whom one is allied. As the following evidence will demonstrate, Renou's (1955-69: IV 57) alternative suggestion that *jánya* may refer to a clan with whom marriage relations exist, *mitríya* to a "clan familier (familial)," is unlikely to be correct since it is the *mitríya* with whom a marriage alliance exists or may exist[28]. It is true that *jánya* occurs in the sense of "Brautwerber," but this must originally have referred to his status as long as the marriage alliance (*mitrá*) was not yet accomplished. Only thus it is understandable that both terms, *jánya* and *mitrya*, can also be juxtaposed:

2.6.7 *antár hy ágne ṛyasi*
vidwā́ñ jánmobhāyā́ kave,
dūtó jányeva mitryaḥ.

"For you, Agni, move between the two races (gods and men), knowing, you wise one, like a messenger belonging to the foreign people allied (with us)."

There is no need to understand *jánya* here in the sense of "Brautwerber" as Geldner and Renou (1955-69 XII 47) do. The duties of a messenger and go-between were certainly much more varied.

The basis of the expression *mitró ná jáne* seems to be the institution of a go-between or middle-man who served to mediate alliances with other people and to keep them going, settling conflicts or forestalling them.

14. Since kinship and marriage constitute the basic forms of human relations it is only natural that marriage alliances played a prominent rôle in bringing foreign tribes or peoples together. They are alluded to several times in the *Ṛgveda* in connection with the term *mitrá*.

10.68.2 *sáṃ góbhir áṅgirasó náksamāṇo*
bhágo ivéd aryamáṇaṃ nināya,
jáne mitró ná dámpatī anakti
bṛhaspate vājayāśū́ṅr ivājaí.

"Arriving (Bṛhaspati) in Aryaman (hospotality) together with the cows like Bhaga (fortune). Like Mitra (alliance, mediation) among the foreign people he anoints husband and wife. Bṛhaspati, spurn them to victory like swift (horses) in the (chariot-race (or in battle)[29]."

[28] For *janya mitra* in the ritual texts, Heesterman (1957: 118 n. 24) suggests that it represents the family, clan or tribe with which the sacrificer is allied by marriage.

[29] Cf. Schmidt 1968: 218f.; to be modified in the light of the sense of *jána* under discussion here.

Without going into the details of the interpretation which would require further investigation in particular of the other two Ādityas, Aryaman and Bhaga, it can be stated that Mitra solemnizes the marriage partners.

The unction is, however, not only applied to the newly-weds but reciprocally to the *mitrá* as well:

5.3.2cd *añjánti mitrám sudhitaṃ ná góbhir*
yád dámpati sámanasā́ kṛṇóṣi

"They anoint you (Agni) like a well-established ally (mediator) with cows (milk) when you make husband and wife unanimous."

Marriages were however also contracted without a middleman; then the bridegroom was himself called *mitrá*:

5.52.14cd *ácha ṛṣe márutaṃ gaṇám*
dānā́ mitrám ná yoṣáṇā

"(Turn) the Marutian troop here, o seer, with a gift like a young woman an ally."

Renou (1955-69: II 81) was not happy with the gift in this context, probably because there is no evidence in the *Ṛgveda* for the custom that the woman (or her family) gave gifts to the prospective husband; the institution of dowry was apparently not known in the early ages of India (cf. Leist 1889: 499ff.). But another type of gift exchange may well have existed; we have hardly a right to doubt an explicit statement of the text.

In contrast to a blind girl who will remain without a husband a beautiful girl is extolled in

10.27.12 *kiyatī́ yóṣā́ maryató vadhūyóḥ*
páriprītā́ pányasā́ vā́ryeṇa,
bhadrā́ vadhū́r bhavati yát supéśāḥ
svayáṃ sā́ mitrám vanute jáne cit.

"How different a young woman who is being wooed by the praiseworthy gift of a young man eager for a wife! She becomes an auspicious wife when beautifully adorned: she wins herself an ally even among the foreign people."

The stanza belongs to the poet's reply to Indra's words which end in

10cd *strībhir yó ātra víṣaṇaṃ pṛtanyā́t*
áyuddho asya ví bhajāmi védaḥ

"He who wants to fight here the bull with women, without fight I shall distribute his possessions."

The expression "to fight with women," the sense of which had previously remained unclear to me (1975: 177), probably refers to the

offer of a marriage alliance rejected by Indra who interprets it as weakness. In his reply the poet refers to a blind girl with whom one cannot entice the adversary and to a beautiful girl who may bring the alliance off on her own. She is thus not only fortunate herself but also brings luck to her own people by establishing a bond with hitherto inimical people and thus lays the foundation for the development of peaceful relations between the two groups.

35. The reference to marriage in connection with *mitrá* is not particularly frequent. In the *Sūryā-Sūkta* (10.85) the appellative *mitrá* does not occur, and moreover the god Mitra—in contradistinction to the other Ādityas Varuṇa, Aryaman and Bhaga—does not play any definable rôle, being mentioned conjointly with Varuṇa only once (17).

However, this should not lead us to the conclusion that the term played only an incidental rôle in marriage alliances in Ṛgvedic times. The hymns have in general little occasion to dwell on marriages. In reality marriage alliances can have played a much greater part in establishing relations between foreign peoples than appears from the texts, where the broader aspects of the alliance like peace and joint expeditions against common enemies are of much greater importance.

Unambiguous references to ceremonial and solemn formalities in connection with the conclusion of a *mitrá* occur in marriage contexts. We do not know whether the unction also occurred in cases where no marriage was involved. But there is one ceremony involved in both marriage and other alliances, namely, the seven steps the partners take in front of the fire (cf. Geldner *ad* 10.8.4 and 8.69.7; Lüders 1951-59: 38f.). Parallel to *mitrá* in 10.8.4 we have *sákhi* in 8.69.7; later *sakhi* and *sakhya* prevail though *maitra* still occurs in the *Mahābhārata*. This requires further investigation, particularly in respect to the exact difference between *mitrá* and *sákhi* in the *Ṛgveda*. On general considerations, *mitrá* "ally" designates a more distant relationship than *sákhi* "companion." But it should not be overlooked that both terms are often interchangeable, not excluding each other[30].

36. The second sentence in *Yašt* 10.2 gives a general precept which is one of the most frequently quoted statements about *miθra* in Zoroastrian writings:

miθrəm mā jaṇyā spitama
mā yim drvatat̰ pərəsaṇhe

[30] My remarks on the *sákhāyaḥ* as companions or ἑταῖροι of the king (1958: 148; cf. also Schlerath 1960: 125) still hold good, but they explain only one aspect.

mā yim xvādaēnāṯ aśaonaṯ
vayā zī asti miθrō
drvataēca aśaonaēca

"May you never break a *miθra*, neither the one you ask mutually from the liar, nor the one you ask mutually from the truthful follower of the good (or: your own)[31] religion, for *miθra* is for both, the liar and the truthful."

Here the translation of the term by "agreement" or "contract" seems to suggest itself, and it has been so understood in several places of later Zoroastrian writings, where it refers to commercial transactions. But this is only one of the uses of the term *mihr* in later Iranian, and it is the narrowest. Lommel (1927: 67) was not satisfied with translating the last two lines by "for the contract is (valid) for both ...," apparently because he felt that this would be an insipid tautology, and he preferred to translate "denn beide haben Anspruch auf Treue." He may have been right in his feeling: the first time the term can refer to any specific act involving mutual allegiance or loyalty, the second time to the general principle of loyalty.

This seems also to be the way in which the passage is interpreted in the *Dēnkart* (D 60 [172], 12ff. M 131ff.):

"Be not a belier of *mihr*, not when you conclude it with liars, nor when you conclude it with people of your own religion, truthful ones, for *humihr* is for both, the liars as well as the truthful ones. Even the wolf, o Zarduśt, has *mihr* with its cubs."

It has already been suggested (§ 30) that Pahlavi *humihrīh* has the sense of "equity," and this meaning can also be implied here, though the following sentence points to a still wider sense of "loyalty," even approaching "love." Since in this case a natural relation between an animal and its young is called *mihr*, "contract" must be excluded as the basic meaning of the word, at least for Middle Persian.

There are other instances for the use of *mihr* in this sense. In the Pahlavi *Kārnāmē ī Artakhshīr ī Pāpakān* 10.4 we read the story of King Ardašīr being overtaken by remorse for having condemned his pregnant wife to death when he sees on a hunt how a stag sacrifices his life for the hind and the hind her life for their young because *mihr* of one for the other is so complete.

In the same text we find the whole range of human relationships designated by *mihr*. Ardavān's daughter is accused of having forgotten *mihr* and *dōšāram* "love" for her brothers by marrying Ardašīr who

[31] Cf. Gershevitch 1959: 157. The Pahlavi translation has *xvēšdēn*.

himself is called *mihrdruj* because he has broken the allegiance to his overlord (9.5-6; cf. § 29 above). Ardavān's servant girl contracts *mihr*, *dōstīh* "friendship," and *dōšāram* "love" with Ardašīr (2.2). The series, *mihr*, *dōstīh*, and *dōšāram* is in all probability given in a hierarchical order, *mihr* being the most distant and elevated type of relationship, but at the time the most comprehensive one. In order to express the difference of the three terms we have to resort to a paraphrase for *mihr*, for which "loyalty and affection" may be suggested.

The sense of *mihr* as 'elevated love' is attested by Al-Bērūnī (*Chronology*, transl. Sachau 207) who gives as one of the interpretations of the Mihragān festival—pronounced in Arabic, *mihrajān*—"love of the spirit" (the second element was falsely identified with Persian *jān* "soul"). This connotation of *miθra* is possibly much older. It has always puzzled scholars that Herodotus (I 131) identifies Miθra with Aphrodite. The assumptions which have been made so far, carry little conviction. Much has been made of the Kuṣāṇa coin where the name *MIOPO* appears with the representation of a female deity (Güntert 1923: 406f.; Bussagli 1951: 129ff.), but it is rather a mistake of the mint (Rosenfield 1967: 100). If we assume that Herodotus' informant gave the meaning of Miθra as "love," the Greek historian's error would be explicable: he misunderstood the word in the erotic sense.

37. The use of *mihr* in the sense of loyalty also among next-of-kin in Pahlavi can be quoted in support of Lentz's contention (see § 7) that in *Yašt* 10.116-117 the whole range of human loyalty relations is meant. This is the most direct interpretation since it does not require the introduction of any unexpressed condition as Thieme's interpretation does (see § 9).

It is possible, if not indeed likely, that the use of the word *miθra* in the plural in *Yasna* 46.5 is based on a scale identical with or similar to that of the Mihr-Yašt:

yō vā xšayas adas drītā ayantəm
urvātōiš vā huzāntuš miθrōibyō vā
tašnā yas yā ašavā drəgvantəm
vīcirā has taṯ frō xvaētavē mruyāṯ
uzūiθyōi im nazdā xrūnyāṯ ahurā

"A man of good family, who is ruling over his house, should hospitably receive a person coming (to him) either on account of a commitment

or of loyalties. If a truthful man, who is living according to (this) rule, discerns (that the guest is) a liar (= infidel), [illegible] should announce this to his family in order to save him from violence, o Wise Lord[32]."

The opposition between *urvāti* and *miθra* [illegible], in this context, probably that between a special and individual—possibly also one-sided—commitment and the general mutual allegiances or loyalties, based on previous associations or family relationships. The second part [illegible] to [illegible] understood in the light of *Yašt* 10.2: [illegible] general the liar or infidel is to be fought, but he must be respected [illegible] a *miθra* with him exists which requires that he must be given every possible protection.

38. The use of the term *miθra* for loyalty relations also among next-of-kin is a special Iranian development. In India the clear distinction between blood-relative and *mitra* continued also in post-Vedic times (cf. Gonda 1973: 77, 101). The Iranian development would be difficult to account for if we assume that "contract" was the basic meaning of the word. It is, however, explicable on the basis of the meaning "alliance."

Taking into consideration that, in the *Ṛgveda*, *mitrá* refers mostly [illegible] alliances between two tribes, [illegible] for the purpose of establishing peaceful relations ([illegible] 25-27) or [illegible] exploits against common enemies (§ 28), the meaning "alliance" can [illegible] considered as the starting point. An "alliance" presupposes the mutual allegiance" or "loyalty" of the partners, and this connotation was inherent in the word *mitrá*. It becomes particularly relevant in what we may call the fealty relationship between a senior and a junior partner in an alliance, such as that between Indra as a war-lord and the tribe or tribes who submit to his leadership (§ 28) or the feudal relationship between the Achaemenid king and his satraps and vassal kings (§ 29).

In archaic or primitive societies alliances between two tribes were and are frequently established through intermarriage. Such marriage alliances are clearly alluded to in the *Ṛgveda* ([illegible] 34-35).

[32] Cf. Schmidt 1958: 141. In construing the sentence I now follow Insler 1975.—It [illegible] here not the place to reconsider the results [illegible] my book on *vrātá* and [illegible] Avestan cognates. However, a remark on a belated review article is necessary. Hacker (1973: 112) attributes to me a principle [illegible] method which I never held. I was never of the opinion that we always can and must translate a foreign term [illegible] one single term in our own languages, only that if we can we should, which is something altogether different. If Hacker had read the whole book, particularly the chapter on the Avestan material, [illegible] would have noticed that I did not follow the method with which he charges me.

The office of a mediator was essential for establishing alliances and keeping them going (§ 26.33). His title was, in the *Ṛgveda*, *mitrá*. Since the notion of mediation and conciliation is relevant in this connection, the term *mitrá* connotes it. It was even transferred to the physical or cosmical functions of the god Mitra already in Indo-Iranian times (§ 32). The function of the god is to reconcile the different interests of two parties in equity. This has led in Iran to Miθra's task as a judge who is a mediator, conciliator, and arbiter (§ 31).

The connotation of affection or love which occurs in both India and Iran has possibly grown out of the concern of *mitrá* "alliance" with peace, the personal and familial relations arising from marriage alliances may have also contributed to it.

In the Indo-Iranian period—the conditions of which are in this case still reflected by the *Ṛgveda*—*mitrá* was primarily an alliance between groups, not between individuals. This accounts for the practical absence of *mitrá* "ally" in the plural. The ally in the *Ṛgveda* is the representative of the group, either the mediator or the king.

Individual contract situations are rare in the *Ṛgveda*. They are much better attested particularly in later Iranian sources. The specialized sense of "contract" is easily derivable from the meaning "alliance."

It is difficult to propose one English term which covers all the connotations of Indo-Iranian *mitrá*. I have given preference to "alliance, allegiance" because it renders the word best in those context situations which, in my opinion, are the basic ones. It deserves preference over such possible competitors as "concord" or "bond" which evokes undesirable etymological associations. In translating the word in specific contexts I have not hesitated to substitute the relevant connotation for the basic meaning.

The proposals regarding the etymology are legion[33]. None of them can be called more than a vague possibility. The linguistic possibilities are manifold, and semantic development is by nature too unpredictable to weigh probabilities.

39. In conclusion I should like to draw attention to parallels which show striking similarities to the picture of the Indo-Iranian *mitrá* "alliance" as I have attempted to piece it together from the literary sources. The parallels are of particular interest since they, too, come from an Indo-Iranian source: the peoples of Nūristān.

[33] Cf. Mayrhofer 1953ff.: s.v. Lentz 1970: 254; Gonda 1973: 105ff.; Bailey 1975: 15.

Jones (1967: 47) states: "Relation between a given Kafir community and any other political unit or its representatives is ... either expressed in hostility or brought into a friendly relationship by the establishment of kinship ties, either through marriage or through the ceremony of brotherhood with a member of the more important clans." In a footnote he refers to unpublished material of Lennart Edelberg and Klaus Ferdinand which "shows that there is not only a system of trading partners based on bond-friendship, but also that such individuals functioned as peacemaker on occusaion. Marriage ties were also used in this way."

The same author (1974: 217) reports that until recent times each village in Waigal valley sent its own envoys to live outside the valley among their most powerful and aggressive traditional enemies. When people fight with one village, they want peace with the other villages (220). The envoy meets frequently with the elders of the host village to keep each other appraised of potential disruptive circumstances (ibid.).

The exchange of envoys involved in some cases also a kind of mutual defence pact (221). The alliance is concerned with competition for scarce economic resources expressed by raiding (208). Neighbouring areas are forced into a political alliance acknowledging their common interest in arable land and pastures (214).

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Μίτρις[80], Ῥοδομίθρης[81], Σουσαμίθρης[82] und der schon in seiner Lesung umstrittene Μητρογαθής alias Μιτρογαθής in Aischylos' »Persern«[83]. Ob man den auf einer Grabinschrift aus Rom[84] belegten Frauennamen *Mitrasia* mit dem Gottesnamen zusammenbringen darf, lässt sich nicht beweisen und nicht widerlegen. Und ob auf der spätphrygischen Inschrift Nr. [illegible] (aus Dorylaion) Μιτραφατα so überhaupt richtig abgetrennt ist und, wenn ja, die Form richtig als Eigenname verstanden wird – es könnte den wohlbekannten MIΘRA-PĀTA widerspiegeln —, liesse sich vielleicht sagen, »wenn nur die Interpretation

[80] Belegt nur auf einer attischen Defixio (IG III³ : 3, App., Nr. 73, 41 in der Reihe barbarischer Namen καὶ Μίτριν καὶ Κόρινν καὶ Θοδω̃ς), besteht hier überhaupt ein Zusammenhang mit MIΘRA?

[81] Bezeugt nur auf der Inschrift (des grossarmenischen Königs Tiridates' II. von etwa 217-222 n. Chr.) SEG XV 837, 6 aus Nige als Vatersname, wo Kamilla Trever Ῥοδομιθ[ρου-] liest gegen Rostovtzeffs frühere Lesung Ῥοδοφρ[ου-]. In das Ensemble der anderen (sicher iranischen) Ῥοδο-Namen hat auch diesen eingeordnet Zwanziger 150, der sich allerdings einer Deutung enthalten, aber inzwischen a.a.O. (Anm. 113 zur Tabelle), S. 196[18] eine eingehende Untersuchung dieser Gruppe in Aussicht gestellt hat. Man könnte an VRDA-MIΘRA »Rosenfreund« mit appellativischem **miθra-* »Freund« denken, gewissermassen also ein florristisches Gegenstück zu etwa ASPA-MIΘRA »Pferdefreund«, worin dieses Appellativum ja nicht wohl geleugnet werden kann (vgl. unten Anm. 88).

[82] Belegt bei Plut., Alkib. 39, 1, Nepos 7, 10, 3 (Mörder des Alkibiades), von Justi 503 verbunden mit einem fiktiven »uwest. *suta-, Nutzen?«, während vorher Keiper, a.a.O. (Anm. 36), S. 280 einen Ansatz **Suta-* oder **Suta-miθra-* »Lichtfreund« gewagt hatte. Dass wohl der Name der Stadt Σοῦσα immer mit diesem Personennamen assoziiert wurde (jedenfalls : werden konnte), ist übrigens in alle Erwägungen über dessen Originalform miteinzubeziehen.

[83] Hapax eiremenon in Aischylos, Persai 43 (Anführer der Lyder), wo Μητρογαθής u.a. von M, Μητρογαθής von PVH und Μιτρογαθής nur von Q und einem Korrektor des Codex P (P²) geboten werden. Die Annahme, dass der Name wirklich iranisch und nicht doch vielleicht echt griechisch ist, in jedenfalls berechtigten Zweifeln ausgesetzt – so hält z.B. Groeneboom ad loc. den Namen für nicht iranisch –, zumal das Kompositum ja durchaus aus dem Griechischen heraus verständlich wäre (»die Mutter [vielleicht die Magna Mater?] erfreuend«). Jedenfalls verliert der Name angesichts dieser Lage einiges von dem bei Keiper, a.a.O. (Anm. 36), S. 270 beschworenen Wert, dass er »der älteste in griech[ischen] Quellen uns erhaltene« Name der MIΘRA-Gruppe sei. – Ältere Forscher versuchten Deutungen aus iranischem Sprachgut, so Keiper, a.a.O., II, 271 »ein von Mithra beschütztes Haus (altpers. *gāθu-*) habend« oder »von Mithra geschützte Hürden (altpers. *gaθā-*) habend«, Justi 213 b (ebenso Stonecipher [illegible]) und ähnlich schon August Friedrich Pott) »dem Mithra Lieder (avest. *gāθā-*) singend«. Letzteres wandelt Hinz, Sprachgut 167, mit dem (nach dem oben Anm. 18 Gesagten) falschen Ansatz »**miθragāθā-*«, nur geringfügig ab: »ich würde lieber 'Mithra-Hymne' ansetzen«, und dies als Personenname?!

[84] CIL VI 22566 = XI 3987: *dis manibus Mitrasiae P. f. Severae.*

der gesamten Inschrift auf einer sichereren Grundlage stünde«[85]. Genannt werden muss in diesem Zusammenhang schliesslich auch der Name *Vaumisa*, der auf den altpersischen Inschriften selbst bezeugt ist[86] für einen Feldherrn des Dareios, ein Name, der wiederholt und mit dem Aufwand vielen Scharfsinnes, den Gesetzen der Lautlehre zum Trotz, mit dem Gottesnamen MIΘRA oder dem homophonen Appellativum zusammengezwängt wurde[87]. Solche Namen mit appellativischem **miθra-* »Vertrag«, aber in Namen offenbar doch auch »Freund« — wenngleich man in dieser Bedeutung eine indoarische Sonderentwicklung gesehen hat[88] — sind in diesem Beitrag, der nur den theophoren Namen gewidmet ist, beiseitegelassen worden.

Wenn wir nun zur Auswertung dieses Namenensembles kommen, so können wir als erstes feststellen, dass die Beziehungen zu den inhalt-

[85] Rüdiger Schmitt, »Iranisches Sprachgut auf phrygischen Inschriften? Eine kritische Überprüfung«, Sprache 19, 1973, 47, wo S. 54-58 dieses Problem ausführlich behandelt wird.

[86] DB II 49, 51, 55, 60, 62, an der ersten Stelle ausdrücklich als *Pārsa* »Perser« bezeichnet. — Daneben finden sich in den altelamischen Versionen die Formen elam. *Ma-u-mi-i-i-ta*, babylon. *U-mi-i-i-ta*, aram. *Whwmy*, den gleichen Namen tragen zur Zeit Dareios' ein (?) Empfänger von Mehl- und Weinrationen *Ma-u-mi-i-i-ta* (PF 1095, 3f., 1096, 3f.; 1114, 3; 1115, 3) sowie zur Zeit Artaxerxes' ein Ὀμίσης (bei Plut., Artox. 4, 5 und Ael., Var. hist. 1, 30 [der hier belegte Nominativ schliesst den von Just. 341 § aus der Plutarch-Stelle falsch erschlossenen Nominativ Ὀμίσος aus]).

[87] Zur Erklärung von *-miça-* statt des für das Altpersische zu erwartenden **-miça-* < iran. **miθra-* griff man tief in die linguistische Trickkiste. Andreas etwa dachte an eine Antizipation der späteren Entwicklung von altpers. ç > mittelpers. /s/ — vgl. Andreas bei Oskar Mann, Kurdisch-persische Forschungen, I: Die Tājik-Mundarten der Provinz Fārs, Berlin 1909, S. XXIII[1] —, andere glaubten eher eine individuelle oder gar eine regionale Sonderform zu erkennen (nota bene: aus einem sonst nicht nachweisbaren Dialekt) oder eine orthographische Unregelmässigkeit annehmen zu dürfen (vgl. Hans Heinrich Scharder, Iranische Beiträge I, Halle/Saale 1930, Nachdruck Hildesheim-New York 1972, S. 68 = 269). Demgegenüber hat E. Benveniste, Review of Kent, Old Persian[2], JAOS 75, 1955, 196 b mit Entschiedenheit betont, dass »*-miça-* has in any case nothing to do with *Miθra* on phonological grounds«, und H. Hübschmann, »Zur persischen Lautlehre«, KZ 36, 1900, 178[1] hat schon darauf hingewiesen, dass Deutungen, die von dem Gottesnamen ausgehen, teils »nicht wahrscheinlich«, teils »nicht ansprechend« seien.

[88] So Paul Thieme, »Mitra and Aryaman«, Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences 41, 1957, 20 und ders., »The concept of Mitra in Aryan belief«, Mithraic Studies ... (vgl. Anm. 30), S. 22-24, aber was kann ein Name wie ASPA-MIΘRA (Ἀσπαμίτρης) — wenn er überhaupt von Anbeginn etwas 'bedeutet' hat und nicht eine jener 'sinnlosen' Aneinanderreihungen zweier (vielleicht in der Familie beliebter) Namenwörter nach Art von griech. Θεόξενος »Sparross« war — anderes meinen als »Pferdefreund«?

lichen Aussagen der altiranischen Texte über Miθra gar nicht so eng sind, wie man vielleicht erwarten mochte angesichts der zwischen Namengebung und dichterischer Ausdrucksweise schon lange festgestellten Zusammenhänge[89]. Kein einziger der zusammengesetzten, zweigliedrigen MIΘRA-Namen stimmt völlig mit einem bezeugten poetischen Epitheton überein: in ein paar Fällen treten dafür aber »Textfiguren«, besonders natürlich aus dem an Miθra gerichteten 10. Yašt, ein: So ist MIΘRA-YAZNA »der Miθra-Verehrer« einfach die Nominalisierung der dutzendemal bezeugten Wendung avest. *Miθrəm yaz* »den Miθra verehren«[90]; MIΘRA-DĀTA ist die Gabe des Miθra, der verehrt wird als *puθrō.dā-* »Söhne schenkend« und *gaiiō.dā-* »Leben schenkend«, beides avestische Hapax eiremena ■ Yt. ■, 65 g; MIΘRA-FARNAH ist der, dem Miθra, der Yt. 10, 16 a *x'arənō.dā-* »Ruhmesglanz verleihend« heisst, ebendiesen zugeteilt hat[91]; daraus, dass an derselben Stelle (Yt. ■, 108) Miθra auch Reichtümer zuteilt (*raēš[ra]*, Akkusativ Plural zu *raiī-*[92]), empfängt RAIVA-MIΘRA »der durch Miθra Reiche« Licht. MIΘRA-BĀDU »der mit Miθras Arm« erinnert von ferne an das Miθra-Beiwort *bāzuš.aofah-* »mit Kraft in den Armen«[93], während man bei MIΘRA-PĀTA »der von Miθra Geschützte« natürlich sofort an mehrfaches *Miθra mām pātuv* »Miθra soll mich [bzw. mit Königsnamen] schützen« auf Inschriften Artaxerxes' II. denkt[94].

Bei der Liste der theophoren Namen, die ich gab, war der dialektologische Gesichtspunkt zunächst ausser Betracht gelassen worden. Diese Lücke gilt es auszufüllen: Die Durchsicht der Liste ergibt, dass — mit einer Ausnahme — die südwestiranisch-persische Form des Gottesnamens, **Miça-*, auf die elamischen Hofkammertäfelchen von Persepolis beschränkt ist — mehrere Eintragungen finden sich zwischen Nr. 5 und Nr. 29 , wo sie Namen mit nicht-persischem

[89] Vgl. zuletzt zu diesem Fragenkreis Rüdiger Schmitt, Indogermanische Dichtersprache und Namengebung, Innsbruck 1973.

[90] Die Belege ersehe man aus Christian Bartholomae, Altiranisches Wörterbuch, Berlin ²1961, Sp. 1274ff. s.v. *yaz-*.

[91] Yt. ■, 108 d-f: *kahmā raēčā x'arənaēca, kahmā tanuuō drvatātəm azəm bavānī* »wem werde ich [scil. Miθra] Reichtümer und Ruhmesglanz, wem Gesundheit des Körpers zuteilen?«. — Hinz, Sprachgut 167 übersetzt MIΘRA-FARNAH unter Hinweis auf sogd. *Mypyrn* als »durch Mithra Glück«.

[92] Vgl. vorangehende Anmerkung!

[93] Belegt Yt. 10, 25 e.

[94] Vgl. Schmitt, Sprachgut 130; zuletzt wurden diese verschiedenen Formeln besprochen von Christoph Hauri, Das pentathematische Schema der altpersischen Inschriften, Wiesbaden 1973, S. 72-75.

**Miθra-* in ungefähr gleicher Zahl gegenübersteht. In einem Fall (Nr. 15) hatte der Herausgeber Richard T. Hallock aus dem ähnlichen Kontext heraus sogar geschlossen, dass einunddieselbe Person mit beiden Dialektformen benannt werde. Leider ist diese Annahme aber nicht zweifelsfrei zu sichern. Die nur wenig jüngeren aramäischen Gefässaufschriften aus Persepolis bieten demgegenüber nur nicht-persische **Miθra-*Formen. Die Beschränkung der persischen Form der theophoren Eigennamen auf das Persepolis-Archiv, mit der in auffälliger Weise die Tatsache übereinstimmt, dass auf den Artaxerxes-Inschriften der nicht-persischen Form des Gottesnamens im altpersischen Text die persische Form (als *Mi-iš-šu*) in der elamischen Version[93] zur Seite steht, wurde zurecht als Zeugnis dafür gewertet, dass die Mithra-Verehrung ihren Ausgang nahm von irgendwo ausserhalb der Persis. Mit rein sprachwissenschaftlichen Mitteln lässt sich dieser Ausstrahlungsherd aber nicht weiter eingrenzen. Das Eindringen des Gottes in die Persis führte auch dazu, dass dialektologische »Zwitterformen« entstehen konnten wie etwa das bezeugte ČIÇA-MIΘRA (Σισαμίθρης) mit persischem /ç/ neben nicht-persischem /θr/. Diese ganz eindeutige Belegsituation, die klar die »Produktivität« der nicht-persischen Form **Miθra-* erweist, lässt natürlich auch die genannte »eine Ausnahme«, das von Wilhelm Eilers[94] in aram. *Mspr* vermutete MIÇA-PĀTA (Nr. 61), in ganz anderem (ich meine: trüberem) Licht erscheinen, zumal diese Form auch zeitlich – belegt ist sie etwa 410/408 vor Christus – von den persepolitanischen Belegen schon weiter absteht. Man wird dann doch hierfür eine andere Erklärung, wohl die Gleichsetzung mit griech. Μασαβάτης[95], vorzuziehen haben. Einheitlich die nicht-persische Namensform **Miθra-* also findet sich in allen aramäischen Dokumenten, die hier zu berücksichtigen waren.

[93] Die Frage, ob elam. *Mi-ti3-ti-ba-ka* (und Varianten) der Persepolis-Täfelchen als **Miça-baga-* »Gott Mithra« – dies wäre der früheste Beleg des Gottesnamens ausserhalb von theophoren Eigennamen – oder als **Visai-bagā-* »alle Götter, die All-Götter« (= ved. *viśve devāḥ*) zu interpretieren sei, ist noch nicht entschieden; vgl. zuletzt Mayrhofer 204 § 8.1140 und M. A. Dandamaev, »Novye dannye o religii v Persii na rubeže VI-V vv. do n. è.«, VDI 1974/2, 21[11] sowie Duchesne-Guillemin, a.a.O. (Anm. 109), S. 89[11] (und wiederum – pro *Miθra-* – Dandamaev, Anzeige von Mayrhofer, GGA 227, 1975, 238.

[94] Vgl. Eilers, Urkunden 332 a (mit der Einschränkung »unter Umständen«); dagegen Grelot, a.a.O. (Anm. 29), S. 478.

[95] G. R. Driver, Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C., Oxford 1957, S. 81; W. B. Henning, »Ein persischer Titel im Altaramäischen«, In memoriam Paul Kahle, Berlin 1968, S. 144[38]; Grelot, a.a.O. (Anm. 29), S. 478; zuletzt Hinz, Sprachgut 161 und 165.

Hinsichtlich der Verbreitung der »mithraistischen Eigennamen« in Raum und Zeit — eines der Ziele, auf die hin diese Untersuchung ausgerichtet war — lässt sich kein gesichertes Ergebnis ermitteln, das irgendwelchen Aufschluss gäbe. [illegible] zeigt sich, wenn man die gesamte Liste überblickt, nur allzu deutlich, dass die Materialgrundlage, auf der das Ganze basiert, zu schmal und [illegible] ungleichmässig ist: Die Belege von MIΘRA-Namen häufen sich dort, wo zahlreiche Quellen zur Verfügung stehen, und sie fehlen dort, wo Quellen fehlen oder nur spärlich vorhanden sind — für bestimmte Länder ebenso wie für bestimmte Zeitabschnitte[98]. Im ganzen, so wird man feststellen, hat sich der Schwerpunkt der MIΘRA-Namen (der bis ins 5. Jahrhundert deutlich in Fars liegt) in hellenistischer Zeit nach Kleinasien und noch weiter nach Westen[99] verschoben; aber was besagt dies schon, wenn sich auch die Hauptmasse der Quellen überhaupt von Osten weit nach Westen verlagert hat? (Und obendrein galt hier die Beschränkung auf die altiranische Namensform MIΘRA.) Die Ausbreitung des Mithraismus im Römischen Reich, die man im einzelnen noch nicht geklärt hat, ist auch mit den Mitteln der Namenkunde nicht exakt feststellbar, zumal da sich die meisten der epigraphischen Zeugnisse ja nicht einmal auf das Jahrhundert genau datieren lassen.

Einzelne Feststellungen drängen sich immerhin auf: Der Belegzeitraum hat sich etwas nach oben hin erweitert, denn nicht mehr Nr. 4, der daskylitische Satrap Μιτροβάτης, darf als »ältester geschichtlich beglaubigter Name mit Mithra«[100] gelten, sondern der susische *Mi-ut-ra* (Nr. 1)[101]. Auffallenderweise fehlen solche »mithraistische Eigennamen« aber vollständig unter den mehreren Dutzend Iraniernamen akkadischer Quellen aus vorachaimenidischer Zeit (9./8. Jahrhundert)[102]. Nicht nur onomastisch, sondern auch religionshistorisch[103] relevant können solche Namen sein wie die griechisch,

[98] Frye, a.a.O. (Anm. [illegible]), S. 63 betont ausdrücklich: »there is no indication that such names were concentrated in Persis or in Parthava«.

[99] Die Behauptung von Ernestus Sittig, [illegible] Graecorum nominibus theophoris, Halis Saxonum 1911, S. 159, dass Namen wie Μίθρης u.ä. ausser in Attika »non frequenter nisi in Asia Minore inveniuntur«, ist nicht haltbar.

[100] So Justi 209 a s.v.; vgl. auch Cumont I 224*.

[101] Vgl. V. Scheil, MDP IX, S. 122 ad loc. (Nr. 135, 4).

[102] Vgl. E. A. Grantovskij, Rannjaja istorija iranskich plemen Perednej Azii, Moskva 1970.

[103] Franz Cumont, Die Mysterien des Mithra, Darmstadt ³1963 (= ³1923), S. 30f. hatte noch daraus, dass es »keinen Mithrion, Mithrocles, Mithrodoros oder Mithrophilos« gebe, sondern »alle Derivate von Mithra ... barbarischer Bildung« seien, geschlossen, dass Mithras »niemals zahlreiche Anhänger in hellenischen oder hellenisierten Ländern gewonnen hat«; vgl. Cumont I 46 und 242.

nicht iranisch gebildeten und schon erwähnten Μίθρων oder Μιτρεύς. Dass Μίθρων (Nr. 92) in das griechische Namensystem integriert ist, besagt wohl auch, dass zu dieser Zeit (3. Jahrhundert vor Christus) der Mithras-Kult bereits in Ägypten Fuss gefasst hat, was ja auch das Mithraion von Papyrus Gurob 22 I 10 nahelegt. — Schon aus chronologischen Gründen [104] darf auch der palmyrenische Beleg für *Mtry* = MIΘR-AYA aus dem Jahre 95 n. Chr. (Nr. 162) Interesse beanspruchen, da nur er in palmyrenischer Überlieferung den Gottesnamen in einer *-t-*haltigen Form zeigt, während alle anderen Belege die mitteliranische Entwicklung Mihr (*Mhr'*, *Mhr"*) aufweisen [105]. Wenn wir doch nur beweisen könnten, ob diese Form ein fremder Eindringling (und gegebenenfalls: woher?) oder ob sie »nur« ein Archaismus ist!

Das Fazit dieses onomastischen Streifzuges ist also im wesentlichen negativ: Für zentrale Fragen der Mithraismus-Forschung wie die Verbreitung dieses Kultes vermag die Namenkunde — so scheint mir — auch heute, trotz der Vervielfachung des Materials seit Cumonts Sammlungen, noch keine nennenswerte Hilfe zu leisten. Allerdings müsste die hier gebotene Untersuchung in zweierlei Hinsicht [106] ergänzt werden: Zum einen müsste in ebenso systematischer Weise und möglichst vollständig der mitteliranische *Mihr*-Namenschatz erfasst werden [107] — Richard N. Frye hat erst kürzlich »the popularity Mithra enjoyed in Parthian Nisa« beschworen [108] —, und zum anderen sollte ihr zur Abrundung des Ganzen eine Untersuchung der mit dem theo-

[104] Der Beleg stammt genau aus der Zeit, als der Mithraismus seine Expansion quer durch das Römische Reich begann — im 1. Jahrhundert nach Christus.

[105] Vgl. Stark, a.a.O. (Anm. 65), S. 30 ab, 93 b, 94 a sowie dazu Zwanziger, a.a.O. (Anm. 113 zur Tabelle), S. 199 a.

[106] Ein Aspekt, dem Frye, a.a.O. (Anm. 3), S. 62f. (anlässlich der aramäischen Persepolis-Texte) seine Aufmerksamkeit zuwandte, nämlich die Häufigkeits-Verhältnisse der 'mithraistischen' gegenüber anderen theophoren Personennamen, ist hier unberücksichtigt geblieben. Derartige Untersuchungen bedürfen allerdings viel breiterer Fundierung.

[107] Vgl. die inschriftlichen Belege einstweilen bei Philippe Gignoux, Glossaire des Inscriptions Pehlevies et Parthes, London 1972, S. 29 b (Mittelpersisch) bzw. [illegible] ab (Parthisch); dazu käme v.a. die grosse Vielzahl von (weit verstreuten) Belegen auf Münzen, Siegeln usw.

[108] Richard N. Frye, Sasanian Remains from Qasr-i Abu Nasr. Seals, Sealings, and Coins, Cambridge/Mass. 1973, [illegible], 49 a mit Verweis auf I. [illegible] D'jakonov-V. A. Livšic, Dokumenty iz Nisy 1 v. do n.è. Predvaritel'nye itogi raboty, Moskva 1960, S. 24, vgl. jetzt auch Frye, a.a.O. (Anm. 3), S. 65.

phoren *bagə- »Gott« gebildeten Eigennamen zur Seite treten, ist doch »Mithra der Gott, *baga*, par excellence« — wie es Geo Widengren einmal formuliert hat[109].

TABELLARISCHE ÜBERSICHT ÜBER DIE EIGENNAMEN MIT ALTIRANISCH *MIθRA-

Vorbemerkung: Die folgende Tabelle versucht, die theophoren Eigennamen mit altiranisch MIθRA und die verschiedenen Träger solcher Namen möglichst vollständig zu erfassen. Dass Vollständigkeit nicht erreicht ist, dessen ist sich der Bearbeiter bewusst; auch die mangelnde Erfahrung des Verfassers in prosopographischen Dingen hat sich gewiss niedergeschlagen. Entlegeneres, in Wörterbüchern, Indices u.dgl. (soweit solche Hilfsmittel überhaupt zur Hand sind) Fehlendes ist gewiss öfters unbemerkt geblieben; aber alles Wesentliche dürfte doch wohl verzeichnet sein.

Die Anordnung der Tabelle ist zunächst chronologisch nach Jahrhunderten, einsetzend mit »7./6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.« und hinabreichend bis ins »3./4. Jahrhundert n. Chr.«! Für eine ganze Reihe inschriftlicher Belege waren nähere Angaben als »hellenistische Zeit« oder »römische Zeit« nicht möglich; diese sind nach dem 2. Jhdt. v. Chr. bzw. am Ende angefügt. Als Anordnungsprinzip zweiten Grades fand die räumliche Verteilung Berücksichtigung: Die Reihung schreitet im ganzen von Ost nach West voran. Den Abschluss der Tabelle (Nr. 264-271) bilden »unhistorische Personen«, deren Aufnahme sich dadurch rechtfertigt, dass es sich um onomastisch durchaus glaubwürdige (und meist auch anderweitig beglaubigte) Bildungen handelt.

Zur Angabe der Belege wurden durchweg entweder allgemein gebräuchliche oder leicht verständliche Abkürzungen verwendet. Es erübrigt sich deshalb, sie alle gesondert aufzuführen; nur auf »ARTP« sei hingewiesen, das die von Bowman edierten aramäischen Persepolis-Texte bezeichnet.

[109] Widengren u.a.O. (Anm. 5), S. 33 = 47. — Zu der Frage »*baga-* = 'der Gott' = Miθra« vgl. weiter insbesondere H. S. Nyberg, Die Religionen des Alten Iran, Leipzig 1938 (Nachdruck Osnabrück 1966), S. 353; W. B. Henning, »The Murder of the Magi«, JRAS 1944, 134f. (skeptisch); Duchesne-Guillemin, a.a.O. (Anm. 3), S. 67-69, zuletzt ders., »Le dieu de Cyrus«, Acta Iranica 3 = Commémoration Cyrus. Hommage universel, III, Téhéran-Liège-Leiden 1974, S. 14f. — Eine entsprechende Forderung erhebt indirekt auch Frye, a.a.O. (Anm. 36), S. 62.

Lfd. Nr.	Land	Ort	Zeit	Name	Form	Beleg, Prosopographisches
7./6. Jahrhundert						
1	Elam	Susa	7./6. Jh.	MIΘRA	el. Mi-ut-ra	MDP IX 135, 4: Empfänger eines Kleidungsstückes[1]
6. Jahrhundert						
2	Fars	?	6. Jh	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιτραδάτης	Hdt 1, 110, 1; 1, 121: Hirte des Astyages, Pflegevater des Kyros[2]
3	Fars	?	6. Jh.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	hebr. Mirdt Μιθραδάτης (a) Μιθριδάτης (b)	Esra 1, 8: Schatzmeister (LXX: γαζοφυλάξ) des Kyros; (a) 2Es 1, 8; (b) 1Es 2, 8
4	Fars	?	6. Jh	MIΘRA-PĀTA	Μιτροβάτης	Hdt. 3, 120, 2bis; 126, 2bis; 127, 1.3: Ὑδάρνης, Satrap der Daskylitis unter Kambyses/Dareios, Sohn, Kranaspes[3]
5	Fars	Persepolis	505-500 (Dar. 17-22)	MIÇA-PĀTA	el. Mi-iš-ša-ba-(ud-)-da	PF 701, 8; 1495, 2; 1970, 21f.: tu-ma-ra (»grain handler«)[4]
6	Fars	Persepolis	504 (Dar. 18)	MIÇA-BĀDA	el. Mi-iš-ša-ba-da aram. Mišbd	PF 1791, 6[5]
7	Fars	Shiraz	503 (Dar. 19)	DĀTA-MIÇA	el. Da-da-mi-iš-ša	PF 2018, 4[6]
8	Fars	Persepolis	501 (Dar. 21)	MIÇA-KA	el. Mi-iš-ša-ak-ka	PF 1946, 73.77[7]
9	Fars	Persepolis	501	MIΘRA-BRZĀNA	el. Mi-ut-ra-par-za-na	PF 1954, 21
10	Fars	Persepolis	500 (Dar. 22)	MIÇ-INA	el. Mi-iš-ši-na	PF 1497, 2[8]

11 Fars	Persepolis	500	MIΘRA-ÇANAH	el. Mi-ut-ri-zi-na	PF 1309, 2
12 Babylonien	?	511 (Dar. 11) (?)	MIΘR-INA	bab. Mi-it-ri-na-'	Dar 301, 24: Zeuge eines Ehevertrages: Vater: Ú-x-^{d}Sin(xxx)
13 Babylonien	?	512 (Dar. 10)	MIΘR-ĀTA	bab. Mi-it-ra-a-tu$_4$	Dar 274, 4: Herr des Sklaven Bēl-ahhē(ŠEŠ)-šū[9]
14 Babylonien	?	502 (Dar. 20)	MIΘR-ĀTA	bab. Mi-it-ra-a-ta	Dar 509, 22: Sohn: Ni-din-tu$_4$ (Zeuge)[10]
6./5. Jahrhundert					
15 Fars	Persepolis	503 (Dar. 19) usw.	MIÇA-PĀTA' MIΘRA-PĀTA	el. Mi-(iš-)ša-ba-(ud-)da, Mi-ut-ra-ba-da	PF 332, 2f.; 333, 2f.; 1269, 4; 1961, 10; 1986, 32[11]

[1] Das susische Wirtschaftstäfelchen wird bei Ju. B. Justov, «Élamskie chozjajstvennye dokumenty iz Suz», VDI 1963/2, 189-222; 1963/3, 199-261 unter Nr. 104 behandelt; dieser erwägt die Lesung *Mi-u-za*. Vgl. Mayrhofer, Namenwelt 16.

[2] Der Hirte, der Kyros aussetzen sollte, trägt bei (Ktesias ap.) Nikolaos von Damaskus, FGrHist 90 F 66, 3 den Namen Ἀτροδάτης < **Ātr-dāta* «vom Feuer gegeben».

[3] Für Justi 209 a gilt, wohl unter Bezug auf diesen Träger, Μιτροβάτης als ältester geschichtlich beglaubigter Name mit Mithra-.

[4] Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich jeweils um die gleiche Person, zur Deutung vgl. Mayrhofer 204 § 8.1138.

[5] Die aramäische Beischrift *Mwhl* am linken Rand der Tafelrückseite schliesst eine Identifizierung des Namens als MIÇA-PĀTA aus; der Ansatz als MIÇA-BĀDA und die Deutung als «Mithra-Hugo» – die beide nicht als sicher gelten dürfen – stammen von Hinz, Neue Wege 51; vgl. Hinz, Sprachgut 164.

[6] Zur Deutung als persische Form zu DĀTA-MIΘRA (vgl. Nr. 32) vgl. Mayrhofer 145f. § 8.321.

[7] Zur Deutung, die trotz aller Parallelen nicht als vollständig gesichert angesehen werden darf, vgl. Mayrhofer 204 § 8.1141; Hinz, Sprachgut 165.

[8] Zur Deutung vgl. Mayrhofer 205 § 8.1142 und insbesondere Schmitt ebenda 289f. § 11.1.8.3.2, zuletzt Hinz, Sprachgut 165.

[9] Identisch mit Nr. 142.

[10] Identisch mit Nr. 137.

[11] Hallock 732 b schliesst aus der Ähnlichkeit der Texte auf Identität des *Mi-it-ša-ba-ud-da* (PF 332) mit *Mi-ut-ra-ba-da* (PF 333). Entsprechendes gelte auch für PF 1986 (*Mi-iš-ša-ba-ud-da*) und PF 1961 (*Mi-ut-ra-ba-da*), da «both mention the places Masdukuš and Šimporra»!

Lfd. Nr	Land	Ort	Zeit	Name	Form	Beleg, Prosopographisches
16	Fars	Persepolis	501-499 (Dar. 21-23)	MIΘRA	el. Mi-ut-ra-iš	PF 1956, 20d; 1960, 26[12]
16a	Fars	Persepolis	501-494 (Dar. 21-28)	ARBA-MIÇA	el. Har-ba-mi-iš-ša, Ha-ir-ba[a]	PF 946, 2; 1438, 9f.; 1460, 2; 1603, 5f.; 1796, 1; Fort. 5904, 2f. (unediert)[13]
17	Fars	Persepolis	500-497 (Dar. 22-25)	MIÇA-PĀTA	el. Mi-iš-ša-ba-(ad-/ ud-)da	PF 51, 5; [illegible], [illegible]; 753, 2; 1182, 6f.; 1224, 11; 1281, 2f.; 1553, 2f.; 1554, 2f.[14]
18	Fars	Persepolis	6./5. Jh.	?	el. Mazamitra	unediert[15]
19	Fars	Persepolis	6./5. Jh.	MIÇ-UKA	el. Miššukka	unediert[16]
20	Fars	Persepolis	6./5. Jh.	MIΘRA-BĀNU	el. Mitarbanuš	unediert[17]
21	Fars	Persepolis	6./5. Jh.	MIΘRA-D-A	el. Mitrada	unediert[18]
22	Fars	Persepolis	6./5. Jh.	MIΘR-AYA	el. Mi-tar(?)-ra-ya(?)	PF 95, 7[19]
5. Jahrhundert						
23	Fars	Persepolis	499 (Dar. 23)	MIÇA-BĀDU	el. Mi-iš-ša-ba-du-iš	PF 409, 3f.; 410, 3f.; 1150, 2f.; 1151, 3f.; Fort. 1638, 3f. (unediert)[20]
24	Fars	Persepolis	499	MIÇA-YĀNA	el. Mi-iš-ši-ya-an-na	PF 192, 3[21]
25	Fars	Persepolis	499	MIΘRA-D-A	el. Mi-tar-da	PF 1362, 4[22]
26	Fars	Persepolis	499	MIΘRA-BĀNU	el. Mi-tur-ra-ba-nu(?)-iš(?)	PF 1559, 3: hu-ut-lak («messenger»)[23]
27	Fars	Persepolis	499	MIΘRA	el. Mi-ut-ra	PF 775, 3f.
28	Fars	Persepolis	499	MIΘRA-PĀTA	el. Mi-ut-ra-ba-da; Mi-tur-ra-ba-da	PF 1295, 2 bzw. 1294, 3f.[24]
29	Fars	Persepolis	483-480 (Xerx. 3-6)	MIÇA-NĀFA	el. Mi-iš-ša-na-pa	PT 1963-8: x+9; darnach Ergänzung in PTT 12a: x+5: Schreiber[25]

30	Fars	?	5. Jh.	ÇIRA-MIθRA	Σιρομιτρης	(a) Hdt. 7, 68: Führer der Parikanier; Vater: Oiobazos; (b) Hdt. 7, 79: Sohn: Masistes (Führer der Alarodier usw.); (a) und (b) identisch?[26]
31	Fars	?	5. Jh	MIθRA-UPASTA	Μιθροπαστης	Plut., Themist. 29, 7: Vetter Xerxes' I.[27]
32	Fars	Persepolis	479–467 (Xerx. 7-19)	DĀTA-MIθRA	aram. Dimtr	ARTP 1, 4 usw. (16mal): Schatzmeister (gnzbr')[28]

[12] Identität der beiden Namensträger ist nicht gesichert, zur Problematik des :3 der elamischen Namensform vgl. Mayrhofer 118 § 7.4.

[13] Personengleichheit für all diese Belege ist nicht zu sichern, zur Deutung des Namens, für den der Gottesname MIθRA ebenfalls nicht sicher feststeht, vgl. zuletzt Mayrhofer 154 § 8.449 und Zwanziger 143f. § 7.2.1.2 sowie oben im Text!

[14] Inhaltliche Gründe (Zusammenhang mit Weinlieferungen) legen Personenidentität für all diese Belege nahe.

[15] Vgl. Gershevitch, Nouns 192, zur im Vorderglied umstrittenen Deutung vgl. Mayrhofer 197 § 8.1060 und, diesem folgend, Hinz, Sprachgut 163.

[16] Vgl. Gershevitch, Nouns 190; zur Deutung, v.a. zum Zusammenhang mit MIθRA, vgl. Mayrhofer 205 § 8.1151 und Schmitt ebenda 290 § 11.1.8.1.2.

[17] Vgl. Gershevitch, Nouns 192, der ebenso wie Mayrhofer 206 § 8.1157 und Hinz, Sprachgut 166 an Identität mit *Mithra-ra-ba-nusa* (vgl. Nr. 26) denkt.

[18] Vgl. Gershevitch, Amber 208, zur Deutung vgl. Mayrhofer 207 § 8.1169, anders Hinz, Sprachgut 168 (als MIθRĀTA; vgl. dazu oben im Text). Vgl. unten Nr. 25.

[19] Mayrhofer 206 § 8.1160: »Wenn so zu lesen, dann sicher **Miθraya-* Μιτραίος«.

[20] Zur Deutung, bei der MIÇA sicher erscheint, vgl. Mayrhofer 204 § 8.1139 (mit Literaturhinweisen); Hinz, Sprachgut 164.

[21] Die von Mayrhofer 205 § 8.1150 skeptisch beurteilte Deutung Benvenistes (S. 89) als MIÇA-YĀNA »faveur de Miθra« ist im Zusammenhang mit dem von Dieter Weber, »Zur sogdischen Personennamengebung«, IF 77, 1972, 191-208, v.a. S. 201 gedeuteten sogd. *Mīθ'n* Miθiyān »Sonntagsgabe« zu sehen.

[22] Vgl. oben Nr. 21 *Mitrada*.

[23] Vgl. oben Nr. 20 *Mitarbanu*. Lesung in PF 1559 unsicher.

[24] Die Gleichsetzung der beiden Namen, die in ähnlichem Zusammenhang begegnen, stammt von Hallock 733 a.

[25] Vgl. George G. Cameron, »New Tablets from the Persepolis Treasury«, JNES 24, 1965, 167-192, v.a. S. 174 (PT 1963-8) und S. 187 (ad PTF 12a).

[26] Zur Deutung vgl. oben im Text!

[27] Μιθροπαστης steht primär für *Μιθροπαστης; zur Deutung vgl. oben im Text!

[28] Belege bei Bowman 193 a, zum Namen vgl. ebenda 73, zum Amt des **ganzabara* S. 28-30.

Lfd. Nr.	Land	Ort	Zeit	Name	Form	Beleg, Prosopographisches
33	Fars	Persepolis	478–467 (Xerx. 8-19)	MIΘRA-PĀTA	aram. Mtrpt	ARTP 2, 2 usw. (17mal); Gouverneur (sgn') von Parikāna (Arachosien) bis Xerx. 19 = 467 v. Chr.[29]
34	Fars	Persepolis	475 (Xerx. 11)	MIΘRA-PĀTA	aram. Mtrpt	ARTP 7, 3; Handwerker, genannt neben Nr. 33[30]
35	Fars	Persepolis	467-458 (X. 19-Art. 7)	MIΘRA-KA	aram. Mtrk	ARTP 18, 1 usw. (25mal); Gouverneur (sgn') von Sarūka (Arachosien)[31]
36	Fars	?	465	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	Diod. 11, 69, 1: Eunuch Xerxes' I. beteiligt an dessen Ermordung[32]
37	Fars	Persepolis	459 (Art. 6)	MIΘRA-FARNAH	aram. [Mi]rpm	ARTP 33, 3: Vater eines *'r[tmtr(?)] (Handwerker); identisch mit Nr. 38?[33]
38	Fars	Persepolis	5. Jh.	MIΘRA-FARNAH	aram. M[i]rpm	ARTP 108, 3: Handwerker; identisch mit Nr. 37?[34]
39	Fars	?	5. Jh.	MIΘR-AYA	Μιτροαος	Xen., Hell. 2, 1, 8: Schwestersohn des Dareios II.; Bruder: Autobisakes; von Kyros d.J. getötet
40	Fars	?	5. Jh.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιτραδάτης	Ktes. F 15/471, 21; F 16/472, 7; 473, 11: Satrap unter Dareios II./Artaxerxes II.; Vater: Udiastes; identisch mit Nr. 41-43?[35]

41 Fars	?	404	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	Plut., Artox. 11ff.: verwandete Kyros d.J. bei Kunaxa; von Parysatis umgebracht; identisch mit Nr. 40?[36]
42 Fars	?	404	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθραδάτης	Xen., Anab. 2, 5, 35; 3, 3ff.: Getreuer Kyros' d. J., nach Kunaxa Unterhändler des Grosskönigs; identisch mit Nr. 40?[37]
43 Fars	?	5. Jh.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθραδάτης	Xen., Anab. 7, 8, 25: Satrap von Lykaonien, Kappadokien unter Artaxerxes II.; identisch mit Nr. 40 und 42?[38]
44 Fars	?	5. Jh.	MIΘRA-VAHIŠTA	Μιτρόαστης	Ktes. F 15/471, 24: Perser, Vater: Idernes; Bruder des Ferituchmes; von Parysatis getötet[39]

[35] Belege bei Bowman 193 h (wo ARTP 7, 2; 78, 3 nachzutragen sind): zum Amt des »*Sagaro*« vgl. Irmges ebenda 25-28.

[36] Bowman 79 ad loc.: »Unless there is a scribal error, the *sagar* and the celebrant (nach der sehr zweifelhaften Ansicht Bowmans von dem gesamten Textcorpus: Schm.) both bear the same name, Mithrapātas.«

[37] Belege bei Bowman 193 h, dazu wohl auch ARTP 17, 2 und 85, 2 mit den Fehlschreibungen *Tiridt* bzw. *Atrit*.

[38] Bei Ktesias, FGrHist 688 F 13/464, 16 bzw. F 14/464, 28f. trägt der in die Ermordung Xerxes' verstrickte Eunuch den Namen Ἀσπαμιτρης = **Aspa-miθra-* »Pferdefreund?«.

[39] Zur (unsicheren) Lesung vgl. Bowman 164 ad loc.

[40] Zur Lesung vgl. Bowman 160 ad loc.; ebenda zur Datierung des Textes (462/435 v. Chr.?).

[41] Die Form Μιτρα- beruht für die erste Stelle auf Konjektur, Handschriftenvarianten μιτραδατις A, μιθριδάτης M.

[42] Die verschiedenen Träger des Namens MIΘRA-DĀTA, Nr. 40-43, lassen sich wegen der spärlichen Nachrichten nicht genau erfassen.

[43] Variante Μιθριδάτης der *deteriores*.

[44] Vgl. Anm. 36.

[45] Variante μητρόαστην M; »itazistischer« Fehler -η- für -ι- wie etwa bei Nr. 64, 266 und häufiger.

Lfd. Nr.	Land	Ort	Zeit	Name	Form	Beleg. Prosopographisches
45	Medien	?	5. Jh.	ARBA-MIΘRA	Ἀρμαμίθρης	Hdt. 7, 88, 1: Reiterführer des Xerxes; Vater Datis (Meder)[40]
45a	Babylonien	Babylon	451	ARBA-MIΘRA	bab. Ar-ba/ma-'-(d)Mit-[ri?]	VAT 13411, ob. Rand; Rücks., 3; Vater: wohl Šá-ta-bar-za-nu[41]
46	Babylonien	Babylon	5. Jh.	MIΘRA-B?(?)	aram. Mtrbzn	VAT 13419, u. Rand, 2[42]
47	Babylonien	Nippur	429 (Art. 36)	MIΘRA-DĀTA	bab. Mi-it-ra-da-a-tú, Mit-ra-da-a-tú'-ti	BE IX 48 = TMH 2/3, Nr. 144, 1.14.34; Sohn: Ba-ga-'-mi-ri
48	Babylonien	Nippur	429	MIΘR-INA	bab. Mi-it-ra-e-na-' aram. Mtryn	CBS 12 922, 4.12 (unediert): šá muḫḫi GIŠ.-BÁN šá ÍD ᵈXXX[43]
49	Babylonien	Nippur	428-424 (Art. 37-Dar. 1)	MIΘR(A)INA	bab. Mi-it-ra-en, ᵐra-ni-ni, ᵐra-'-in	[illegible]: [illegible] 59, 6.8.15.Rücks.; 60, 20.Rücks. Zeuge, Vater: Marduk-nādin-šumu
50	Babylonien	Nippur	424 (Dar. 1) (?)	MIΘRA-DĀTA	bab. Mi-ir-ri-a-da-da-'	UM II/1, Nr. 159, 5.10[44]
51	Babylonien	Nippur	421 (Dar. 4)	MIΘRA-DĀTA	bab. ᵈMit-ri-da-a-ta	TMH 2/3, Nr. 147, 24: Zeuge, Vater: Ba-ga-'-zu-uš-tu₄; Beauftragter (paqqaddu) des Dadar-šu[45]
52	Babylonien	Nippur	419 (Dar. 6)	MIΘRĀTA	bab. Mi-it-ra-(a-)tú	BE X 114, 16.ob. Rand: Herr eines Nabi'-tâbu
53	Syrien	?	5. Jh.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθραδάτης	LXX 1Es 2, 12; 2 Es 4, 7; Beamter (Satrap?) in Syrien unter Artaxerxes I.
54	Ägypten	Elephantine	446 (Art. 19)	MIΘRA-SARAH	aram. Mtrsrh	Cowl. 13, 18; Vater von Nr. 55

55 Ägypten	Elephantine	446	MIΘRA-SARAH	aram. Mtrsrh	Cowl. 13, 18: Zeuge, Vater: Nr. 54
56 Ägypten	Elephantine	437 (Art. [illegible])	MIΘRA-YAZNA	aram. Mtryzn	Brookl. 3, 23: Vater von Nr. 57
57 Ägypten	Elephantine	437	MIΘRA-DĀTA	aram. Mtrdt	Brookl. 3, 23: Zeuge, Vater: Nr. 56
[illegible] Ägypten	Elephantine	434 (Art. 31)	MIΘRA-SARAH	aram. Mtrsrh	Brookl. 4, 24: Zeuge eines Schenkungsvertrages; Magier (mgšy'); vielleicht identisch mit Nr. 54 oder 55[46]
59 Ägypten	Elephantine	413 (Dar. 12)	MIΘRA-DĀTA	aram. Mtrdt	Cowl. 26, 2.7: Schiffer
60 Ägypten	Elephantine	5. Jh.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	aram. Mtrdt	Cowl. 80, 7; identisch mit Nr. 59?

[40] Zur Deutung des Namens vgl. zuletzt Mayrhofer 154 § 8.449 (wegen oben Nr. 16a1 und Zwanziger 143f. § 7.2.1.2. Abwegig ist die Vermutung von **xšma-* für das Vorderglied bei Friedrich Wilhelm König, Die Persika des Ktesias von Knidos, Graz 1972, S. 120 b.

[41] Der von Eilers, Wortform 173[1] aus einer unveröffentlichten Inschrift mitgeteilte Name [illegible] am erstgenannten Beleg ohne, am anderen mit Gottesdeterminativ geschrieben [illegible] ist »höchstwahrscheinlich« zu einer Form zu ergänzen, die theophores MIΘRA enthält. Eilers, a.a.O. stellt dazu den Namen *Ardhrmumrahra*, wohl Sohn eines *Pa-ra-ta-ta-ma* (unedierte Inschrift der Bodleiana vom Akzessionsjahr Xerxes', 486/5 v. Chr. vgl. Thompson, CUBT, Nr. A 124, 1.4), »dessen zweite Komponente kaum anders denn als *mithr* deutbar ist«. Es handelte sich dann um eine mittelbranische Form des Gottesnamens, die hier ausser Betracht bleiben soll. Zur Namensdeutung vgl. oben im Text!

[42] Aramäische Beschrift auf der babylonischen Tontafel VAT 13 419 aus der Zeit Artaxerxes' I., ediert von Liane Jakob-Rost/Helmut Freydank, »Spätbabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus Babylon mit aramäischen Beschriften«, FH 14, 1972, 7-35, v.a. S. 20, die, unter Hinweis auf Justi 209, Μιθροβουζάνη; (Druckfehler »ône«) verglichen, vgl. unten Nr. 80, 103. Wenn dessen Interpretation als MIΘRA-BAUJANA das Richtige trifft, wäre fehlerhafte Schreibung der aramäischen Form für **Mithrozn* anzunehmen. Im einzelnen vgl. oben im Text!

[43] Briefliche Mitteilung von Matthew W. Stolper (Ann Arbor), der eine grössere Arbeit über das Murašû-Archiv vorbereitet; Tontafel mit aramäischer Beschrift. [Siehe jetzt: M. W. St., Management and Politics in Later Achaemenid Babylonia: New Texts from the Murašû Archive; dissertation University of Michigan 1974, S. 63, 80[8], 252, 387-389.]

[44] Vgl. Eilers, Beamtennamen 111.

[45] Beachtenswert ist die Schreibung mit Gottesdeterminativ: *mrd Mtrdt*!

[46] Eilers, Urkunden 334 meint, dass wegen »personelle(r) Verknüpfungen« der Texte Cowl. 13 und Brookl. 4 an dieser Identität »kaum zu zweifeln ist«.

Lfd. Nr.	Land	Ort	Zeit	Name	Form	Beleg, Prosopographisches
61	Ägypten	?	etwa 410. 408	MIÇA-PĀTA	aram. Mspt	Driv. 12, 4*.1 usw.; frg. 2a 13, 2; 2b 1, 1: Verwalter des Wrpt[47]
62	Ägypten	?	5. Jh.	MIΘRA-VAHIŠTA	aram. Mirwhšt	Cowl. 70, 1: Empfänger eines Briefes
63	Ägypten	Elephantine	5. Jh.(?)	MIΘRA-DĀTA	aram. Mirdt	RÉS III 1797 B 1[48]
64	Lykien	?	409	MIΘRA-PĀTA	Μιτροβάτης	Xen., Hell. I, 3, 12: Abgesandter des Pharnabazos[49]
5./4. Jahrhundert						
65	Babylonien	Ur	381 (Art. 23) usw.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	bab. Mit-ri-da-a-ta	UET IV 1, 2 usw.; IV 2, 2 usw.: Eunuch (^{lú}rēš šarri)
66	Kleinasien	?	etwa 368	MIΘRA-BRZĀNA	Μιθροβαρζάνης	Diod. 15, 91, 5; Nepos 14, 6, 3 usw.: Reiterführer, Schwager und Verräter des Datames
67	Lykien	Xanthos	5./4. Jh.	MIΘRA-PĀTA	lyk. Miθrapata, °ti, Mizrppata, Mizrapata	TL 44 b 16; 64, 2; Neum. 315 (unediert); Münzlegenden: lokaler Dynast von Xanthos[50]
68	Lydien	Sardeis	5./4. Jh.	MIΘRĀTA	lyd. Mitrata[n]	Gusm. 74 (Siegel)[51]
4. Jahrhundert						
69	Fars	?	4. Jh.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	Diog. Laert. 3, 25: Μιθριδάτης ὁ Ῥοδοβάτου Πέρσης; Platoniker[52]
70	Fars	?	4. Jh.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	Xen., Kyrop. 8, 8, 4; Aristot., Pol. 8, 1312 a usw.: Vater: Ariobarzanes (Satrap von Phry-

					nes (Satrap von Phrygien); verriet seinen Vater, tötete Datames[53]
71	Fars	?	362	RAIVA-MIθRA	Ἀριαμίθρης Xen., Kyr. 8, 8, 4; Diod. 15, 92, 1: erwirkte Hilfe des Tachôs von Ägypten für die aufständischen Satrapen; identisch mit Nr. 72?[54]
72	Fars	?	334	RAIVA-MIθRA	Ἀριαμίθρης Diod. 17, 19, 4; 34, 5; Arr., Anab. 1, 12, 8; 2, 11, 8; Curt. 3, 11, 10: Reiterführer Dareios' III. am Granikos, gefallen bei Issos; identisch mit Nr. 71?[55]

[47] Zur Deutung vgl. Eilers, Urkunden 332 a: »unter Umständen *Mιθra'pata*« (SW für sonstiges *Mιθra'pata*)« sowie oben im Text!

[48] Der fragmentarische Text scheint in Zusammenhang mit der Garnison von Elephantine zu stehen. Weiteres ist unklar.

[49] Handschriftenvariante Μητροβ[ε] (vgl. Anm. 39).

[50] Die Lesung des Namens *Mιθrapata* von TI. 44 b 16 wird durch mehr als hundert Münzlegenden *Mιθrapata*, *"ι, "pat, "p, Mιθra, Mιθ* und *Mι* bestätigt (vgl. Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, The Lycian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia aspera during the Hellenistic Period, Leiden 1961, S. 9* und v.a. Nekriman Olçay-Otto Mørkholm, »The Coin Hoard from Podalia«, The Numismatic Chronicle VII-11, 1971, 1-29, v.a. S. 4-7), aufgrund deren »385 B.C. will become the *terminus post quem* for the production of the Mithrapata portrait series« (Olçay-Mørkholm, a.a.O., S. 28). Nach Houwink ten Cate, a.a.O., S. 9 »probably identical« ist *mizzapatahe* TI. 64, 2 von einem Felsgrab bei Isinda, auf einer neugefundenen Grabinschrift von Seyret (Neumann Nr. 315; briefliche Mitteilung Günter Neumanns, Würzburg, vom 15. Januar 1975) steht (Z. 2) *ñe? ghtanof[.] mizrapatah* »unter der Regierung des M.«. Zur Person vgl. auch Justi 209 a.

[51] Auf einem achaimenidenzeitlichen Siegel aus Sardes (ediert von John Boardman, »Pyramidal Stamp Seals in the Persian Empire«, Iran 8, 1970, 19-45, v.a. S. 20f. und S. 39, Nr. 1*) findet sich das Zugehörigkeitsadjektiv *mitratalε* (< *nadmιt*) »(Dies ist das Zeichen) des Mitratas«, zu dem Text vgl. zuletzt Roberto Gusmani, »Lydische Siegelaufschriften und Verbum substantivum«, Kadmos 11, 1972, 47-54, v.a. S. 47f. (der ihm die Nr. 74 beilegt).

[52] Zu der Diogenes-Stelle vgl. zuletzt Zwanziger 147f., nach dem der Vatersname nicht anzutasten ist.

[53] Zur Person vgl. Geyer, RE 15.2, 1932, Sp. 2158 Nr. 5.

[54] Bei Diodor ist Ἀριαμίθρης überliefert, an der Xenophon-Stelle Ἀριαμίθρης; CAEGH. Ἀριαμ' D, Ἀριαμ' F (Ἀριαμ' in den Ausgaben beruht auf einer Konjektur Dindorfs).

[55] Überlieferung: Ἀριαμίθρης bei Arrian und in Diod. 17, 34, 5 (ausser F, wo Ἀριαμ'); ebenda 17, 19, 4 Ἀρριαμ'·Ἀρριαμ'. – Mit Nr. 72 identisch ist sicher der Vater Ἀριαμίθρης des nach Arr., Anab. 3, 18, 11 von Alexander als Satrap der Persis eingesetzten Φρασάφρης.

Lfd. Nr.	Land	Ort	Zeit	Name	Form	Beleg, Prosopographisches
73	Fars	?	334	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	Arr., Anab. 1, 15, 7; 16, 3 usw.: Schwiegersohn Dareios' III., gefallen am Granikos[59]
74	Fars	?	etwa 330/323	ČIÇA-MIΘRA	Σισαμίθρης	Plut., Alex. 58, 2; Curt. 8, 2, 19 usw.: Satrap Alexanders in Sogdien[60]
75	Fars	?	etwa 330/323	MIΘRA-B-AYA	Μιθροβαῖος	Arr., Anab. 7, 6, 5: Perser im Heer Alexanders; Bruder: Autobures[61]
76	Fars	?	330	MIΘRA-K-ĀNA(?)	lat. Mithracenes	Curt. 5, 13, 9: vornehmer Perser, der nach Bessos' Hochverrat zu Alexander überlief[62]
77	Armenien	?	331	MIΘRA-VAHIŠTA	Μιθραούστης	Arr., Anab. 3, 8, 5: Führer der Armenier bei Gaugamela
78	Babylonien	?	305 (Sel. 8) (?)	MIΘRA-UPASTA	bab. Mit-ri-ú-pa-as-tu$_4$	CT IV 29 d, 4[63]
79	Babylonien	Babylon	306 (Alex. 11) (?)	MIΘRA	bab. Mit-ra-a	Dem?, Zl. 26.31: Schreiber[64]
80	Kappadokien	?	334	MIΘRA-BAUJANA	Μιθροβουζάνης	Diod. 17, 21, 3; Arr., Anab. 1, 16, 3: Satrap von Kappadokien, gefallen am Granikos
81	Phrygien	?	etwa 330/323	MIΘRA-UPASTA	Μιθραυάστης	Strab. XII, 3, 5: Vater: Arsites (Satrap von Kleinphrygien); floh vor Dareios III. und gelangte schliesslich zu Nearch[65]
82	Bithynien	Kios	337-302	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	Diod. 20, 111, 4: Herr-

[illegible] Bithynien	Kios	[illegible]	MIθRA-DATA	Μιθριδάτης	Diod. 20, 111, 4: Herrscher von Kios (M. 1.), von Antiochos 302 ermordet; Münzlegende Μιθριδάτου βασιλέως[63]
[illegible] Lydien	Sardeis	4. Jh.	MIθRÂTA	lyd. Mitrata°	Gusm. 23, 5; 24, 1: Vater von Nr. 84[64]
84 Lydien	Sardeis	4. Jh.	MIθRA-D°(?)	lyd. Mitridasta	Gusm. 23, 5.18; 24, 1. 17.20.22.23: Priester (kaveś), Sohn von Nr. 83[65]
85 Lydien	Sardeis	334/330[66]	MIθR-INA	Μιθρῆνης, Μιθρίνης usw	Diod. 17, 21, 7; 64, 6; Arr., Anab. 1, 17, 3bis.4; 3, 16, 5; Dion Chrys. 73, 2; Curt. 3, 12, 6; 5, 1, 44; 8, 12: Kommandant der Burg (φρουραρχος) von Sardeis unter Dareios III., später Alexanders Satrap von Kleinarmenien[66]

[58] Zur Person vgl. die beiden (!) Artikel von Berve bzw. Geyer, RE 15 2, 1932, Sp. 2157f. Nr. 2 und Sp. 2208 Nr. 20.

[59] Nach ihm ist ein Felskastell in Sogdien benannt, das Alexander eroberte, ἡ Σισιμιθροῦ (πέτρα) Strab. 11, 11, 4.

[60] Variante Μιθροβοῦτος nach den Angaben älterer Editionen, zum Namen vgl. im Text!

[61] Zur Person vgl. Berve, RE 15 2, 1932, Sp. 2155f. s.v. »Mithtazanes« (falsch eingeordnet), zur Namensdeutung vgl. oben im Text!

[62] Beachtenswert ist die Schreibung mit dem Gottesdeterminativ [illegible] *Mi-ri*, die Gleichsetzung mit Μιθροπάστης (vgl. etwa unten Nr. 81) stammt von Eilers, Wortform 173[1]. Zur Deutung vgl. im Text!

[63] Die Urkunde ist publiziert bei J. N. Strassmaier, »Arsaciden-Inschriften«, ZA 3, 1888, [illegible]9 Nr. 10, nach ihm stammt sie aus der Zeit des Demetrius, dagegen nach Eckhard Unger, Babylon, Berlin Leipzig 1931, S. 320 Nr. 28 aus dem 11. Jahre Alexanders (des Sohnes).

[64] Zur Person vgl. Berve, RE 15 2, 1932, Sp. 2216.

[65] Zur Münzlegende vgl. Th. Reinach, »Essai sur la numismatique des rois de Pontu«, Revue Numismatique III 6, 1888, 241 pl. XVI, 2.

[66] Bezeugt ist nur das Zugehörigkeitsadjektiv (= Patronymikon) *mitratalis*, zur Namensdeutung vgl. ausführlich oben im Text! — Vgl. oben Nr. 68 mit Anm. 51!

[67] *Mitridasta*, dessen Name etwa eine iranische Form **Miθra-[illegible]-da-[illegible]-ta* widerspiegelt — zu der Problematik hierzum vgl. oben im Text! —, war wohl Priester des sardischen Artemistempels, dann aber trotz seines Namens wohl kein gebürtiger Iranier.

[68] Zur Person vgl. Berve, RE 15 2, 1932, Sp. 2156. — Handschriftliche Überlieferung bei Diodor: Μιθρινν- RX, Μιθρῆν- F; Arrian 1, 17: Μιθρῆνης; 3, 16: Μιθρίνης A, Dion: Μιθρινης (U?: Μηθ°), Curtius: *Mithrenes*; zu deren Auswertung vgl. Schmitt bei Mayrhofer 289[81] und hier oben im Text! Offenbar -ῆνης für das Ursprüngliche hält Cumont II 83[2], der ganz Unvergleichbares vergleicht.

Lfd. Nr.	Land	Ort	Zeit	Name	Form	Beleg, Prosopographisches
4./3. Jahrhundert						
86	Syrien	?	4./3. Jh.	MIΘRA	Μιθρῆς, Μίθρας	Plut., Adv. Colot. 1126 E (33); Epic. 1097 B (15); Diog. Laert. 2, 102 usw.: Epikureer; Schatzmeister (διοικητής) des Lysimachos[67]
87	Pontos	?	302-266	MIΘRA-DÂTA	Μιθριδάτης	Plut., Demetr. 4, 1; App., Mithr. 9 usw.: Herrscher von Kios (M. II.), Gründer des Reiches von Pontos (M. I. Κτίστης); Sohn oder (wohl eher) Neffe von Nr. 82[68]
3. Jahrhundert						
88	Armenien	?	3. Jh.	MIΘRA-DÂTA	Μιθριδάτης	Polyb. 8, 25, 3: Schwestersohn Antiochos' III.: König von Kleinarmenien
89	Bosporanisches Reich	Pantikapaion	3. Jh.	MIΘRA-PÂTA	Μιτραβάτης	CIRB 245 = SEG II 487: Sohn: Lysippos, Tochter: Anaie
90	Ägypten	?	3. Jh.	MIΘRA-DÂTA	Μιθραδάτης	P. Petr. III 58 (e), col. I, 10; 3, 20: Sohn: Perses[69]
91	Ägypten	?	3. Jh.	MIΘRA-DÂTA	Μιθροδάτης	P. Gurob 22 I 2: Sohn: Phaies (Pächter von Schafen eines Mithraions im Arsinoitischen Nomos)[70]

92 Ägypten	Hermupolis	3. Jh.	MIΘR* (?)	Μίθρων	SB 6306, 1 = SEG 8, 623 (Inschrift seiner 7 Kinder am Petosiris-Tempel bei Hermupolis)
93 Pontos	?	etwa 250-220	MIΘRA-DÂTA	Μιθριδάτης	M. II., König von Pontos; Schwager Seleukos' II.[71]
94 Thrakien	Philippopolis	3. Jh.?	MIΘRA-DÂTA	Μιθριδάτης	IGB 1022, 2 = SEG III 543: Ehefrau: Chreste, Tochter: Kainis
95 Ägäis	Kasos	3. Jh.	MIΘRA-PÂTA	Μιτροβάτας	IG XII: 1, 1055
96 Boiotien	Oropos	etwa 240	MIΘRA-DÂTA	Μιθριδάτης	IG VII 303 = CIG 1570 b, 80
97 Attika	Athen	3. Jh.	MIΘRA-DÂTA	Μιτραδάτης	IG II², 1593 = II/III², 4684, wohl Sklave[73]
3./2. Jahrhundert					
98 Parthien	?	3./2. Jh.	MIΘRA-DÂTA	Μιθραδάτης, lat. Mithridates	Agatharchides FGrHist 86 F 16; Liv. 33, 19, 9: Sohn und Feldherr des Antiochos II.[74]
99 Pontos	?	etwa 220-185	MIΘRA-DÂTA	Μιθραδάτης	M. III., König von Pontos[74]

[67] Zur Person vgl. Capelle, RE 15/2, 1932, Sp. 2156f.
[68] Zur Person vgl. Geyer, RE 15/2, 1932, Sp. 2158ff. Nr. 7; vgl. Pape-Benseler 922 b.
[69] Vgl. Marcel Launey, Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques, Paris 1949-1950, S. 570 und 1251 (Πέρσης Μιθραδάτου).
[70] Vgl. ebendo S. 570, 959 (mit Anm. 1), 1251 (Φω[ί]ν; Μιθραδάτου).
[71] Zur Person vgl. Geyer, RE 15/2, 1932, Sp. 2160f. Nr. 8.
[72] Der auf dieser Weihinschrift für Μὴν Genannte war wegen des fehlenden Patronymikons und Ethnikons wohl Sklave; vgl. Olivier Masson, »Les noms des esclaves dans la Grèce antique«, Actes du Colloque 1971 sur l'esclavage, Paris 1973, S. 17.
[73] Zur Person vgl. Geyer, RE 15/2, 1932, Sp. 2207f. Nr. 19.
[74] Nur numismatisch bezeugt: βασιλέως Μιθραδάτου; vgl. Head, HN² 500.

Lfd. Nr.	Land	Ort	Zeit	Name	Form	Beleg, Prosopographisches
	2. Jahrhundert					
100	Baktrien	?	2. Jh.	MIΘRA-VAXŠA(?)	Μιθροάξης (?)	BCH 6, 1882, 41 = Syll.[2] 588, 109: Sohn: Hyspasines[75]
101	Parthien	?	etwa 171-138/7	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	M.I., König von Parthien; Beiname: Φιλέλλην[76]
102	Armenien	?	2. Jh.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	Polyb. 25, 2, 3.11: Satrap von Armenien; kämpft mit Ariarathes IV. von Kappadokien
103	Armenien	?	165	MIΘRA-BAUJANA	Μιθροβουζάνης	Diod. 31, 22; Polyb. 30, 15: Fürst der Sophene; von Ariarathes IV. gegen Artaxias restituiert
104	Armenien	Armavir	2. Jh.	MIΘRA	Μίθρας	REG 65, 1952, 183: König in Armavir (ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀρμαβοσίρων Μίθρας)
105	Ägypten	?	2. Jh.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	P. Strassb. II 115, 12: Zeuge; vermutlich Militärkolon (Μιθριδάτης [...][ργε[--])[77]
106	Ägypten	Ptolemaïs Hermu	138/7	MIΘRA-BANDAKA	Μιθροβανδάκης	SB III 6184, 14: Soldat; Vater: Srusos[78]
107	Pontos	?	etwa 170-150	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθραδάτης, lat. Mitradates	M. IV., König von Pontos[79]
108	Pontos	?	etwa 150-120	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης, Μιθραδάτης	M. V. Euergetes, König von Pontos[80]
109	Pontos	Sinope	2. Jh.?	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθραδάτης	Amphorenstempel: Töpfer[81]

110 Kappadokien	?	173	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθραδάτης	SGDI 1799, 1 usw.: in Delphi freigelassener Sklave (τὸ γένος Καππάδοξ)
111 Phrygien	Apameia	nach 133	MIΘRA° (?)	Μιθρο[...]	BMC. Phrygia 72, Nr. 25: Münzbeamter[82]
112 Mysien	Pergamon	2. Jh.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθραδάτης	SNG. Aulock 1377: Münzbeamter
113 Lydien	Sardeis	2. Jh.?	MIΘRA	Μιθρης	Sardis VII: 1, Nr. 224, 7 (Μιθρης); [illegible], 10-12 (Μιθρήους): Töpfer
114 Ägäis	Thera	2. Jh.	MIΘRA-KA	Μιθράκης	IG XII: 3, 337, 6: Freigelassener eines Eunomos[83]
115 Dakien	Histria	2. Jh.	MIΘRA-UPASTA	Μιτροαβάστης	Amphorenstempel: Töpfer[84]
116 Phokis	Delphi	2. Jh.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	Vater von Nr. 117

[75] Die delische Inschrift (ein Inventar) nennt ein Ὑπασπιστοῦ Μιθροάξου Βακτριανοῦ ἀνάθημα, der Name heisst also Μιθροάξης oder Μιθρόαξος (so z.B. schon Justi 216 b), zur Deutung vgl. Justi ebenda und oben im Text (auch zum Verhältnis dieses Namens zu Nr. 128).

[76] Zur Person vgl. Geyer, RE 15/2, 1932, Sp. 2208-2210 Nr. 21.

[77] Vgl. Launey, a.a.O., S. 570, 125).

[78] Zu dem Namen vgl., mit weiteren Literaturhinweisen, Rüdiger Schmitt, »Einige iranische Namen auf Inschriften oder Papyrie«, ZPE 17, 1975, 18f., akzeptiert von Hinz, Sprachgut 166.

[79] Vgl. ausser CIG II 2276, CIL I² 730 = VI 30 922: BCH 34, 1910, 429ff. insbesondere Pape-Benseler 922 b und Head, HN² 500f.

[80] Zur Person vgl. Geyer, RE 15,2, 1932, Sp. 2162f. Nr. 11.

[81] Belege: AJA 9, 1905, 297f. Nr. 7 sowie bei V. Canarache, Importul amforelor ştampilate la Istria, Bucureşti 1957, S. 401 usw. (Indices); vgl. Robert 515 (mit Anm. 1) und Zwanziger 56.

[82] Vgl. Münsterberg 158; Robert 349.

[83] Vgl. Lambertz II 25, zum Namen auch Schmitt bei Mayrhofer 290 § 11.1.8.3.2 (mit Anm. 87).

[84] Vgl. Canarache, a.a.O., S. 301 Nr. 771.

Lfd. Nr.	Land	Ort	Zeit	Name	Form	Beleg, Prosopographisches
117	Phokis	Delphi	2. Jh. (nach 150)	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	unedierte Inschrift: Freilasser; Sohn von Nr. 116[83]
118	Attika	Athen	2. Jh.?	MIΘRA-PĀTA	Μιτροβάτης	IG II², 1610 = II/III², 4689
hellenistische Zeit						
119	Kappadokien	Tyana	?	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	Bull. ép. 1958, S. 333 Nr. 492, 3 (Dat. Μίθρει); Vater: Anoptenos, Ehefrau: Mu[84]
120	Phrygien	Laodikeia	?	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	I. Laodikeia Nr. 8, 3: Vater von Nr. 121
121	Phrygien	Laodikeia	?	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	I. Laodikeia Nr. 8, 3: Sohn von Nr. 120[85]
122	Mysien	Pergamon	?	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθραδάτης	A. Pergamon VIII: 1, 213: Vater von Nr. 123
123	Mysien	Pergamon	?	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθραδάτης	A. Pergamon VIII: 1, 213: Sohn von Nr. 122
2./1. Jahrhundert						
124	Parthien	?	etwa 123-88	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	Joseph., Ant. 13, 14, 3; Iust. 42, 2, 3ff. usw.: M. II., König von Parthien; Beiname: Ἐπιφανής[86]
125	Parthien	?	2./1. Jh.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	Joseph., Ant. 13, 14, 3: parthischer Satrap Mesopotamiens unter Nr. 124; Beiname: ὁ Σινάκης
126	Syrien	Antiocheia	2./1. Jh.	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	IG III², 2336 = II/III²,

					8240;41 (Athen): Μίθρης Σέσου Ἀντιοχείς
127 Pontos	?	etwa 120-63	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης, Μιθραδάτης, lat. Mi(h)ridates usw.	M. VI. Eupator, König von Pontos[89]
[redacted] Kappadokien	Ariaratheia	2./1. Jh.	MIΘRA* (?)	Μιθραξίδης	IG II[1] (:5), 451f. 11: Sohn: NN (...] Μιθραξίδου Ἀριαράθεα)[90]
129 Mysien	Pergamon	2./1. Jh.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθραδάτης	BMC Mysia 127: Münzbeamter[91]
130 Lydien	Sardeis	2./1. Jh	MIΘRA-DĀTA	M[i]θροδάτης	Sardis VII: 1, Nr. 5, 4: sardischer Gesandter nach Milet; Vater: Μητρο[...
131 Lydien	Sardeis	2./1. Jh	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	Sardis VII: 1, Nr. 5, 2b: sardischer Gesandter nach Milet Μίθρης Δίδιμός[92]

[85] Die Belege vgl. bei E. Rösch, Grammatik der delphischen Inschriften I: Lautlehre. Berlin 1914, S. 20; dieser hebt auch die ungewöhnliche Flexion hervor: Nom., Akk. Μιθριδάτης, -ην (gemeingriechisch) gegen Gen., Dat. Μιθριδάτα, -τᾳ (dorisch).

[86] Vgl. Robert 493 (mit Anm. 3), 509 (mit Anm. 3) und Zwanziger 22.

[87] Beleg: Μίθρης Μιθρη[ους]

[88] Vgl. Justi 211 b Nr. 21; Geyer, RE 15.2, 1932, Sp. 2210f. Nr. 22

[89] Literarische und inschriftliche Bezeugung im Griechischen und Lateinischen (Formen: *Mithri-, Mitri-, Mitre-, Metro-d*[*]) sehr reich; Ableitungen verschiedener Art: *-dateus, -datiens, -datius*; -δατικός, -δατειος, -δατιωρός. Zu den Münzlegenden vgl. Head, HN[2] 501f., zur Person Geyer, RE 15.2, 1932, Sp. 2163-2205 Nr. 12.

[90] Zu der Form dieses Namens vgl. im einzelnen oben im Text!

[91] Vgl. Münsterberg [redacted].

[92] Doppelname; vgl. Zwanziger 23.

Lfd. Nr.	Land	Ort	Zeit	Name	Form	Beleg. Prosopographisches
	I. Jahrhundert v. Chr.					
132	Parthien	?	etwa 57-54	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	Joseph., Ant. 14, 6, 4; Iust. 42, 4, 1 ff. usw.: M. III., König von Parthien; Vater: Phraates
133	Parthien	?	I. Jh.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	Plut., Anton. 46, 4; 48, 1: Vetter (ἀνεψιός) des Monaises
134	Parthien	?	etwa 12-9 v. Chr.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	Joseph., Ant. 16, 8, 4: M. IV., Gegenkönig Phraates' IV.[93]
135	Armenien	?	I. Jh.	MIΘRA-BRZĀNA	Μιθροβαρζάνης	Plut., Luc. 25, 2; App., Mithr. 84: Feldherr des Tigranes gegen Lucullus[94]
136	Armenien	?	I. Jh.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	Cass. Dio 36, 14, 2: Schwiegersohn (γαμβρός) des Tigranes von Armenien; herrscht im Atropatenischen Medien
137	Bosporanisches Reich	?	I. Jh.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθραδάτης	M. I., König des Bosporanischen Reiches; angeblicher Sohn von Nr. 127, tatsächlich der eines Menodotos; genannt ὁ Περγαμηνός; Freund Caesars[95]
138	Kommagene	?	etwa 96-70	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθραδάτης	Cass. Dio 54, 9, 2.3; Plut., Anton. 61, 2: M. I., König der Kommagene;

					Beiname: Καλλίνικος; Vater: Sames[93]
139 Kommagene	?	etwa 20 v. Chr.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθραδάτης	Plut., Anton. 61, 2: M. II., König der Kommagene; Vasall des Antonius; Vater: Antiochos I.; von seinem Bruder Antiochos II. umgebracht
140 Kommagene	?	20 v. Chr.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	Cass. Dio 54, 9, 3: M. III., König der Kommagene (durch Augustus); Vater (oder Onkel?): Nr. 139[94]
141 Ägypten	?	80/79	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μεθρεταδής	BGU VI 1292, 4[95]
142 Ägypten	?	77	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθροδάτης	P. Merton 6, 2.9: Sohn: Kastor
143 Ägypten	Tebtynis	1. Jh.	MIΘR' (?)	Μιτρεύς	P. Teb. II 554 (Namenliste)
144 Pontos	?	1. Jh.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθραδάτης	OGIS 368; 369; usw.: Sohn von Nr. 108; wohl Mitregent von Nr. 127 und von diesem umgebracht; Beiname: χρηστός[96]

[93] Zur Person vgl. Justi 212 b Nr. 35, Geyer, RE 15/2, 1932, Sp. 2212 Nr. 24.
[94] Handschriftenvariante bei Appian: Μιθροβουζάνης, vgl. Nr. 80, 103.
[95] Reiche literarische, daneben ein paar inschriftliche Belege: zur Person vgl. Geyer, RE 15/2, 1932, Sp. 2205f. Nr. 15.
[96] Inschriftlich reich bezeugt: vgl. u.a. OGIS 396, 410, 402, 3; zur Person vgl. Geyer, RE 15/2, 1932, Sp. 2213 Nr. 29.
[97] Inschriftlich bezeugt in IG III², 554 = OGIS 406, 3; zur Person vgl. Geyer, RE 15/2, 1932, Sp. 2214 Nr. 31.
[98] Belegt auf einer Privatrechnung, ad loc. heisst es zutreffend: »Es ist wohl Μιθραδάτου [scil. für Μεθρεταδου] gemeint«.
[99] Zur Person vgl. Geyer, RE 15/2, 1932, Sp. 2205 Nr. 13.

Lfd. Nr.	Land	Ort	Zeit	Name	Form	Beleg. Prosopographisches
145	Pontos	?	1. Jh.	MIΘRA° (?)	Μιθάρας, Μιθράος	Memnon FGrHist 434 F 1, 27/355, 17; App., Mithr. 10: Feldherr von Nr. 127; Sohn: Diophantes (Truppenführer desselben)[100]
146	Pontos	?	1. Jh.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	App., Mithr. 64; Oros. 6, 2, 10: Sohn von Nr. 127; später kurze Zeit König von Kolchis, von seinem Vater beseitigt[101]
147	Pontos	?	1. Jh.	MIΘRA-DĀT°(?)	Μιθριδάτις	App., Mithr. 111: Tochter von Nr. 127[102]
147a	Kappadokien	Komana	1. Jh.	MIΘRA-TAUXMA	Μιθρατώχμης	An. St. 18, 1968, 102 Nr. 2, 05, 2: Urgrossvater von Nr. 149
148	Kappadokien	Komana	1. Jh.	MIΘRA-TAUXMA	Μιθρατώχμης	An. St. 18, 1968, 111 Nr. 3, 01: M]ιθρατώχμη[ς: identisch mit Nr. 147a, 149 oder 150?[103]
149	Kappadokien	Komana	1. Jh.	MIΘRA-TAUXMA	Μιθρατώχμης	An. St. 18, 1968, 102 Nr. 2, 05, 2; 101f. Nr. 2, 04, 3ff.: Vater: Iazemis, Grossvater: Iazemis, Urgrossvater: Nr. 147a; Priester der Νικηφόρος Θεά; Gymnasiarch, Stratege von Kataonien[104]
150	Kappadokien	Komana	1. Jh.	MIΘRA-TAUXMA	Μιθρατώχμης	An. St. 18, 1968, 106 Nr. 2, 11, 3f.: Sohn: Spites[105]

151 Phrygien	Dorylaion	59 v. Chr.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	lat. Mithridates	Cic., Flacc. 17, 41 : Belastungszeuge gegen L. Valerius Flaccus, aus Dorylaion gebürtig [106]
152 Lydien	Sardeis	1. Jh.	MIΘRA	Μιθρης	Sardis VII : 1, 132 : Vater : Menekrates, Sohn : Menophantos
152a Lydien	Ephesos	46 v. Chr.	MIΘRA	lat. Mithres	Cic., Fam. 13, 69, 1 : C. Curtius Mithres ... libertus Postumi
153 Lydien	Ephesos	4/3 v. Chr.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης, lat. Mithridates	Ephesos III 6 : Freigelassener des Agrippa [107]
154 Karien	Milet	86/85	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθραδάτης	Milet Nr. 125, 5 : Stephanephoros
155 Karien	Magnesia	1. Jh.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	I. Magnesia 137 = BCH 18, 1894, 10 Nr. 3 : Vater : Iazemis (Ehreninschrift) [108]

[100] Für Memnon ist »Μιθάρου« überliefert; dafür ist Μιθαρου oder -ρου zu lesen (Justi 207 a abstrahierte »Μιθαρος«). — Bei Appian steht Μιθράος (Varianten : Μιθρεως, Μιθρωος); Viereck-Roos, ad loc. vermuten »fortasse scribendum Μιθραοος«, und Wilhelm Schulze, »Ἀρταξέρης Ἀτρσω«, KZ 33, 1895, 221 = W. Sch., Kleine Schriften, Göttingen (1933), S. 275[4] meinte sogar, »unsere handschriftliche Überlieferung führte wohl eher auf Μιθρωιος, d.i. Μιθραιος 'der Ägypter'«! — Ob es sich bei den beiden Genannten um dieselbe Person handelt, lässt sich nicht sicher ausmachen; eine Vermutung dieser Art findet sich aber auch schon bei Zgusta 74 § 65.

[101] Zur Person vgl. Geyer, RE 15-2, 1932, Sp. 2205 Nr. 14.

[102] Variante : -ατης, zur Namensform vgl. oben im Text!

[103] Genannt als Weihender auf einer Weihinschrift.

[104] Das Lemma geht davon aus, dass in beiden Inschriften dieselbe Person (die an der erstgenannten Stelle den Doppelnamen Μιθραταξάρης ὁ καὶ Ἀριοβαρζάνης führte : vgl. Zwanziger 34[101], 59[104]) gemeint ist.

[105] Zum Stammbaum der Familie vgl. Zwanziger 70[104].

[106] Vgl. *Mithridaticum crimen* bei Cicero.

[107] Von demselben stammt eine Marmorplatte mit der lateinisch-griechischen Inschrift *Mithradates Agrippae L.*/Μιθραδάτης Ἀγρίππου ἀπελεύθερος, die in Ephesos III, ad loc. zitiert wird.

[108] Vgl. Robert 434.

Lfd Nr.	Land	Ort	Zeit	Name	Form	Beleg. Prosopographisches
156	Karien	Magnesia	1. Jh.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	I. Magnesia 352: Tochter: Nannis
	1. Jahrhundert n. Chr.					
157	Parthien	?	etwa 10-40	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	Joseph., Ant. 18, 9, 6f.; Schwiegersohn Artabanos' III., Satrap[109]
158	Parthien	?	1. Jh.?	MIΘRĀTA	Μιθράτης	OGIS 431 = CIG III 4674: wohl Satrap unter Gotarzes[110]
159	Armenien	?	bis 52 n. Chr.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης, lat. Mithridates	Cass. Dio 58, 26, 4; Tac., Ann. 6, 32, 4; 33, 1 usw.: Sohn von Nr. 160; König von Armenien; Beiname: Hiberus[111]
160	Iberien	?	1. Jh.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	Cass. Dio 58, 26, 4; 60, 8, 1: König von Iberien; Vater von Nr. 159; Beiname: ὁ Ἴβηρ
161	Iberien	?	75 n. Chr.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	OGIS 379 = IGR III 133 = SEG XX 112, 14: König der Iberer; Vater: Pharasmanes[112]
162	Syrien	Palmyra	95 (406 Sel.-Ä.)	MIΘR-AYA	palm. Mtry	Tochter (?): Bat-Mitrai[113]
163	Ägypten	Philadelphia	41 n. Chr.	MIΘRA-D-A (?)	Μιθροδᾶς	BGU VII 1660, 2: Vater: Patron[114]
164	Ägypten	Philadelphia	25 n. Chr.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθραδάτης	P. Cor. 21, 365; P. Princ. 2, V 6: Μιθραδάτη(ς) Ποσείωνος
165	Ägypten	Philadelphia	etwa	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθραδάτης	P. Princ. 13, XII 10:

		35 n. Chr.			Μιθραδ(άτης) Πασιω-(νος)[115]
166 Pontos	?	1. Jh.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθραδάτης, lat. Mithridates	M. VII., König von Pontos = M. II., König des Bosporanischen Reiches; Urenkel (?) von Nr. 127[116]
167 Kappadokien	Komana	1. Jh.	MIΘRA	Μιτρᾶς	An. St. 18, 1968, 94 Nr. 1, 01, 5f. = IGR III 125; Prytane; Ἰουλί(ο)υ Μιτρᾶ; Vater: Appa[117]
168 Phrygien	Prymnessos	1. Jh. (Nero)	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	BMC. Phrygia 365 Nr. 24f.; SNG. Aulock 3942;

[108] Vgl. Geyer, RE 15/2, 1932, Sp. 2213 Nr. 28.

[110] Diese auf der griechischen Inschrift am Behistûn-Felsen gelesene Form gilt nach Robert bei Benveniste 104[2] (vgl. Zwanziger 98[178]) als »très douteuse«. Μιθρίτης war wohl Satrap unter dem als σατραπεύων τῶν σατραπῶν bezeichneten Γωβάρης, vielleicht identisch mit dessen Gegenkönig *Mehrdates* (Tac., Ann. 11, 10, 4; 12, 10, 1ff.), vgl. Justi 213 a Nr. 39. Das Nebeneinander dieser beiden Formen Μιθρ- *Mehr-* zeugt für den historischen Charakter der erstgenannten Schreibung, zumindest bei den späteren Arsakiden!

[111] Armenischer König von Tiberius' Gnaden, von Caligula in Rom gefangen gehalten, von Claudius wieder in seine Herrschaft eingesetzt; zur Person vgl. Geyer, RE 15/2, 1932, Sp. 2214f. Nr. 33.

[112] Die Inschrift des Vespasian nennt ihn φιλοκαίσαρ καὶ φιλορώμαιος; zur Person vgl. Geyer, RE 15/2, 1932, Sp. 2215 Nr. 34.

[113] Die eine der Besitzerinnen des Grabes I der von Harald Ingholt beschriebenen »Two unpublished tombs from the Southwest necropolis of Palmyra, Syria« (in: Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History. Studies in Honor of George C. Miles, Beirut 1974, S. 37-54) heisst *Bt Mtry* »Tochter Nachkomme des Mitra«. Ingholt, a.a.O., S. 47 hebt ausdrücklich hervor, dass »the second element in the names ... will ... denote not their father but some other male ascendant«. Er interpretiert (S. 38, 47f.) *Mtry* als iran. MIΘRAYA und verweist S. 48[14] ausdrücklich auf die parthischen Belege der Dura-Europos-Ostraka und auf die griechischen Formen Μιθρεῖος, Μιτρεῖος, ihm folgt Ronald Zwanziger, Rezensionsaufsatz zu Stark, »Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions«, Sprache 21, 1975, 199 a (den mir der Verfasser dankenswerterweise bereits im Manuskript zugänglich machte). Dieser Beleg ist der einzige in Palmyra, der den **Miθra-*Namen in einer Form mit *-t-* (gegen sonstiges *Mhr-/Mhr-*) enthält; hierzu vgl. oben im Text!

[114] Im Kommentar zu dieser Quittung über eine Mietrestzahlung heisst es: »Die Kurzform Μιθροδᾶς kommt sonst nicht vor«; zu ihrer Interpretation vgl. oben im Text!

[115] Identisch mit Nr. 164?

[116] Reiche literarische Belege; zur Person vgl. Geyer, RE 15/2, 1932, Sp. 2206f. Nr. 16.

[117] Der Lesungsvorschlag Ἰουλί(ο)υ Μιτρᾶ von Harper ersetzt den älteren von Ramsay Ἰουλίου Ἀν[τ]ίου Μιτρᾶ (vgl. Justi 207 b Nr. 21; vgl. zum Problem Zwanziger 23 mit Anm. 87.

Lfd. Nr.	Land	Ort	Zeit	Name	Form	Beleg, Prosopographisches
						ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου Μιθριδάτου; Münzbeamter Münzbeamter[118]
169	Phrygien	Aizanis	1. Jh. (Nero)	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθραδάτης	
170	Phrygien	Sebaste	98/99 (183 sull. Ära)	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθραδάτης	BCH 7, 1883, 452ff. = IGR IV 690, col. I, 39; Geronl; voller Name: Γάιος Καρβιλλιος Γαΐου υἱὸς Φαβία Μιθραδάτης (= Cognomen)[119]
171	Lydien	Smyrna	80 n. Chr.	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	CIG 3173 → IGR IV 1393, 8f.: Priester (Γ. Ἰουλίου Φαβία Μίθρης)
172	Attika	Athen	1. Jh.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	IG III², 1078 = II/III², 1968, 1. Archon in Athen
1./2. Jahrhundert						
173	Iberien	?	1./2. Jh. (Traian)	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	IG XIV 1374 (Rom): König von Iberien; vielleicht Sohn von Nr. 159[120]
174	Phrygien	Apameia	1./2. Jh. (*etwa 80)	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	MAMA VI 180 II 2f.; 182, 10 = OGI 490 = IGR IV 780 usw.: Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Κυρείνα Μιθριδάτης, Grosspriester von Asia; Sohn eines Tiberius, Vater von Nr. 177[121]
II. Jahrhundert						
175	Bosporanisches Reich	?	155-171	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθραδάτης	CIG II 2109 c: Μιθραδάτης Εὐπάτορ; Nach-

					komme von Nr. 127; König des Bosporanischen Reiches[122]
176 Pontos	Amaseia	169	MIΘRA-DÂTA	Μιθριδάτης	SEG 13, 530, 1f.: Κορ(νηλίῳ) Μιθριδάτῃ
177 Phrygien	Apameia	2. Jh. (*etwa 105)	(MIΘRA-DÂTA)	Μιθριδατιανός	MAMA VI 180 II 2f.; 15 usw.: Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Κυρείνᾳ Πείσων Μιθριδατιανός, Priester; Sohn von Nr. 174, Vater von Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Κυρείνᾳ Γρανιανός (Gymnasiarch)[123]
178 Phrygien	Kadoi	2. Jh. (Commodus)	MIΘRA-DÂTA	Μιθραδάτης	Münzbeamter[124]
179 Lydien	Dios Hieron	2. Jh. (Pius)	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	BMC Lydia 75f. Nr. 91f.: ἐπὶ Α. Ἰουλ. Μίθρου γρ.; Münzbeamter[125]
180 Karien	Tabai	2. Jh.	MIΘRA-DÂTA	Μιθριδάτης	Robert, La Carie II 380 Nr. 192, 10: Φλ(άβιος) Μιθριδάτης; Sohn: Τ(ίτος) Φλ(άβιος) Πιπίας (Priester)[126]
181 Karien	Tabai	2. Jh.	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	Robert, La Carie II 381 Nr. 193, 9: Sohn: Zenon

[118] Vgl. Münsterberg 155.
[119] Vgl. Louis et Jeanne Robert, La Carie II, Paris 1936, S. 175[2]. Zwanziger 56 mit Anm. 293 (zum Tribusnamen Φαβίᾳ)
[120] Zur Person vgl. Geyer, RE 15 2, 1932, Sp. 2215 Nr. 35
[121] Zum Stammbaum der Familie (und weiteren Einzelheiten) vgl. W. M. Ramsay, The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia, Oxford 1895-1897, ad Nr. 293
[122] Zur Person (die in RE nicht verzeichnet ist) vgl. Justi 213 a Nr. 44.
[123] Vgl. oben Anm. 121.
[124] Vgl. Münsterberg 160.
[125] Vgl. Münsterberg 135, Robert 217[2].
[126] Der Sohn (»ἱερεύς« Nom.) gehörte zu einer tabaischen Delegation zum Apollonorakel in Klaros.

Lfd. Nr.	Land	Ort	Zeit	Name	Form	Beleg, Prosopographisches
						(Priester; Delegierter zum Apollonorakel von Klaros)[127]
182	Thrakien	Serdica	2. Jh.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθραδ(ά)της	IGB 1925 b, c, 9f.: Ehefrau: Kyria
183	Ägäis	Thera	2. Jh.	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	IG XII: 3, 479, 10; 662 I 1f.; 718, 3f. usw.: Archon von Thera; Vater: Poros
184	Attika	Athen	2. Jh	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	IG III², 1298, 8 = II/III², 2472, 8: Vater: Athenodoros
2./3. Jahrhundert						
185	Karien	Sebastopolis	2. oder 3. Jh.	MIΘR° (?)	Μιθρ[...	Robert, La Carie II 326 Nr. 176, 2: Sohn: Sosimos (Vater von Nr. 186)
186	Karien	Sebastopolis	2. oder 3. Jh.	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	Robert, La Carie II 326 Nr. 176, 2: Αὐρ. Μίθρης; Vater: Sosimos (Sohn von Nr. 185)[128]
3. Jahrhundert						
187	Ägypten	Oxyrhynchos	214	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	P. Oxy. X 1278, 2.18: Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀνδρόνικος Μ[ί]θρης
188	Kappadokien	Komana	249/250	MIΘRA-TAUXMA	Μιθρατάχμης	An. St. 18, 1968, 98 Nr. 1, 06, [illegible] = SEG VI 794, 8f.: Φλ. Μιθρατάχμης; Prytane[129]
189	Pisidien	?	3. Jh.	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθραδάτης	ABS 18, 1911/12, 62ff.,

					[illegible] 70: Αὐρ. Μιθραδάτης Ἀλεξάνδρου Κτ[ι]μενηνός]
190 Lydien	Sardeis	3. Jh. (Iulia Domna)	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	BMC. Lydia 259f. Nr. 147ff.; SNG. Aulock 3156, 8256: ἐπὶ Γ. Κλ. Μίθρου ἀρχ.; Münzbeamter[130]
191 Lydien	Ephesos	3. Jh.	MIΘRA-DÂTA	Μιθριδάτης	Ephesos II 42, 7ff.: γραμματεύου[τος] Μ. Ἀρουνκήου Οὐήδιου Μιθριδάτου]
192 Lydien	Ephesos	244	MIΘRA-DÂTA	Μιθριδάτης	Ephesos IV: 3, 36, 8 = SEG IV 523, 8: Αὐρουνκήος Μιθριδάτης; ephesischer γραμματεύς; Verwandter, vielleicht Sohn von Nr. 191
193 Lydien	Smyrna	3. Jh.	MIΘRA	Μίθρας	IG XIV 1815 = CIG 6250, 1 = Kaibel, Epigrammata 237 Nr. 584: Grosspriester des Heiligtums des Koinons von Asia; Sohn: Lucius
194 Italien	Ostia	[illegible]	MIΘRA	lat. Mithres	CIL XIV 4573, 23: ... Tjuccius Mithres, Angehöriger des corpus fontanorum

[127] Zum Gesamtkomplex vgl. Robert ad loc. (sowie Nr. 180).
[128] Vgl. Zwanziger 22 mit Anm. 81
[129] Vgl. Zwanziger 59[108], zur Deutung des Namens vgl. oben im Text!
[130] Vgl. Münsterberg 148.

Lfd. Nr.	Land	Ort	Zeit	Name	Form	Beleg, Prosopographisches
	3./4. Jahrhundert					
195	Lydien	Hypaipu	325	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	Bischof von Hypaipu zur Zeit des Konzils von Nicaea 325 n. Chr.[131]
	römische Zeit (nicht genauer bestimmbar)					
196	Bosporanisches Reich	?	?	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθροδάτης, Μιθριδάτης	Töpferstempel: Töpfer[132]
197	Bosporanisches Reich	?	?	MIΘRA-UPASTA	Μιθροπάστης	Töpferstempel: Töpfer[133]
198	Kommagene	?	?	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	CIG 5057, 8: Sohn: Antiochos, Angehöriger einer Εἴλη Κομμαγηνῶν
199	Kommagene	?	?	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	CIG 5057, 12f.: Angehöriger einer Εἴλη Κομμαγηνῶν
200	Ägypten	Theben	?	(MIΘRA-DĀTA)	lat. Mithridaticus	CIL III 60, 1: ...]lius Mithridaticus; Tribun der 22. Legion
201	Kappadokien	Komana	?	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	An. St. 18, 1968, 120 Nr. 5, 24, 2f.: Vater: Τιμαβει τῷ πατρι[134]
202	Kappadokien	Komana	?	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	An. St. 18, 1968, 120 Nr. 5, 25, 1f.: Sohn: N[.]υλος[135]
203	Kappadokien	Komana	?	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	An. St. 18, 1968, 101 Nr. 2, 02, 6: ἐπιμελητής; Vater: Dada[136]
204	Kappadokien	Komana	?	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	An. St. 18, 1968, 127 Nr. 6, 10, 4f.: Φ. Μίθρης; Söhne: Τι. Κλαυ-

					διανός Διόδοτος, Ἰ. Φ. Θεόφιλος[137]
205	Kappadokien	Komana	?	MIθRĀTA	Μιθράτης	An. St. 18, 1968, 115 Nr. 5, 09: Ehefrau: Dalasena, Tochter eines Apollonios[138]
206	Kappadokien	Kokusos	?	MIθRA-TAUXMA	Μιθραπάχμης	SEG XII 505: Vater: Indes[139]
207	Lykaonien	Tyriaion	?	MIθRA	Μίθρης	MAMA VII 126: Αὐρ. Μίθρης; Schwester: Anastasia
[illegible]	Lykaonien	Laodikeia	?	MIθRA-DĀTA	Μιθραδάτης	JHS 19, 1899, 289 Nr. 191: Vater: Euphoros
209	Lykaonien	?	?	MIθRA-DĀTA	Μιτραδάτης	MAMA VII 381: Α[ὐρ]. Μιτραδάτης; Sohn: Αὐρ. Νεικόμαχος; Ehefrau: Αὐρ. Μικκα[140]

[131] Zur Person vgl. Ensslin, RE 15/2, 1932, Sp. 2155 Nr. 2; Louis Robert, Hellenica 13, Paris 1965, S. 94 bemerkt dazu, dass »Hypaipa avait été un centre de colonisation perse«, ferner dass dieser und ein weiterer Bischof »n'ont aucun scrupule à porter des noms théophores; ... ils les portent parce que ce sont des noms répandus chez eux. Ces noms ont, dans l'usage, perdu leur sens religieux«.

[132] Vgl. die Belegangaben bei Zgusta 275f. § 547; es handelt sich wohl immer um Erzeugnisse der gleichen Werkstatt.

[133] Vgl. ebenda 276 § 548.

[134] Identisch mit einem der folgenden?

[135] Identisch mit Nr. 201 oder einem der folgenden? – Zu dem von Justi 216 a s.v. (nach der Erstedition BCH 7, 1883, 138 Nr. 22) aus dem Genetiv Μιθρεοῦς falsch erschlossenen Nominativ *Μιθρέης vgl. v.a. Zwanziger 111 § 4.6, aber bereits Cumont II 83[1] und 464[1].

[136] Identisch mit Nr. 202 oder 204?

[137] Identisch mit einem der vorausgehenden? Zu dem gesamten Komplex vgl. Zwanziger 22.

[138] Ausführlich handelt über diesen Beleg Zwanziger 98 § 3.29 und S. 109f. § 4.3, der Harpers Lesung Μιθρατιδίῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ verbessert in Μιθράτει <ι>δίῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ. – Unberücksichtigt lasse ich den Beleg IG II/III², 8093 = SEG XIII 140, wo Werner Peek, Attische Grabschriften, Berlin 1954, S. 20 Nr. 60 Μι(θρι<δ>ά)της oder Μιθ(ρά)της Ἀνέμιος liest und einschränkt: »wenn der Name nicht überhaupt anders lautete«.

[139] Vgl. Zwanziger 58.

[140] Vgl. Robert 57[2].

Lfd. Nr.	Land	Ort	Zeit	Name	Form	Beleg, Prosopographisches
210	Lykaonien	Laodikeia	?	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθροδάτης	MAMA I 114; Vater: Papas
211	Kilikien	Flaviopolis	?	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	Karatepe 23; Vater: Tarkondimotos[141]
212	Isaurien	?	?	MIΘRA-VAHYA(?)	Μειθρόας	Swoboda-Keil-Knoll 268; Αὐρ. Μειθρόα[142]
213	Galatien	Ankyra	?	(MIΘRA-DĀTA)	Μιθριδατικός	AEM 9, 1885, 114 Nr. 66 = IGR I 214; [A]ὐρήλιος [M]ιθριδατικός; Centurio der 3. Gall. Legion
214	Phrygien	?	?	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μηθροδάτης	MAMA VII 555, 6; Ehefrau: Mykke; Tochter: Kyradin
215	Phrygien	Kolossai	?	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	Inditum: Μίθρην ΖΕΣ[143]
216	Phrygien	Laodikeia	?	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	IG II/III² 9180; Sohn: Menoitas, begraben in Peiraieus[144]
217	Phrygien	Selmea	?	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιτραδάτης	JHS 19, 1899, 301 Nr. 230, 8; Tochter: Aurelia Tateis[145]
218	Pisidien	?	?	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	SERP 331 Nr. 5, 13; Αὐρη. Μίθρης Δωμᾶ Μα[ραλλιτεύς[146]
219	Pisidien	Anabura	?	MIΘRA	Μείθρης	MAMA VIII 360; Ehefrau: Megiste
220	Lykien	Sidyma	?	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μ[ιτρ]οδά[τ]ης	TAM II 238
221	Lykien	Kibyra	?	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	IGR IV 913; Vater: Eu(bios?)
222	Mysien	Pergamon	?	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	A. Pergamon VIII: 3, 137: ·Π· ·Γ· Μίθρης

223 Mysien	?	?	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	JHS 17, 1897, 281 Nr. 38
224 Lydien	Hierokaisareia	?	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	BCH 11, 1887, 94 Nr. 14 = IGR IV 1309; Vater: Krates; Sohn: Athenodoros(Priester)[147]
225 Lydien	Magnesia/Sipylos	?	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	LBW 1660 c: Freilasser eines Korymbos
226 Lydien	Metropolis	?	MIΘRA-DÂTA	Μιθριδάτης	Keil-Premerstein III 160: Sohn: ...]δοτρατος[148]
227 Lydien	Ephesos	?	MIΘRA-VAHYA(?)	Μιθρόας	Ephesos IV: 2, 81[149]
228 Lydien	Ephesos	?	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	BMI III 687 h, 4: Vater von Nr. 229
229 Lydien	Ephesos	?	MIΘRA-DÂTA	[Μιθραδ]άτης	BMI III 687 h, 4: Sohn von Nr. 228
230 Lydien	Ephesos	?	RAIVA-MIΘRA	Ῥαμίτρης	MAMA III 176 (Grabinschrift aus Kilikien): θῆκη Ῥαμίτρου .π.νι.ος ἀπὸ Ἐφέσου[150]
231 Lydien	Sardeis	?	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	IG XII: 5, 712 Nr. 1: Μίθρης πρεσβυτή[ς] Σ[υρ]διανός[151]

[141] Vgl. H. Th. Bossert-U. Bahadır Alkım, Karatepe. İstanbul 1947, S. 23.

[142] Zu dem Beleg (den Ladislav Zgusta, Kleinasiatische Personennamen. Prag 1964, S. 315 § 915 mit Anm. 205 zögernd anders auffasste) vgl. Zwanziger 98; zur Deutung des Namens vgl. ebenda 98f. und oben im Text!

[143] Diesen Beleg zitiert Zwanziger 23 aus den 'Wiener Scheden'.

[144] Μένοιτος wird als Ἀσσίκιο[ς] bezeichnet; vgl. Zwanziger 57 mit Anm. 298.

[145] Grabinschrift für ... μητρὶ Αἰ[ρ]. Τοῦτι Μυρε[δά]τος; beachtenswert die itazistische Schreibung mit < υ > = [i].

[146] Vgl. W. M. Ramsay, Studies in the History and the Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire. London 1906, S. 331 Nr. 5, 13 und Zwanziger 23.

[147] Vgl. Robert 217[1], Zwanziger 23.

[148] Vgl. Zwanziger [illegible].

[149] Beleg: τὸ δ[ού]λο σου πρ(εσβυτέρο) Μιθρόα (non vidi); vgl. dazu und zum Namen überhaupt Zwanziger 98f. § 3.30.

[150] Der in Korasion (Kilikien) begrabene Rheomitres stammte aus Ephesos — wie ausdrücklich vermerkt ist. Zur Deutung des Namens vgl. oben im Text!

[151] Vgl. Robert 291 mit Anm. 4 (der Μίθρῆς akzentuiert)

Lfd. Nr.	Land	Ort	Zeit	Name	Form	Beleg, Prosopographisches
232	Lydien	Sardeis	?	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	Μίθρης MIPH: Münzbeamter[147]
233	Karien	Aphrodisias	?	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθραδάτης	MAMA 8, 462 = REG 19, 1906, 135 Nr. 66: Vater: Athenagoras
234	Karien	Aphrodisias	?	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	MAMA 8, 517 b: Sohn: Titus Flavius (Τ. Φλ[ά]βιον [Φ]λαβίο[υ] Μ]ιθριδάτου υἱὸν Ἀθηναγόραν Ἀγαθόν)
235	Karien	Lagina	?	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθραδάτης	Benndorf-Niemann 131
236	Karien	Nysa	?	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	BCH 7, 1883, 275 Nr. 18: Sohn: Thyodotos (Θυαδότου Μιθρέως Φα...ρου)
237	Karien	Tralles	?	MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδατης	AM 11, 1886, 204 Nr. 2: Κλ. Μιθριδάτου Πατρώνος
238	Karien	Tralles	?	MIΘRA	Μιτρας	Ineditum: Tochter: Aphion (Ἀπφίου τοῦ Μίτρα)[153]
239	Ägäis	Rhodos	?	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	IG XII: 1, 748: Μίθρης Ἀπολλωνιάτας
240	Ägäis	Kos	?	MIΘRA	Μίθρα	Münzbeamter[154]
241	Ägäis	Amorgos	?	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	IG III: 3, 182: Vater: Kleitarchos
242	Ägäis	Thera	?	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	IG XII: 3, 404 b, 2; 682, 6; 759 a-b; 1510, 2; 1514 d; IG XII: Suppl. 157 c[155]
243	Ägäis	Syros	?	MIΘRA	Μίθρης	IG XII: 5, 712 Nr. 2: Vater: Kollybas[156]

244	Ägäis	Euboia (Karystos)	?	MIΘRA	Μιθρης	IG XII : 9, 33, 2 : Vater : Agathokles
245	Pannonien	Carnuntum	?	MIΘRA-DĀTA	lat. Mitridates	CIL III 11238 : Freilasser eines Apollonius Mitr[i]datus libe[rtus]
246	Italien	Pinna	?	MIΘRA	lat. Mithres	CIL IX 3353, 4 : T. Gavennius Mitrhes (sic!) Sev. Aug. fil.
247	Italien	Forum Novum	?	MIΘRA	lat. Mithres	CIL IX 4796, 21 : L. Nerusius Mithres
248	Italien	Capua	?	MIΘRA-DĀTA	lat. Mithridates	CIL X 4075 : Freigelassener : Cn. Cipius Cn. l. Mithridat(es)
249	Italien	?	*	MIΘRA-DĀTA	lat. Mithridates	CIL XI 983 : Freigelassener : D. Caulius D. l. Mit(h)ridates
250	Italien	Rom	?	MIΘR-AYA	lat. Mitreius	CIL VI 28976, 3f. : L. Mitreius Nestor[157]
251	Italien	Rom	?	MIΘR-AYA	lat. Mitreius	CIL VI 28976, 5f. : L. Mitreius Lycoreus[158]
252	Italien	Iguvium	?	MIΘR-AYA	lat. Mitreius	CIL XI 5861 : Mitreius Tertius
252a	Italien	Rom	?	MIΘRA	lat. Mithres	CIL VI 571 : Aurelius Mithres Aug(usti) l(ibertus) stralor

[157] Vgl. Münsterberg 147 (wo der Beleg nur aus einem älteren Handbuch zitiert wird); es handelt sich wohl um die Münze, auf die Le Bas-Waddington ad Nr. 1660 c (vgl. oben Nr. 225) verweisen : Μιθρης Μ[θ]ρη[σ<]?

[158] Diesen Beleg zitiert Zwanziger 23 aus den 'Wiener Scheden'. Die Interpretation von 'Λυκίου als Genetiv des femininen 'Λυκιον (das gerade in Karien häufig ist) folgt Zgusta, a.a.O. (Anm. 142), S. 78 §66-23.

[159] Vgl. Münsterberg 124.

[160] Wievielen verschiedenen Personen sind diese Belege zuzuweisen? Teilweise handelt es sich vielleicht auch um den theratischen Archonten M., den Sohn des Poros (vgl. Nr. 183). *Non liquet.*

[161] Diese Inschrift findet sich an einem Felsen, wo sich Seeleute 'verewigten' : vgl. Robert 291 mit Anm. 4.

[162] Vater/Grossvater von Nr. 251? Zum Namen vgl. oben im Text!

[163] Sohn/Enkel von Nr. 250?

Lfd Nr.	Land	Ort	Zeit	Name	Form	Beleg, Prosopographisches
253	Italien	Rom	?	MIΘRA-D-A	lat. Mithridas	CIL VI 5040 : C. Valerius Mithridas
254	Italien	Rom	?	MIΘRA	lat. Mithres	CIL VI 5344 : M. Valerius Mithres
254a	Italien	Rom	?	MIΘRA	lat. Mithres	CIL VI 10740 : P. Aelius Mithres [159]
255	Italien	Rom	?	MIΘRA-VAHIŠTA	lat. Metrausta	CIL VI 11088 : Freigelassener : L. Aemilius Pau(li) l. Metrausta [160]
255a	Italien	Rom	?	MIΘRA	lat. Mithres	CIL VI 13806 : Sex. Mucrius Mithres
255b	Italien	Rom	?	MIΘRA	lat. Mithres	CIL VI 14174 : Calpurnius Mithres
255c	Italien	Rom	?	MIΘRA	lat. Mithres	CIL VI 15016 : Ti(berius) Claudius Mithres : Mitfreigelassener eines Ti(berius) Claudius Eleutherus
255d	Italien	Rom	?	MIΘRA	lat. Mithres	CIL VI 21400 : M. Livius Mithres
256	Italien	Rom	?	MIΘRA	lat. Mithres	CIL VI 22565 : Ehefrau : Secunda [161]
256a	Italien	Rom	?	MIΘRA	lat. Mithres	CIL VI 22987 : T. Aelius Aug(usti) lib(ertus) Mithres
256b	Italien	Rom	?	MIΘRA	lat. Mithres	CIL VI 23959 : L. Vedus(ius) Mithres; Ehefrau : Persis [162]
256c	Italien	Rom	?	MIΘRA	lat. Mithres	CIL VI 25954 : T. Saufeius Mithres
256d	Italien	Rom	?	MIΘRA-D-A	lat. Mithridas	CIL VI 26668 : Freigelassener : L. Spedius L.L.L. Mithridas

257	Italien	Rom	?	MIΘR-AYA	lat. Mitreius	CIL VI 28063, 1: Q. Valerius Mitreius
257a	Italien	Rom	?	MIΘRA	lat. Mithres	CIL VI 29241: M. Ulpius Mithres; vielleicht identisch mit Nr. 257b
257b	Italien	?	?	MIΘRA	lat. Mithres	AE 1948, 27f. Nr. 57: M. Ulpius Aug(usti) lib(ertus) Mithres; vielleicht identisch mit Nr. 257a[163]
258	Italien	Rom	?	MIΘR-AYA	lat. Mitreius	CIL VI 38641: M. Mitreius M. f. Rufus
259	Italien	Rom	?	MIΘRA-DĀTA	lat. Metradates (?)	CIL I², 2309 = XV 965; Ziegelfabrikant: M. Curtius Metra(dates)[164]
260	Gallien	?	?	MIΘRA	lat. Mithres	CIL XII 2348, 1
261	Hispanien	Tarraco	?	MIΘRA-DĀTA	lat. Mitri(dates)	CIL II 4970, 97: Töpfer[165]
262	Numidien	Calama	?	MIΘRA-DĀTA	lat. Mithridates	CIL VIII 5443: Vater von Nr. 263
263	Numidien	Calama	?	MIΘRA-D-A	lat. Mithridas	CIL VIII 5443: Sohn von Nr. 262
Unhistorische Personen						
264	China			ARIYA-MIΘRA(?)	Ἡραμίθρης	Luk., Katapl. 21: ein Seres[166]

[159] Vgl. Anm. 161.
[160] Vgl. Justi 217 a *Miθsawahišta Nr. 3.
[161] Belegt ist der Dativ *Mithrei* wie von einem *Μιθρης, *Μιθρηος; zum Problem vgl. Peter Frei, Die Flexion griechischer Namen der I. Deklination im Latein, Winterthur 1958, S. 100.
[162] Auf dem Stein steht »Vedus«: lies *Vedus(ius)* oder *Vedi(ius)*?!
[163] Hinweis von Werner Eck.
[164] Bekannt sind drei Exemplare von Ziegeln (aus Rom bzw. Nemus) mit der Aufschrift *M. Curti Metra(dati)*.
[165] Die Vase trägt die Inschrift *C. Mitri*, was in CIL ad loc. als »*Mitri(dati)*« interpretiert wird.
[166] Justi 129 a: »wohl ein von Lucian erfundener Name«; zur Deutung vgl. oben im Text!

Lfd. Nr.	Land	Ort	Zeit	Name	Form	Beleg, Prosopographisches
265	Baktrien			MIΘRA-DĀTA	Μιθριδάτης	Charit. 4, 1, 7 usw.; 5, 4, 1: Baktrier, Satrap in Karien[167]
265a	Fars			MIΘRA-BĀDA	Μιθροβάδης, Μιθριβάδης	Ἐξήγησις περὶ τῶν ἐν Περσοῖς πραχθέντων p. 163, 23f.; 186, 12; 192, 2 Wirth[168]: Sohn des (legendären) Perserkönigs Artaxerxes
266	Medien			MIΘRA-FARNAH	Μιτραφέρνης	Nikol. v. Damask. FGrHist 90 F 4,335, 4: Eunuch des Mederkönigs Artaios[169]
267	Babylon			MIΘRA-BRZĀNA	Μιθροβαρζάνης	Luk., Nekyom. 6: Chaldäer in Babylon[170]
268	Assyrien			MIΘR-AYA	Μιθραῖος, lat. Mi-(h)r(a)eus, armen. Mit'ēos	Kastor v. Rhod. FGrHist 250 F 1d; Moses v. Choren I, 19 usw.: assyrischer König »1000 Jahre nach Semiramis«[171]
269	Ägypten			MIΘRĀNA	Μιτράνης	Heliodor 2, 24, 2; 5, 8, 2ff.; 6, 13, 1ff.: Befehlshaber des Satrapen Oroondates[172]
270	Ägypten			MIΘRA	lat. Mithras	Apul., Met. 11, 22, 3; 25, 7: Isis-Oberpriester

270a Äthiopien	MIΘRA	Μίθρας	Favorinus F 58 Mensching: mythischer Gesetzgeber der Äthiopier
271 Äthiopien	ČIÇA-MIΘRA	Σισμίθρης	Heliodor 10, 4, 2ff.: Gymnosophist in Äthiopien[173]

[167] Justi 210 a Nr. 7: »ungeschichtlich«

[168] Albrecht Wirth, Aus orientalischen Chroniken, Frankfurt a M 1894, S. 143-210 »Religionsgespräch am Hof der Sassaniden«.

[169] Überliefert ist einhellig 'iiazistisches' (vgl oben Anm 39) Μητροφ"; Μιτροφ" ist Konjektur Orellis; zur Deutung des Namens vgl. oben im Text!

[170] Justi 209 a Nr. 2: »wohl von Lucian erfunden«

[171] Justi 213 b Nr. 1: »ungeschichtlich«. Der in derselben Königsliste genannte 'Αμραμίθρης alias 'Αρμαμίθρης/armen. *Afmamit'ēs*, der gewöhnlich im formalen Zusammenhang mit Nr. 45 gebracht wird, ist in seiner Überlieferung nicht einheitlich.

[172] Häufige Variante Μηδάνης. Diese Figur von Heliodors Liebesroman ist wohl unhistorisch.

[173] Justi 303 b: »romanhaft«.

MARCEL SIMON

MITHRA, RIVAL DU CHRIST?

Dans une phrase maintes fois citée, Ernest Renan déclarait que «si le christianisme eût été arrêté dans sa croissance par quelque maladie mortelle, le monde eût été mithriaste»[1]. A l'inverse, Ad. Harnack, en réaction probablement délibérée contre cette assertion, et de façon tout aussi catégorique, déclarait que, les *Kulturländer* (c'est-à-dire essentiellement la Grèce et l'Orient hellénisé) ayant refusé d'accueillir le mithriacisme, celui-ci était condamné à rester une secte sans culture (*kulturlos*), un conventicule. Il ajoutait les précisions suivantes: «Le culte de Mithra a bien, il est vrai, pénétré presque partout en Occident jusque vers 180, mais ce n'est pas une religion universelle de poids. Cette situation ne se modifie qu'à partir du moment où l'on reconnaît à Rome que le culte impérial et le culte de Mithra sont de nature à s'épauler réciproquement». Mais même alors, c'est la conclusion de Harnack, «la religion de Mithra en tant que telle ne peut être considérée ni comme un rival très dangereux, ni comme *le* rival de l'Église»[2].

Chacune de ces deux opinions contradictoires a rallié, fût-ce avec des nuances, des savants fort distingués. Mais l'on enregistre de l'un à l'autre, si l'on recueille leurs témoignages dans un ordre chronologique, une évolution assez clairement dessinée. L'échantillonnage suivant la fait ressortir. Franz Cumont, tout en considérant la phrase de Renan comme «une boutade», ne lui en apporte pas moins, dans le chapitre final de son livre classique *Les mystères de Mithra*, une sorte de commentaire et comme un écho: «Les mystères mithriaques», écrit-il, «furent à l'apogée de leur puissance vers le milieu du IIIe siècle et il sembla un instant que le monde dût devenir mithriaste»[3]. Pour J.G. Frazer, qui cite Renan à ce propos, «il ne fait aucun doute que la religion de Mithra s'affirma comme un rival formidable du christianisme... De fait l'issue du conflit entre la foi chrétienne et

[1] *Marc-Aurèle*, p. 579.

[2] *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*[4], Leipzig, 1924, II, Anhang III, pp. 271-274.

[3] *Les mystères de Mithra*, 3e éd., Paris, 1913, p. 209.

la foi mithriaque semble avoir été pour un temps incertaine»[4]. En réaction ouverte contre Renan, et sans doute aussi avec une pointe discrète contre Cumont, A. D. Nock estime qu'il est totalement *unhistorical* de comparer christianisme et mithriacisme comme le fait le premier, et de supposer que Mithra aurait pu, en cas de défaillance de l'Église, conquérir le monde[5]. Même attitude, motivée avec plus de détail, chez [illegible] Prümm. Il insiste en particulier d'une part sur l'exiguïté des sanctuaires mithriaques, capables d'accueillir au grand maximum, et de façon tout à fait exceptionnelle, une centaine de personnes, ce qui exclut un mouvement de grande ampleur, d'autre part, à la suite de J. Toutain, sur le fait que les cultes orientaux en général, et par conséquent aussi celui de Mithra, n'ont réussi dans aucune province de l'Empire à s'implanter parmi les populations autochtones. Il souligne enfin, comme le faisait Harnack, qu'en Orient, berceau du culte mithriaque, celui-ci n'avait, encore à l'époque impériale, pas grande signification. Or c'est en Orient que se situait, aux deux premiers siècles, le centre de gravité de [illegible] vie chrétienne. Ne serait-ce que pour cette seule raison, estime Prümm, l'évolution interne du christianisme sous l'Empire n'a pu être affectée par [illegible] culte persan : il manquait une surface de contact suffisante, *die genügende Berührungsfläche*[6].

Face à ces prises de position catégoriques, le point de vue des chercheurs les plus récents est plus prudent. S. G. F. Brandon se demande si le culte de Mithra a constitué pour le christianisme un *challenge* vraiment sérieux. Bien qu'il incline vers une réponse négative, [illegible] s'abstient cependant de [illegible] formuler[7]. M. J. Vermaseren de son côté, tout en trouvant trop peu nuancée l'opinion de Renan, estime impossible de dire si, dans [illegible] cas où les progrès du culte mithriaque n'eussent pas été endigués par le christianisme, il eût jamais atteint à une domination totale[8].

[4] *The Golden Bough*[2] *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, I. Londres, 1914, p. 302.

[5] *Conversion*, Oxford, 1933, p. 14.

[6] *Religionsgeschichtliches Handbuch für den Raum der altchristlichen Umwelt*, Freiburg-Breisg., 1943, pp. 281-282. J. Toutain a exposé ses vues sur la question dans *Les cultes païens dans l'Empire romain*, I, 2, Paris, 1911, réserves et critiques de F. Cumont, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 66, 1912, pp. 125ss.

[7] «Mithraism and [illegible] Challenge to Christianity», *Hibbert Journal*, 53, 1954-1955, pp. 107-114. En revanche, dans son article «Mithra» du *Dictionary of Comparative Religion*, Londres, 1970, dont il était le *General Editor*, Brandon estime que le mithriacisme a bien été «the strong rival» du christianisme.

[8] *Mithras, the Secret God*, Londres, 1963, [illegible] 188. Hésitations analogues chez C. Colpe, «Die Mithrasmysterien und die Kirchenväter», *Romanitas et Christianitas* (Mélanges J. H. Waszink), Amsterdam, 1973, pp. 29-43, en particulier pp. 36 et 43.

Peut-être vaut-il la peine de rouvrir un instant le dossier et d'essayer d'apporter sur ce problème, à la lumière des derniers développements de la recherche, quelques précisions.

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On peut noter tout d'abord que les découvertes archéologiques des décennies récentes ont enlevé quelque poids à l'argument géographique. Il n'est plus possible de constater, en comparant, comme le faisait Harnack, la carte de la diffusion du culte mithriaque en Orient, telle que Cumont l'avait dressée, à celle de la diffusion du christianisme, qu'elles ne se recouvrent pas et que, pour reprendre sa propre expression, « ce qui est blanc d'un côté est noir de l'autre »[9]. La Grèce elle-même ne semble pas avoir été aussi totalement imperméable au culte persan qu'on l'a admis longtemps [10]. En fait, il ne manque pas de points, même dans la partie orientale de l'Empire, où christianisme et mithriacisme se sont trouvés en contact direct : qu'on songe simplement à Doura Europos, où un mithréum et une chapelle chrétienne ont été découverts tout près l'un de l'autre. A mesure que de nouvelles trouvailles viennent enrichir notre connaissance du culte de Mithra, nous nous apercevons que la *Berührungsfläche* dont parle Prümm

[9] *Op. cit.* p. 271. Déjà au moment où Harnack la formulait, cette affirmation simplifiait quelque peu la réalité. Sa carte de la diffusion du christianisme vers 325 fait état d'une certaine présence chrétienne le long du Danube, en Pannonie et Mésie, régions de forte pratique mithriaque. Le christianisme est plus solidement implanté en Afrique Proconsulaire et en Numidie, où Mithra est présent tout au moins à Carthage, dans les ports et dans le territoire militaire. Il l'est surtout à Rome, centre essentiel du culte mithriaque. Les trouvailles des années récentes ont mis au jour d'assez nombreux vestiges mithriaques en Anatolie, région où la proportion des Chrétiens était la plus forte et que Cumont (*Mystères*, p. 78) tenait pour imperméable aux mystères persiques « parce que la production de ces pays dépassait leur consommation, que le commerce extérieur était aux mains des armateurs grecs, qu'ils exportaient des hommes au lieu d'en appeler du dehors et qu'au moins depuis Vespasien aucune légion n'était chargée de les défendre ou de les contenir ». Cf. M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, I, La Haye, 1956, carte (Anatolie-Syrie), p. 44 et documents pp. 45-47.

[10] Sur l'absence du culte de Mithra en Grèce, F. Cumont, *Mystères*, pp. 31 ss. et 78 est à compléter et corriger par Vermaseren, *Corpus*, II, La Haye, 1960, cartes pp. 380 et 384 et documents pp. 383-385. Il paraît assuré qu'une relation au moins occasionnelle a existé entre les mystères de Mithra et ceux d'Eleusis. Cf. aussi la carte générale de diffusion du culte mithriaque qui figure dans le *Corpus* de Vermaseren, II, fin.

s'étend de plus en plus. Nous constatons aussi que le culte de Mithra a réussi parfois, voire souvent, à pénétrer même parmi les autochtones des diverses provinces, bien qu'il ait été pratiqué surtout par les éléments immigrés et mouvants, et plus particulièrement par les soldats [11]. Si c'est essentiellement aux campagnes que pense Prümm, on notera simplement que leur résistance s'est affirmée face au christianisme autant que vis-à-vis des autres cultes importés et qu'elles ont été, à considérer les choses d'ensemble, au moins en Occident, le dernier bastion d'une religion qui, selon l'étymologie le plus communément reçue, doit son nom actuel précisément aux *pagani*, aux ruraux. Cette constatation affaiblit de façon sensible l'argumentation de Prümm qui, par surcroît, lorsqu'il parle de l'évolution *interne* du christianisme, se limite à un aspect de la question, que je n'entends pas aborder ici, savoir une influence possible du culte mithriaque sur l'Eglise naissante. Or le problème soulevé par l'affirmation de Renan se pose en termes de concurrence et non pas d'influences. Il se pose en outre moins par rapport au champ missionnaire du mithriacisme, qui n'est pas, à tout prendre, totalement différent de celui du christianisme, que par rapport aux caractères spécifiques du culte mithriaque et à sa place exacte dans le contexte religieux du paganisme sous l'Empire.

Ce culte n'est qu'une manifestation entre beaucoup d'autres de la religiosité antique sur son déclin. C'est par surcroît un tard venu sur la scène impériale. Sa présence en Occident n'est attestée par des monuments qu'à partir du début du IIe siècle [12]. Et son apogée se situe, comme le signalait Cumont, vers le milieu du IIIe siècle. Si forts

[11] Dans la petite ville italienne de Sentinum, c'est la bourgeoisie municipale qui organise le culte mithriaque : CIL, XI, 5737. E. Schwertheim, *Die Denkmäler der orientalisch-syrischen Kulte im Römerzeit in Deutschland*, Leyde, 1974, a montré qu'en Rhénanie ce sont les commerçants et plus généralement l'élément bourgeois, plus que les soldats, qui fournissent au culte de Mithra l'apport essentiel : il dénombre seulement 18 dédicaces de militaires contre 46 de civils ; cf. M.J. Vermaseren, *Der Kult des Mithras im römischen Germanien*, Stuttgart, 1974, p. 8. A l'inverse, on se souviendra que les premières mesures de persécution prises par Dioclétien le furent à l'encontre des soldats chrétiens. L'armée était donc, elle aussi, un lieu d'affrontement entre les deux cultes.

[12] Le premier monument mithriaque datable est une statue, actuellement au British Museum, de l'époque de Trajan : M.J. Vermaseren, *Mithras*, p. [illegible]. Néron s'était fait initier, à titre privé mais le premier empereur à témoigner au dieu une faveur marquée est Commode.

qu'aient été sa puissance de rayonnement et un attrait lié à sa nouveauté même — il y a dans ce domaine, comme dans beaucoup d'autres, des modes — il n'est pas sûr qu'ils aient réussi à surmonter entièrement le handicap que constituait ce retard en face par exemple du culte de Cybèle, officiellement installé à Rome plus de deux siècles avant l'ère chrétienne, ou celui d'Isis qui, depuis Caligula [illegible] Domitien, bénéficie des faveurs officielles. Il est prudent, à tout le moins, de considérer le culte de Mithra non pas isolément, mais comme un élément d'un tout, dans [illegible] cadre du syncrétisme de l'époque.

Est-on même fondé à parler de mithriacisme? Stig Wikander, dans une communication faite lors d'un colloque tenu à Strasbourg, et dont un résumé seulement a été publié, dénonçait [illegible] danger de ces mots en «-isme» dans la terminologie historique moderne. Mithriacisme, rappelle-t-il fort opportunément, est un mot récent, qu'on ne trouve pas avant le XIXe siècle. Et il ajoute : «Il aurait été impossible dans l'antiquité. Tertullien parle de *judaismus* et de *christianismus*, mais de *sacra Mithrae*»[13]. [illegible] le culte de Mithra, seul de tous les mystères orientaux, [illegible] droit aujourd'hui à une désignation de ce type, c'est probablement parce qu'on y a vu le produit ou le prolongement d'un autre «-isme» : *iranisme* selon Wikander, ou encore mazdéisme : «Le mithriacisme» écrivait encore Cumont dans son dernier ouvrage, «est la forme romaine du mazdéisme»[14]. Peut-être faut-il tenir compte en outre du fait que, [illegible] dieu n'étant pas ici un élément d'un couple, la formation d'un terme à partir de son nom s'en trouvait facilitée.

Mais si le mot de mithriacisme se trouve ainsi expliqué, il n'est pas justifié pour autant. Car il risque de durcir les contours de la réalité sous-jacente en suggérant qu'elle constitue, comme le judaïsme ou le christianisme, un système clos et pleinement autonome, sur le plan de la doctrine comme sur celui des rites, ce qui, selon toute apparence, n'est pas [illegible] cas. On s'étonne qu'un savant de la classe de Cumont, transposant sur le culte de Mithra un vocabulaire adapté au christianisme, puisse écrire que «les conversions se multipliaient»[15]. Une conversion se définit comme un passage d'une religion à une autre; elle implique une rupture avec le passé. Or, en se faisant initier aux mystères mithriaques, un Romain n'abandonne rien de ses croyances

[13] *Les syncrétismes dans les religions grecque et romaine*, Paris, 1973, p. [illegible].

[14] *Lux Perpetua*, Paris, 1949, p. 272.

[15] *Mystères*, pp. 47 et 50.

antérieures. Il se contente d'y ajouter quelque chose : c'est d'adhésion qu'il faut parler, et non de conversion [16].

Il est intéressant de constater que Mithra, pour les observateurs antiques, n'a joui longtemps d'aucune situation privilégiée parmi les autres divinités venues d'Orient. Dans l'*Assemblée des dieux* de Lucien, Mômos, dieu de la raillerie, s'en prend à tous les intrus qui ont envahi l'Olympe, demi-dieux dont Jupiter lui-même a peuplé sa résidence et dieux étrangers : «Cet Attis, ce Corybas, ce Sabazios, d'où sont-ils tombés au milieu de nous? Quel est ce mède Mithrès, avec sa candye et sa tiare? Il sait si peu parler grec qu'il ne comprend même pas ce qu'on lui dit quand on boit à sa santé» [17]. Sont dénoncés ensuite Scythes et Gètes, et leur Zamolxis, esclave indûment élevé au rang d'immortel, l'Égyptien à visage de chien, le taureau de Memphis, toute la zoolâtrie égyptienne, et les abstractions divinisées, Vertu, Nature, Destin, Fortune.

De tout cet ensemble hétéroclite, Mithra ne se détache pas avec un relief particulier, sinon que, avec sa candye et sa tiare — celle-ci ne constitue pas, notons-le en passant, sa coiffure la plus habituelle — il symbolise celle de toutes les civilisations «barbares» qu'un Grec considère comme la plus inassimilable, celle d'un peuple qui fut pendant des siècles l'ennemi majeur de la Grèce, avant de devenir celui de Rome.

On retire la même impression de la lecture d'un autre dialogue de Lucien, *Jupiter tragique*. Le maître de l'Olympe demande à Hermès de rétablir dans l'assemblée des dieux la hiérarchie normale, en leur assignant des places qui correspondent à leurs mérites respectifs ou à la qualité de la matière dont ils sont faits, or, argent, airain ou pierre. Il s'avère alors que les dieux des Barbares peuvent seuls prétendre aux premières places, car les Grecs, si plaisants soient-ils à regarder, sont presque tous de pierre ou d'airain, quelques-uns d'ivoire relevé d'un peu d'or, «mais en dedans ils sont de bois et recèlent des troupeaux entiers de souris, qui y ont établi leur république. Au contraire, cette Bendis (thrace), cet Anubis, et auprès de lui Attis, Mithra et Mèn sont d'or massif, d'un poids et d'un prix considérables» [18]. Ce témoignage illustre la vogue de tout ce qui est oriental. Il ne reconnaît au dieu persan aucune primauté.

[16] Cf. sur ce point les judicieuses remarques de A. D. Nock, *Conversion*, pp. 12 sq.
[17] *Assemblée des dieux*, 9.
[18] *Jupiter Tragique*, 8

Le point de vue d'Origène est également significatif. Reprochant à Celse d'évoquer, en [illegible] vain étalage d'érudition, «les mystères mithriaques des Perses»[19], il demande : « Pourquoi citer ces mystères-là plutôt que l'un des autres avec son explication? Car il ne semble pas qu'en Grèce ceux de Mithra aient joui d'un plus grand prestige[20] que ceux d'Eleusis ou ceux d'Hécate, qui sont communiqués aux initiés d'Egine. S'il voulait décrire les mystères barbares avec leur explication, pourquoi ne pas leur préférer ceux d'Égypte, dont se glorifie un [illegible] grand nombre, ceux de Cappadoce en l'honneur d'Artémis de Comané, ceux de Thrace, ou même ceux de Rome, auxquels se font initier [illegible] plus nobles des sénateurs». Il est difficile d'identifier ces mystères romains, ainsi assimilés à ceux des peuples barbares. Ce qui est intéressant, c'est l'étonnement d'Origène à voir ainsi privilégier par Celse les mystères mithriaques : il s'exprime en plein milieu de ce IIIe siècle, alors que l'astre de Mithra approche de son zénith.

On pourra certes objecter qu'Origène a vécu à Alexandrie et en Syrie-Palestine, régions de faible implantation mithriaque, et que la portée de son témoignage se trouve de ce fait réduite. Si l'on prend ses arguments à la lettre, la primauté, au moins numériquement parlant, parmi les divinités à mystères, appartient à Isis-Sérapis. Impression d'Alexandrin, génératrice d'une illusion d'optique? Peut-être. Elle doit du moins nous inciter à la prudence. Si rien aux yeux d'Origène ne justifie le traitement de faveur que Celse réservait à Mithra trois quarts de siècle plus tôt, c'est sans doute qu'au moment où lui-même écrit, ce dieu est encore loin de s'être imposé comme une des divinités de premier plan dans l'ensemble de l'Empire[21].

[19] *Contre Celse*, 6, 22.

[20] Je corrige ici la traduction de M. Borret (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 147) qui rend *ἐπιφανεστέρα* par «plus exceptionnels», ce qui fausse le sens ou tout au moins prête à équivoque, car si on l'entend de leur popularité et du nombre des initiés, [illegible] mystères de Mithra étaient effectivement plus «exceptionnels» en Grèce que ceux d'Eleusis.

[21] Le culte égyptien d'Isis et d'Osiris-Sérapis a connu dans l'Empire une diffusion très remarquable, plus générale que celui de Mithra. Cf. L. Vidman, *Syllloge Inscriptionum Religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae*, Berlin, 1969; F. Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée*, 3 vol., Leyde, 1973, en particulier t. II (Grèce) et III (Asie Mineure). Ce culte dépasse largement en importance celui de Mithra dans certaines provinces occidentales : cf. par exemple A. Garcia y Bellido, *Las religiones orientales dans l'Espagne romaine*, Leyde, 1967; G.-Ch. Picard, *Les religions de l'Afrique antique*, Paris, 1954, pp. 222 ss.; M. Le Glay, *Les religions orientales dans l'Afrique ancienne*, Alger, 1956.

Il est plus intéressant encore de voir, à la fin du IVe siècle, Saint Ambroise de Milan, qui pourtant vit dans une région où ont été retrouvés d'assez nombreux documents mithriaques, prendre Mithra pour une déesse, trompé sans doute par la terminaison du nom, et témoigner ainsi d'une ignorance surprenante touchant le culte en question[22]. Peut-on vraiment considérer, dans ces conditions, que Mithra a été, à un moment quelconque, le grand rival du Christ?

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Il reste cependant que la religion mithriaque a attiré l'attention, avant même la paix constantinienne, de certains écrivains ecclésiastiques. Pour Tertullien, et déjà pour Justin Martyr, les mystères païens, et tout spécialement ceux de Mithra, représentent une contrefaçon diabolique du culte et de la doctrine chrétienne : «Le diable lui aussi baptise ceux qui croient en lui, ses fidèles : il promet que l'expiation des fautes sortira de ce bain. Et si je me souviens encore de Mithra, il marque là au front ses soldats. Il célèbre aussi l'oblation du pain. Il offre une image de la résurrection et, sous le glaive, il rachète la couronne. Et quoi? N'impose-t-il pas à son grand prêtre un mariage unique? Il a lui aussi ses vierges, il a lui aussi ses continents»[23]. Je ne reprendrai pas ici les discussions suscitées par l'affirmation relative au grand prêtre et à l'existence, assez inattendue dans un culte essentiellement masculin, de vierges mithriaques. Il se peut qu'elle corresponde à la réalité et que nous soyons là, effectivement, en présence d'une imitation délibérée du christianisme[24]. Il est également possible que Tertullien, sensible à des ressemblances incontestables, en ait, sans doute de bonne foi, ajouté d'autres. Ce qui importe, c'est qu'il décèle un parallélisme précis entre les rites fondamentaux de l'Église, baptême, chrismation, eucharistie, et les «sacrements» mithriaques.

Il rejoint à cet égard Justin, qui toutefois ne parle que du rite eucharistique : «Les mauvais démons ont imité cette institution dans

[22] *Epist. contra Symmachum*, I, 18, 39 (PL, XVI, 980) : «Quam Caelestem Afri, Mitram Persae, plenque Venerem colunt, pro diversitate nominis, non pro numinis varietate». Hérodote déjà commet la même erreur, c'est peut-être à lui qu'Ambroise l'a empruntée, cf. F. Cumont, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs au culte de Mithra*, I, Bruxelles, 1894, p. 17.

[23] *De Praescr. Haeret.*, 40

[24] Cf. C. Colpe, *op. cit.* p. 35 et p. 41, n. 27

les mystères de Mithra. On présente du pain et une coupe d'eau dans les cérémonies de l'initiation et on prononce certaines formules que vous savez ou que vous pouvez savoir»[25]. Le témoignage de Justin est d'autant plus intéressant qu'il est d'une époque où Mithra ne bénéficie pas encore de la faveur impériale officielle. Il prouve d'une part qu'à Rome du moins, qui est vraiment le point d'appui essentiel de ce culte, on en connaît les caractéristiques principales même en dehors du cercle étroit des initiés et que le secret n'a donc pas toujours été bien gardé par ces derniers. Il prouve d'autre part que les Chrétiens ont été frappés par de troublantes analogies, qui pouvaient constituer, pour des esprits peu éclairés, comme une invitation au syncrétisme.

Du point de vue morphologique, culte de Mithra et Christianisme sont étroitement apparentés, sans que cela implique nécessairement une influence dans un sens ou dans l'autre. On conçoit fort bien dès lors que dans les régions ou les villes où le premier était solidement établi, et tout spécialement à Rome, il ait pu apparaître aux chrétiens comme un rival particulièrement dangereux et peut-être, çà et là, comme l'ennemi par excellence. On comprend fort bien aussi pourquoi, dans nombre de cas, des églises se sont implantées au IVe siècle sur l'emplacement même de mithréa, affirmant ainsi la victoire de la vérité sur sa diabolique imitation : qu'on songe simplement, pour ce qui est de Rome, à Saint Clément, Sainte Prisque ou Saint Stefano Rotondo. M. Vermaseren a fait très justement remarquer qu'à Sainte Prisque les chrétiens se sont acharnés sur la fresque représentant la cène mithriaque, alors qu'ils ont laissé intact le mur opposé[26]. C'est de toute évidence à cause de la place centrale occupée dans sa liturgie comme dans celle de l'Église par le repas sacré, peut-être aussi parce que, sur le plan doctrinal, il enseignait lui aussi explicitement, seul de tous les cultes à mystères, une *resurrectio mortuorum*, distincte de la renaissance promise par les autres[27], que le culte mithriaque a pu apparaître parfois comme le grand adversaire. Mais il serait aventureux de donner une portée universelle à une constatation parfaitement fondée sur le plan local. Si l'on demandait aujourd'hui aux responsables des Églises chrétiennes de désigner leur rival le plus redoutable, on recueillerait sans doute des réponses assez diverses

[25] *I Apol.* 66, 4; cf. *Dialogue*, 70, 1 et 78, 9.

[26] *Mithras*, p. 103.

[27] M. J. Vermaseren et C. C. van Essen, *The Excavations in the mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome*, Leyde, 1965, p. 221.

selon le secteur géographique considéré. Les mouvements illuministes viendraient peut-être en tête dans certaines régions — je pense par exemple à l'Amérique latine —; dans d'autres ce serait la propagande communiste; ailleurs encore l'indifférence religieuse ne débouchant sur rien de précis. La situation dans le monde romain était peut-être tout aussi diversifiée. Le christianisme a dû se heurter là aussi à des ennemis différents, inégalement importants et efficaces selon les provinces.

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En fait, deux constatations ne doivent pas, en ce qui concerne Mithra, être perdues de vue : il n'a jamais atteint, dans le paganisme finissant, à une primauté incontestée et durable; et si, à certains moments il a pu sembler près d'y atteindre, il a dû cette fortune à son identification à Sol-Hélios.

Le premier point n'exige pas de longs développements. Il faut simplement rappeler que de nombreux candidats aspiraient à la suprématie. Jupiter lui-même n'a jamais renoncé à sa position traditionnelle, et c'est souvent par le jeu des assimilations que telle ou telle divinité orientale, identifiée au chef de l'Olympe, a pu se hausser pour un moment, et dans un milieu déterminé, jusqu'à la première place. C'est le cas en particulier de Sérapis, l'un des bénéficiaires de ce mouvement qui achemine le paganisme, de façon bien tâtonnante, vers une forme de monothéisme. Nombre de documents proclament qu'il ne fait qu'un avec Zeus; et Julien l'Apostat encore, citant un vers orphique, affirme : « Il n'est qu'un Zeus, un Hadès, un Hélios, et c'est Sérapis »[28].

Mais souvent aussi les dieux de l'Orient se présentent ouvertement en concurrents les uns des autres, et de Jupiter, et sont reconnus à l'intérieur de leurs conventicules respectifs comme le dieu suprême, sans que la logique et la cohérence y trouvent toujours leur compte. Apulée, ayant hautement proclamé qu'Isis est «*summa numinum, prima caelitum, numen unicum*» — ce qui déjà est contradictoire, puisque les deux premiers termes supposent une pluralité de dieux,

[28] *Sur Hélios Roi*, 136 a. Même citation chez Macrobe, *Saturnales* I, 23, où toutefois Dionysos occupe la place de Sérapis. Mithra lui aussi est parfois soit identifié, soit associé à Jupiter, plus particulièrement à Jupiter Dolichenus : Cumont, *Mysteries*, p. 188; Vermaseren, *Corpus*, I, 70 (dédicace de Doura à Zeus Helios Mithras); II, 1208 (Stockstadt); du même auteur, *Mithras, dieu in Rom*, Nimègue, 1951, pp. 106 ss.; cf. infra note 36.

alors que le troisième affirme le monothéisme — revendique avec tout autant de force et d'emphase, à la fin de son ouvrage, la primauté pour l'époux d'Isis : « *Deus deum magnorum potior et majorum summus et summorum maximus et maximorum regnator Osiris* »[39]. Il est significatif qu'il le nomme dans ce contexte « *Osiris invictus* », en le parant de l'épithète qui souligne plus communément la puissance insigne de Mithra et du Soleil.

Nous touchons ici au second point, qui mérite qu'on s'y arrête un instant. La carrière de Mithra est étroitement liée à celle de Sol, puisque, après avoir été son compagnon, il a fini par s'identifier à lui. Cette identification, plus ou moins explicite et totale, explique peut-être l'appréciation, à mon sens trop optimiste, que certains chercheurs modernes ont portée sur le succès du « mithriacisme » dans l'Empire romain. On a parfois inscrit à l'actif de Mithra ce qui est en réalité imputable à Sol.

Le corpus de Vermaseren comme celui de Cumont rassemblent, à côté des inscriptions où figure le nom de Mithra soit seul, soit accompagné de « Sol », ou de « Invictus », ou des deux, celles qui mentionnent uniquement Sol, avec ou sans « Invictus », ou uniquement Invictus. Cumont ne retient, parmi les inscriptions grecques, que celles où Mithra est expressément nommé, à l'exclusion de celles qui sont consacrées aux dieux solaires, en particulier à tous les Baals sémitiques. En ce qui concerne les documents latins, il n'exclut que les inscriptions de Sol-Sérapis, et retient en revanche toutes les mentions d'un « Sol invictus ou d'un Sol quelconque » ; il sépare d'ailleurs, dans la présentation, les deux catégories : les inscriptions incontestablement mithriaques et celles pour lesquelles il y a simplement présomption de « mithriacisme ». Vermaseren en revanche ne fait pas cette distinction. Dans un corpus comme dans l'autre il y aurait sans doute un déchet assez considérable si nous étions mieux renseignés sur le contexte et la provenance exacte des inscriptions. A défaut de ces précisions, il sera sage de s'en tenir à la position de Cumont : « L'opinion qui considère toutes les dédicaces *Soli invicto* comme mithriaques est aussi injustifiable qu'il serait absurde de vouloir les rejeter en bloc »[40].

Mithra en lui-même est toujours resté une divinité de mystères, c'est-à-dire le dieu d'un petit nombre. S'il a réussi à sortir de ces limites étroites, c'est dans le sillage de Sol, et en perdant un peu de sa

[39] *Métamorphoses*, XI, 5 et fin.

[40] *Textes et Monuments*, II, p. 89.

personnalité propre. Il n'est jamais parvenu, en tant que Mithra, à la situation de divinité officielle de l'Empire, bien que ses fidèles se soient efforcés de créer des liens étroits avec le culte traditionnel : ainsi par l'adoption des *suovetaurilia*[31]. Aucun Empereur, même parmi ceux qui s'étaient, de façon certaine ou probable, fait initier à ses rites, n'a frappé de monnaie à son effigie[32]. C'est une théologie solaire et non une théologie mithriaque qui, d'Elagabal à Aurélien, à Constance Chlore et à Julien l'Apostat, apporte son support doctrinal au régime[33]. Le Soleil, sans doute, dans l'antiquité finissante, c'est Mithra. Mais c'est aussi, dans la perspective du syncrétisme, nombre d'autres figures divines, à commencer par celles du panthéon classique, Apollon bien entendu, et aussi Jupiter : « Apollon se rattache à Hélios... Zeus qui s'identifie avec Hélios »[34]. Leur culte a pu connaître de ce fait un certain renouveau. Parallèlement, l'identification de Sol à des divinités orientales a contribué à les rendre populaires. Les deux inscriptions gravées sur un cippe dans le mithréum des thermes de Caracalla à Rome illustrent parfaitement ces assimilations réciproques. L'une proclame : « Unique (est) Zeus, Sérapis, Hélios, maître invincible du monde » ; le nom de Mithra y a été ensuite inscrit en surcharge, sans doute après la mort de Caracalla, adepte enthousiaste des divinités égyptiennes, à la place de celui de Sérapis. Il cette substitution témoigne de la rivalité entre le dieu alexandrin et le dieu persan[35]. L'autre inscription, plus irénique, est une dédicace à « Zeus, Hélios, le grand Sérapis, sauveur, qui donne la richesse, qui exauce, bienfaisant, invincible, Mithra »[36]. Il est difficile d'établir auquel des noms divins ainsi alignés se rapportent les différentes épithètes : « grand » est inter-

[31] Vermaseren-van Essen, *op. cit.*, p. 164. Le mithréum de S. Prisca s'élevait sur un terrain qui, depuis Trajan, était propriété des empereurs.

[32] Cf. C. Colpe, *op. cit.*, p. 36 et 42 n. 39. Si l'on en croit son biographe de l'*Histoire Auguste* (*Commode*, 9), Commode aurait été le premier parmi les empereurs à se faire initier aux mystères de Mithra. Cumont, *Mystères*, p. [illegible]. Mais le renseignement n'est pas sûr. Cependant, Néron déjà avait été initié par Tiridate d'Arménie. Dion Cassius, 62, 1, 7; Pline, *Hist. Nat.*, 30, 1, 6.

[33] Le travail de F. Cumont, « La théologie solaire du paganisme romain », *Mémoires Acad. Inscript.*, 12, Paris, 1913, reste fondamental. Le témoignage des monnaies, en particulier pour les règnes consécutifs à celui d'Aurélien, est particulièrement éloquent à cet égard.

[34] Julien, *Sur Hélios Roi*, 144 a et 149 c.

[35] Cumont, *Les Religions orientales dans le Paganisme romain*[4], Paris, 1929, p. 79 fig. 5 et p. 236 n. [illegible].

[36] Vermaseren, *Corpus*, 1, 463 ; *cf.* E. Peterson, *EIC ΘEOC*, Göttingen, 1926, pp. 238 ss.

calé entre Hélios et Sérapis, toutes les autres entre Sérapis ■ Mithra. Sans doute doivent-elles qualifier l'ensemble de cette nomenclature, appliquée à une divinité que l'inscription précédente affirme être unique. Sans doute aussi, dans un sanctuaire qui lui est dédié, Mithra, nommé le dernier, apparaît-il privilégié ■ les adjectifs qui précèdent son nom se rapportent-ils plus précisément à lui [37]. Mais il est évident que déjà peut-être à l'époque où ces inscriptions furent gravées sous le règne de Caracalla, et de plus en plus à mesure qu'on avance dans le IIIe et le IVe siècles, l'élément essentiel, central, celui qui sert de lien entre ces divinités d'origine différente et qui les absorbe plus qu'elles ne l'absorbent, c'est Hélios.

Il y a bien, il est vrai, quelques indices, dans l'histoire du paganisme finissant, qui semblent témoigner d'une primauté effective de Mithra en tant que Mithra. Je pense en particulier au temple qu'agrandirent et consacrèrent d'un accord commun, lors de leur réunion de 307 à Carnuntum, Dioclétien, Galère ■ Licinius. La dédicace qui commémore cet événement est faite *Deo Soli Invicto Mithrae*, qualifié par les princes de *fautor imperii sui* [38]. Voilà qui est net. Mais prenons-y bien garde. Carnuntum était à l'époque un des hauts lieux du culte mithriaque, véritable «ville sainte» dont le rayonnement s'est exercé jusqu'en Afrique [39]. Il n'est pas interdit, dans ces conditions, de prêter au geste des empereurs une signification essentiellement politique. Il s'agit peut-être de s'assurer ■ loyalisme durable des légions danubiennes, largement gagnées au culte persan : on les flatte en la personne de leur dieu, patron occasionnel plutôt peut-être que définitif des princes. De la même façon, Julien, écrivant aux Alexandrins, se réclame de la protection particulière de Sérapis, qui n'est pas cependant

[37] Cependant L. A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, Leyde, 1968, p. 226, rattache *invicto* à Mithra et tout le reste à Sérapis. Il me paraît difficile de suivre M. Malaise, *Les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie*, Leyde, 1972, p. 465, qui fait de Mithra le nom du dédicant ■ c'était celui du dieu, dit-il, il devrait figurer à côté des autres et non pas isolé à ■ fin de l'inscription par la série des épithètes; cette place doit au contraire, à mon sens, le mettre en vedette. L'auteur se trompe, par ailleurs, en affirmant que l'identification Mithra-Sérapis est totalement inconnue, mis à part ce seul cas. L. Peterson, *op. cit.*, p. 239 en donne plusieurs exemples. Dans le même sens que Malaise sur la signification, ici, du nom Mithra, L. Vidman, *Isis und Sarapis bei den Griechen und Römern*, Berlin, 1970, p. 148. Tous deux rappellent que dans les *Metamorphoses* d'Apulée, le grand prêtre d'Isis se nomme Mithra. L'argument ■ me paraît pas décisif.

[38] Cumont, *Mystères*, ■ 88; Vermaseren, *Corpus*, II, 1698.

[39] Cumont, *Mystères*, p. 49.

sa divinité favorite[40]. Dioclétien avait déjà assis sur une base différente la théologie officielle de la Tétrarchie, et l'inscription de Carnuntum elle-même le rappelle : c'est en tant que *Jovii et Herculii* que les *religiosissimi Augusti et Caesares* font cette dédicace.

Il ne faut pas, à coup sûr, plier la religiosité antique aux règles d'une logique trop rigoureuse. On peut très bien se réclamer simultanément de Jupiter et de Mithra, en donnant l'impression qu'on les tient l'un et l'autre pour le dieu suprême. Mais il n'est plus question alors de primauté incontestée du second. La fortune de Sol lui-même, en tant qu'il reste distinct de Mithra, a subi sous la Tétrarchie un certain recul, ou tout au moins le domaine où s'exerce la souveraineté du dieu s'est rétréci : Sol reste le maître de l'univers physique, mais le pouvoir que les empereurs détiennent sur l'humanité relève du «vieux Jupiter anthropomorphe du panthéon latin»[41]. A plus forte raison Mithra est-il un peu perdu de vue, même si la terminologie et la symbolique du pouvoir portent la marque d'influences iraniennes indéniables[42].

Cependant le cas le plus intéressant, pour qui se préoccupe d'apprécier exactement la place de Mithra dans le paganisme finissant, est celui de Julien l'Apostat. Sa dévotion mithriaque ne fait aucun doute. Il se peut que, déjà en Gaule, il ait été initié aux mystères du dieu persan[43], qu'il considéra par la suite comme son protecteur privilégié. A la fin du *Dialogue des Césars*, lorsque les souverains présents se choisissent chacun un patron céleste, Hermès adresse la parole à Julien en ces termes : « Quant à toi, je t'ai fait connaître Mithra ton père. A toi de suivre ses commandements, afin que tu aies, durant ta vie, une amarre et un port assurés et que, lorsqu'il faudra partir d'ici-bas, tu puisses, avec la bonne espérance, trouver dans ce dieu un guide bienveillant »[44].

Il est d'autant plus curieux que, ce passage mis à part, Mithra ne soit explicitement nommé qu'une seule fois, et comme en passant, dans toute l'œuvre de Julien : « Nous vénérons Mithra et en l'honneur d'Hélios nous célébrons des jeux quadriennaux »[45]. Ce laconisme contraste avec la multiplicité des références faites à Hélios. Il est

[40] Cf. *infra* p. 50.

[41] W. Seston, *Dioclétien et la Tétrarchie*, Paris, 1946, p. 225.

[42] W. Seston, *op. cit.* pp. 225-226, cf. Cumont, *Mystères*, pp. 89 ss.

[43] J. Bidez, *La vie de l'empereur Julien*, Paris, 1930, p. 219.

[44] *Les Césars*, 336 c.

[45] *Sur Hélios Roi*, 155 b.

essentiel, pour bien comprendre la position de l'Apostat, d'essayer de tirer au clair la relation précise entre les deux figures divines et la place respective qu'elles occupent dans la dévotion du prince. Trop souvent elles sont considérées comme tout à fait identiques et comme deux expressions équivalentes de la même réalité. Même un savant aussi averti que J. Bidez n'a pas entièrement évité cet écueil. Dans la *Vie de l'Empereur Julien* le chapitre intitulé « le sanctuaire de Mithra » révèle une curieuse tendance à estomper des différences pourtant soigneusement soulignées à mainte reprise par F. Cumont, ami et collaborateur très proche de Bidez.

Cette tendance se manifeste d'emblée dans la façon dont l'auteur traduit un passage de Libanius, *Orat.* 18, 127, relatif à la piété de Julien : « ... Dans son palais même, indépendamment d'autels érigés à toutes les autres divinités, il construisit un sanctuaire à l'astre qui nous ramène le jour, et là il participait aux mystères du Soleil, tour à tour initié et initiateur »[46]. Il s'agit évidemment des mystères de Mithra, ceux-là même auxquels Himerius de son côté dit avoir été initié, à Constantinople, et selon toute vraisemblance dans le palais, à l'initiative de l'empereur[47]. Le rapprochement entre les deux textes ne laisse guère de place au doute quant à la signification exacte du premier. Il reste que celui-ci parle de mystères, sans en préciser la nature. Lorsque Bidez, ajoutant au texte, les rattache au Soleil, il déforme un peu la réalité : car il n'existe pas à proprement parler de mystères du Soleil, sauf si l'on considère — simplification arbitraire — que le Soleil se réduit exclusivement et totalement à la figure de Mithra.

En fait, si attaché soit-il au culte de Mithra, Julien ne s'y consacre pas de façon exclusive. Avant d'être initié à ses mystères, il l'avait été à ceux d'Hécate par Maxime d'Ephèse, puis à ceux de Déméter à Eleusis[48]. Il reçut également le baptême taurobolique de Cybèle, à laquelle il consacre l'un de ses discours les plus importants[49]. Dans sa correspondance avec les Alexandrins il affiche volontiers, nous l'avons vu, une dévotion, opportuniste sans doute mais néanmoins sincère, envers « le grand Sérapis », qui, en premier parmi tous les dieux, lui a « confié le droit de gouverner le monde »[50]. Pareil cumul

[46] *Vie de Julien*, p. 216.
[47] *Orat.* 7, 1.
[48] Bidez, *Vie*, pp. 79 ss. et 115 ss.
[49] *Sur la Mère des dieux*, cf. Bidez, *Vie*, pp. 253 ss.
[50] *Ep.* 60, éd. Bidez-Cumont, Paris, 1922, p. 66.

de dévotions et d'initiations différentes est parfaitement conforme à la pratique de l'époque. ■ néanmoins Julien semble nourrir envers Mithra une dilection particulière, c'est essentiellement parce qu'il voit en lui l'avatar principal — mais non pas unique — du Soleil. Et ■ Mithra paraît ainsi être ■ point d'appui majeur de sa piété, c'est bien Sol qui est au cœur de sa théologie : Julien, serais-je tenté de dire, est «héliolâtre» plus encore que mithriaste. Il est bien, à cet égard, l'héritier spirituel d'un Aurélien ou d'un Constance Chlore[51].

La lecture du *Discours sur Hélios Roi* est très suggestive. Mithra, je le signalais plus haut, n'y est mentionné qu'une fois, très laconiquement. Julien s'y affirme comme le serviteur du Soleil Roi qui, dit-il, est le père de tous les hommes. Cette déclaration éclaire le passage des *Césars* précédemment cité : c'est sans doute en tant que Soleil que Mithra y est présenté comme le père de Julien. Celui-ci est particulièrement préoccupé de prouver que la primauté insigne qu'il accorde au Soleil est conforme à la plus authentique tradition romaine. Il va jusqu'à faire de Sol, au prix d'une exégèse fort laborieuse de la mythologie, le fondateur de Rome, dont les divinités les plus honorées, Jupiter, Minerve, Vénus, Apollon, ne font qu'un avec lui. C'est en son honneur que Numa institua les Vestales, pour assumer la garde «de la flamme inextinguible issue du Soleil», et qu'il introduisit un calendrier solaire, alors que tous les peuples, Egyptiens exceptés, comptent les mois d'après la lune[52].

Pareils développements ne peuvent, à l'évidence, pas se transposer purement et simplement sur Mithra, divinité étrangère et qui ne fut jamais introduite de façon officielle dans le panthéon traditionnel. Peut-être Julien tente-t-il précisément de faire ce que n'a fait aucun de ses prédécesseurs. Mais s'il ■ fait c'est de façon camouflée et par le truchement de Sol.

Sans doute, Mithra est essentiellement une divinité de mystères, et Julien est tenu à son égard à une certaine discrétion. «Je suis», «affirme-t-il ■ début de son discours, «l'adepte du Roi Hélios. Et ■ je garde à part moi, à titre privé, les preuves les plus sûres de cette appartenance, voici ce que je puis dire sans encourir de sacrilège. J'ai été pénétré, dès mon enfance, d'une amour passionné pour les

[51] Sur la relation entre le culte de Sol Invictus instauré par Elagabal et celui de Mithra, cf., en dernier lieu, l'ouvrage de G.H. Halsberghe, *The Cult of Sol Invictus*, Leyde, 1972, qui estime que ce sont deux choses totalement différentes (pp. 117-122).

[52] *Sur Hélios Roi*, 155 a-b.

rayons de ce dieu»[53]. Il y a là une allusion très claire au secret de l'initiation. Elle n'est pas sans rappeler les précautions oratoires avec lesquelles Apulée introduit la description, très laconique et voilée, de l'initiation isiaque : «Tu demanderas peut-être, lecteur curieux, ce qui s'est dit ensuite et ce qui s'est fait. Je le dirais s'il était permis de le dire. Tu le saurais si tu avais le droit de l'entendre. Mais à cette téméraire curiosité les oreilles et la langue seraient coupables du même crime»[54].

Il est douteux cependant que le secret initiatique suffise à expliquer les silences de Julien touchant Mithra. Car s'il lui interdisait bien de décrire les rites des mystères, il le laissait libre au moins de nommer le dieu. En s'abstenant de le faire plus fréquemment, en soulignant avec tant d'insistance les quartiers de noblesse romaine de ce Sol qui est aussi Mithra, peut-être vise-t-il à neutraliser les résistances que pouvait encore rencontrer çà et là, dans les milieux les plus traditionalistes, un culte né dans cette Perse contre laquelle il allait lui-même partir en guerre. Seul de toutes les grandes divinités orientales, Mithra vient d'au-delà des frontières, de chez l'ennemi. Cette particularité pourrait bien contribuer à expliquer qu'il ait eu quelque peine à se faire admettre sous son nom dans les cadres officiels de la religion romaine et que même la dévotion que lui témoignaient certains princes ait gardé un caractère presque privé[55].

Il ne faut pas, me semble-t-il, sous-estimer la réalité, même en un temps de cosmopolitisme triomphant, d'un certain conservatisme nationaliste à pointe parfois xénophobe. Certes, «le mazdéisme restitué par les Sassanides est fort éloigné de la théologie de Mithra propre à ces mystères»[56]. Le culte mithriaque tel qu'on le pratique dans l'Empire est suffisamment romanisé pour que ses adeptes n'aient pas eux-mêmes le sentiment et n'éveillent pas autour d'eux le soupçon d'appartenir à quelque «cinquième colonne». Qu'il ait pu être pratiqué à Doura, sur la frontière orientale, par ceux donc la mission était de la défendre contre les Perses est à cet égard révélateur. Il reste que l'origine iranienne du culte était bien connue. Le nom de Mithra évoquait immanquablement celui de la Perse et lui est très souvent

[53] *Sur Hélios Roi*, 130 c.

[54] *Métamorphoses*, XI, 23.

[55] Même le *sacerdos Invicti Mithrae domus Augustanae* mentionné par une inscription de l'époque des Sévères (CIL, VI, 2271) est le chapelain domestique du palais et non pas, semble-t-il, un dignitaire de la hiérarchie sacerdotale officielle.

[56] J. Gagé, *La montée des Sassanides*, Paris, 1964, p. 103.

associé dans les textes littéraires qui le mentionnent[57]. Le titre de Perse désignait l'un des grades supérieurs de la hiérarchie mithriaque. Il y avait là de quoi choquer au moins les plus sourcilleux des traditionalistes, tenants du seul et authentique *mos majorum*. Firmicus Maternus touchait peut-être une corde sensible lorsque, dénonçant «les blâmables fictions d'un rite barbare», qui est «l'observance persique», il s'écriait, dans une phrase laissée interrompue par une lacune du texte : «Si vous croyez digne du nom romain de vous assujettir aux rites et aux lois des Perses...»[58]. Faut-il penser que ce chrétien fougueux se fait, pour les besoins de la cause, plus royaliste que le roi et affiche un nationalisme romain plus intransigeant que celui des païens? Je n'en suis pas absolument convaincu.

Certes, la plupart des champions du paganisme finissant se réclament des divinités orientales comme des dieux gréco-romains. Il y a cependant des exceptions. Symmaque, porte-parole du parti païen dans l'affaire de l'autel de la Victoire, s'en tient pour l'essentiel aux dieux de l'ancienne Rome : ce sont du moins les seuls dont il soit question dans ses ouvrages[59]. Dans une inscription de 377, Symmaque est présenté comme *pontifex maior* et *XV vir sacris faciundis* ; aucune mention n'y est faite en revanche d'un sacerdoce exotique, ce qui est assez exceptionnel dans l'aristocratie de l'époque[60].

Autour de Symmaque, le cercle mis en scène par Macrobe dans les *Saturnales* s'intéresse en priorité, sans que les apports grecs ou orientaux soient entièrement absents, au vieux substrat religieux indigène. Pour démontrer que tous les dieux sont des manifestations de Sol, *ad solem referunt*, Praetextat, *sacrorum omnium praesul*, en énumère une longue liste, où voisinent les figures du panthéon classique et quelques divinités orientales[61]. Or Mithra n'y apparaît pas. Une telle omission est surprenante dans la bouche d'un homme dont nous savons, par son épitaphe, qu'il avait accédé dans la hiérarchie mithriaque à la dignité suprême de *pater patrum*[62]. Elle l'est beaucoup

[57] Cf. par exemple les passages de Lucien et d'Origène cités plus haut, et aussi Porphyre, *De antro nympharum*, 5-6 (Cumont, *Textes et Monuments*, I, pp. 39ss.).

[58] *De errore profan. relig.*, 8, 2.

[59] Cf. G. Boissier, *La fin du paganisme*[7], II, Paris, 1922, p. 270.

[60] CIL, VI, 1968, et Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums*, Heidelberg, 1920, p. 295.

[61] Macrobe, *Saturnales*, I, 17-23. Les divinités orientales mentionnées sont Sérapis, Adonis, Attis, Osiris, Horus et Adad.

[62] CIL, III, 1779. Le monument funéraire où figure cette épitaphe est reproduit

moins sous la plume de Macrobe, représentant, au même titre que Symmaque, de ce traditionalisme romain qui se tourne avec prédilection vers le patrimoine national et vers ce qui y a été intégré à une date relativement ancienne[63].

Julien, assurément, pense à Mithra lorsqu'il disserte sur le Soleil Roi, mais sans le nommer de façon trop insistante. La seule mention qu'il en fasse dans ce contexte s'accompagne, nous l'avons vu, d'un rappel des jeux institués par Aurélien, et qui n'ont pas de caractère mithriaque, [redacted] est formulée avec d'intéressantes précautions oratoires : « Si je déclare après cela que nous vénérons Mithra et qu'en l'honneur d'Hélios nous célébrons des jeux quadriennaux, on me jugera trop moderne. Mieux vaut sans doute ici avancer un fait d'âge plus vénérable »[64]. [redacted] semble bien que Mithra ait été gêné dans sa carrière impériale à la fois par son origine étrangère et par sa relative nouveauté sur le marché romain des cultes.

A cela s'ajoute qu'il est demeuré jusqu'au bout, de façon beaucoup plus nette que ses concurrents orientaux, et presque exclusivement, divinité de mystères. Ce simple fait suffirait à infirmer l'affirmation de Renan : une société secrète ne peut guère se mesurer avec une institution de recrutement ouvert ; il est difficile de voir aujourd'hui dans la franc-maçonnerie, même lorsqu'elle [redacted], comme en France, un caractère nettement anti-catholique, le rival [redacted] plus considérable des Églises chrétiennes. Les seuls fidèles véritables de Mithra sont les initiés, et ils se recrutent uniquement parmi les hommes. Pour essayer d'étendre son rayonnement du côté de la clientèle féminine, ce célibataire doit contracter des alliances occasionnelles avec d'autres divinités, en particulier Cybèle[65]. A côté des rites de l'initiation on ne lui connaît pas de cérémonies publiques qui lui soient propres ; [redacted] fête du *Natalis Invicti*, le 25 décembre, n'a qu'un rapport indirect avec les mystères de Mithra et est, dans son principe, solaire[66]. Rien de comparable chez lui aux grandes solennités de l'*Inventio* d'Osiris, du

dans A. Momigliano (éd.) *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, Oxford, 1963, p. 218, fig. 7.

[63] Cf. *Relatio*, 3, 3 : « repetamus igitur religionum statum, qui reipublicae dat profuit ».

[64] *Sur Hélios Roi*, 155 b.

[65] Cumont, *Mystères*, [redacted] pp. 86 [redacted] 189 ss. Une relation avec Isis, bien que Mithra soit parfois identifié à Sérapis, est beaucoup plus exceptionnelle, [redacted] même n'est pas attestée avec certitude : Cumont, *Mystères*, p. 188, n. 1. Vidman, *Isis und Sarapis*, pp. 141 ss.

[66] Cumont, *Mystères*, p. 197. C'est Aurélien qui a donné à cette fête tout son éclat : L. Homo, *L'empereur Aurélien*, Paris, 1904, pp. 185 ss.

navigium Isidis ou celles qui, vers l'équinoxe de printemps, commémoraient la mort et la renaissance d'Attis, et qui toutes attiraient un grand concours de peuple. Pas d'équivalent non plus, à côté de ses chapelles, multiples, mais exiguës comme des loges maçonniques, et comme elles interdites aux profanes, des majestueux édifices qui, tels le Sérapéum d'Alexandrie, le temple d'Isis Campensis à Rome, le sanctuaire métroaque du Palatin ou celui du Soleil sur le Champ de Mars, qui n'est pas un temple mithriaque, font figure de basilique majeure de leurs cultes respectifs. Ce sont là pour le dieu persan des handicaps assez sérieux.

Le renouveau païen que l'on constate en Occident à la fin du IVe siècle revêt des formes diverses. Les cultes orientaux y jouent un rôle considérable. Les nombreuses inscriptions faisant état des sacerdoces assumés ou des initiations subies par de hauts personnages de la société romaine attestent que Mithra y tient une place honorable, sans plus[67]. Son prestige semble inférieur à celui de la Grande Mère, à en juger par les nombreuses mentions de tauroboles et la série d'autels dédiés à la déesse dans le Phrygianum du Vatican[68], inférieur aussi à celui d'Isis, dont A. Alföldi a démontré la popularité aux environs de 375[69]. Le même savant a attiré notre attention sur l'importance des «contorniates» comme moyen de propagande païenne de 355-60 à 410[70]. Les thèmes religieux figurés au revers de ces pseudo-monnaies sont empruntés à la mythologie classique et aux cultes de Cybèle-

[67] La fortune de Mithra est attestée en particulier par les inscriptions de la S. Silvestro in Capite, qui s'échelonnent entre 357 et 376. Cumont, *Textes*, II, pp. 93 ss., cf. J. Geffcken, *op. cit.* p. 101 et M. Bloch, "The Pagan Revival in the West at the End of the Fourth Century", dans A. Momigliano, *op. cit.* p. 203 : sur une liste de 23 inscriptions, dont 19 relatives à des hommes, des années 376-390, 9 font état de fonctions mithriaques et 15 mentionnent le taurobole.

[68] M. Bloch, *op. cit.* p. 202 ; cf. J. Geffcken, *op. cit.* p. 159. On se souviendra que le culte métroaque a été d'autant plus facilement intégré à la religion officielle qu'il est associé à la légende des origines troyennes de Rome et fait ainsi partie du patrimoine romain : la Grande Mère idéenne a été la protectrice du «Phrygien» Enée, réfugié sur l'Ida après la chute de Troie. Tertullien fait allusion à cette tradition : «Cybèle s'est éprise de la ville de Rome en souvenir de la race troyenne, race de son pays», *Apol.* 25 ; cf. H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle, Mère des dieux, à Rome et dans l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1912, pp. 41 ss.

[69] A. Alföldi, «A Festival of Isis in Rome under the Christian Emperors of the IVth Century», *Dissert. Pannonicae*, Ser. 2, VII (1937), pp. 33 ss.

[70] *Die Kontorniaten*, Budapest, 1943.

Attis et d'Isis. Mithra est absent ici comme il l'est dans les dissertations solaires de Macrobe. La coïncidence vaut d'être notée [71].

La dévotion envers Mithra garde un caractère essentiellement individuel et ésotérique. Elle n'atteint guère, elle ne peut pas, par nature, atteindre les masses. Ce sont les processions isiaques et métroaques qui, sous le règne éphémère du païen Eugène (392-94) et sous le patronage actif de Nicomachus Flavianus sillonnent de nouveau les rues de Rome [72]. L'attirance de Sol lui-même, auquel est lié le destin de Mithra, paraît s'être exercée surtout auprès des intellectuels, dont il alimente les spéculations théologiques. La piété populaire lui a souvent préféré des divinités de caractère anthropomorphique plus accentué, et de ce fait plus accessibles.

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Il est difficile en définitive, compte tenu de tous ces éléments, et à considérer d'ensemble la résistance païenne au christianisme, d'admettre que Mithra ait été le rival le plus redoutable du Christ. Il a pu apparaître comme tel à certains chrétiens, qui côtoyaient des communautés mithriaques solidement et largement implantées ; il ne l'a pas été à l'échelle de l'Empire, parce qu'il n'a jamais occupé dans le panthéon une position suffisamment forte pour regrouper autour de lui tous ses collègues en divinité et toutes les forces du paganisme finissant. Il a sans doute fourni à ce dernier, par le biais de la théologie solaire, certains éléments de la doctrine dont les intellectuels essayaient de doter la vieille religion. Mais ce n'est là qu'une composante parmi d'autres d'un ensemble qui manque singulièrement de cohésion, voire de cohérence. Le nombre impressionnant, et sans cesse croissant, des monuments mithriaques de toute nature qui nous sont parvenus ne doit pas faire illusion. Il faut, pour en mesurer exactement l'importance et du même coup situer Mithra lui-même à sa vraie place dans la lutte contre l'Église chrétienne, ne pas les considérer isolément, mais les mettre en regard des vestiges laissés par toutes les autres formes du paganisme. C'est seulement dans ce cadre plus vaste qu'ils prennent leur signification véritable.

Dire que, si le Christ avait échoué, le vainqueur eût été Mithra, c'est

[71] Sur cette véritable éclipse de Mithra, à l'extrême fin du IVe siècle, cf. L. Vidman, *Isis und Sarapis*, pp. 163 et 166.

[72] H. Bloch, *op. cit.* p. 203.

oublier que celui-ci ne prononce pas d'exclusive contre les autres dieux : il les rejoint sur une ligne commune de défense plutôt qu'il ne les supplante. C'est oublier aussi que, dieu d'une petite minorité, il dispose, en tant que Mithra, d'effectifs modestes et que son rayonnement en a pâti. La tendance monothéiste ou tout au moins hénothéiste qui se dessine, sous-jacente à la multiplicité des figures divines, ne pouvait guère jouer à son bénéfice. D'autres étaient mieux placés que lui dans la course. Aucun cependant ne l'a emporté. C'est le drame du paganisme sur son déclin qu'il n'ait pu se résoudre à choisir"[13].

[13] Ce travail était déjà sous presse quand j'ai eu connaissance du livre de R. Turcan, *Mithras Platonicus. Recherches sur l'hellénisation philosophique du culte de Mithra*, Leyde, 1975. Il diminue, plus encore que je ne le fais, ce que Julien doit au culte de Mithra, allant jusqu'à contester qu'il ait été initié à ses mystères. Il rejette, lui aussi, l'affirmation de Renan en écrivant : "On conçoit que le monde ne soit pas devenu mithriaste, mais on comprend que le mithriacisme ait séduit les platoniciens" : centurions ou philosophes, il s'agit toujours de petites chapelles.

MICHAEL P. SPEIDEL

PARTHIA AND THE MITHRAISM OF THE ROMAN ARMY

The continuity between the Iranian and Roman worship of Mithras presents a basic problem of Mithraic studies. The following study hopes to contribute towards a solution of this problem, not by raising the thorny question of the origin of Roman Mithraism but by searching for possible ongoing relations between the "two" religions. Our investigation will attempt to show that the Magi at Dura-Europos were indeed members of the Roman army, it will suggest that the Roman soldiers at Dura therefore worshipped Mithras in part as the god of their Parthian enemy from whom they had taken that fortress, and it will describe another, comparable instance of the worship of the Parthian Mithras-Mehr in the Roman army. If successful, our study will reveal a living connection between the worship of Mithras in Iran and in Rome.

A remarkable graffito from the middle Mithraeum in Dura reads:

[M]ama Maximus magus.

That, on account of the nominative case after *nama*, means either 'Hail Maximus the Magus' or 'Hail! Maximus the Magus'[1]. Maximus, then, either used Latin himself, or it was used for him, which affiliates him with the army. What is more, his Latin name in a setting like Dura-Europos on the middle Euphrates makes it virtually certain that he was a member of the army. There is nothing impossible about this as it is known that by the mid-second century A.D. Roman soldiers in active service could at the same time be priests of oriental religions[2].

For the rank and the function of a Magus among the Dura Mithraists various explanations have been offered. F. Cumont saw their function as identical with that of a priest, while E.D. Francis equated them with the sixth rank in the hierarchy, comparable to the σπεροχώτης

[1] M.I. Rostovtzeff, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary Report of the Seventh and Eight Seasons of Work*, New Haven, 1939, 120ff, no. 859= CIMRM 61.

[2] See the priest of Iuppiter Dolichenus who was *eques singularis Augusti*, in Speidel, *The Religion of Iuppiter Dolichenus in the Roman Army* (*EPRO* 63), Leiden, 1977, 46ff. For the Mithraic community at Dura see E.D. Francis, *Mithraic Graffiti from Dura-Europos*, *Mithraic Studies*, ed. J.R. Hinnells (Manchester, 1975) 424-445.

and σοφιστής[3]. A. D. Nock's view was that *Magus* be here but a *signum*, i.e. a new, added name given after a certain step in the initiation, but *signa*, if at all Mithraic, would [illegible] names such as Proficentius, Gelasius, rather than titles[4]. Certainly the Magi at Dura were highly respected: their spiritual role may be gauged from another graffito, mentioning the πυροκόν δοθμα τὸ καὶ μάγοις ἡ ν[ι]πτρον δο(σ)ιω[ν] which shows interest in the doctrines [illegible] the Magi[5]. Their rank may be inferred from the prominent position they—or their masters—hold in the paintings of the Late Dura Mithraeum[6]. Inspite of this, the role of the Magi at Dura has been underestimated by modern scholarship while actually it deserves to [illegible] emphasized as one of the *Realien* on which to build our understanding of Roman Mithraism[7].

F. Cumont in his posthumously published work on the Dura Mithraeum recognized the importance of the Magi. He expressed surprise that "[illegible] the period in which the empire was desperately defending the Euphrates frontier against the Sasanids, the Roman legionaries stationed there were worshipping their enemy's god and recognizing the spiritual authority [illegible] the Iranian masters of the Magi."[8] Perhaps an explanation can [illegible] found. It was in the best of Roman tradition to adopt the enemies' gods, to promise them equal or fuller worship, and thus [illegible] enlist them on the Roman side, especially after conquering their original place of worship[9]. Well-known examples

[3] F. Cumont, *The Dura Mithraeum*, *Mithraic Studies* 151-214, esp. p. 203; Francis, l.c. 443.

[4] A.D. Nock, *The Roman Army and the Roman Religious Year*, HTR 45, 1952, 186-252 (= *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, vol. 2, Cambridge/Mass. 1972, 736-790) esp. p. 249. P. Thrams, *Die Signa in den Mithrasinschriften*, ZPE 9, 1972, 139-178. It seems doubtful whether any of the *signa* collected by Thrams have cultic significance. Thrams does not discuss Nock's suggestion. At Dura, titles follow regularly the *Nama*-name inscriptions, cf. CIMRM 46, 54 (*pastor*); [illegible]; 56; 57, 59, 60; 62.

[5] Rostovtzeff l.c. no 865; Cumont l.c. 204, CIMRM 68.

[6] Cumont, l.c. 182 ff and plate 25.

[7] E.g. S. Wikander, *Études sur les mystères de Mithras*, *Vetenskap-Societeten i Lund, Årsbok*, 1950, 28 and 40. [illegible] Gordon, *Franz Cumont and the Doctrines of Mithraism*, *Mithraic Studies* 215-248.

[8] Cumont, l.c. 184.

[9] Pliny, N.H. [illegible], 4: *In oppugnationibus ante omnia solitum a Romanis sacerdotibus evocari deum cuius in tutela id oppidum esset, promittique illi eundem aut ampliorem apud Romanos cultum.* Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, 8, 2: *dum captis in hostilibus moenis adhuc ferociente victoria numina victa venerantur, dum undique hospites deos quaerunt et suos faciunt.* For the time in question see in particular *vita Marci* (SHA) 13, 1: *Tantus autem timor belli Marcomannici ut unique sacerdotes Antoninus decreverit, peregrinos ritus impleverit.*

of this are the cases of Veii, Carthage, and Emesa[10]. Does one have to add to them Dura-Europos? The building of a Mithraic temple by the Roman garrison and [redacted] commander [redacted] the Euphrates frontier fortress immediately after it changed hands from the Parthians to the Romans[11] was hardly coincidental. It has been said that the Palmyrene bowmen stationed there wanted to celebrate their incorporation into the Roman army by dedicating a shrine to the "god of the Roman soldier," yet that is not what Mithras could [redacted] called—not in A.D. 168 and not in the eastern armies of the empire[12]. The Dura Mithraeum then is perhaps part of Rome's or its soldiers' attempt to win over the Parthian god to its own side. Differences between the Roman and the Parthian way in worshipping Mithras, which undeniably existed[13], do not make this view any less likely as long as we can [redacted] sure that Roman Mithraists saw [redacted] Mithra an Iranian god and in the Magi Iranian holy men, and that Mithra was prominently worshipped in Parthia, all of which can hardly [redacted] denied[14]

The Roman soldiers' attitude towards the worship of a Parthian god is superbly illustrated by an altar found [redacted] few years ago in the legionary camp at Potaissa in Dacia. Its inscription reads[15]:

[10] Livy, 5, 21-22, Macrobius, *Sat* 3, 9; SHA *Aurelianus*, 25, 3-6.

[11] Rostovtzeff l.c nos 845 and 846 (CIMRM 39 and 44) There is no reason to doubt that the Palmyrenian bowmen were considered part of the Roman army, even if organized along the lines of local militias, for such irregulars see M Speidel, *The Rise of the Ethnic Units in the Roman Imperial Army*, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (ed H. Temporini) II 3, Berlin, 1975, 202-231.

[12] Francis, l.c For the relative absence of Mithraism [redacted] the eastern armies see C.M. Daniels, *The Role of the Roman Army in the Spread and Practice of Mithraism*, *Mithraic Studies* 249-274. Only three Mithraic monuments are known erected by soldiers before Lucius Verus' Parthian campaign: CIMRM 1295, 793, 569 of A D 148, 155 and perhaps 158. The arguments of E. Schwertheim, *Die Denkmäler orientalischer Gottheiten im römischen Deutschland*, Leiden, 1974 (EPRO 40) 269ff to the effect that Mithraism [redacted] Germany began already in the first century A D. are not convincing.

[13] To stay with archaeological facts: no Mithraic caves nor bull-slaying scenes have been found yet in Iran The relief from Uruk apparently is not Mithraic, cf A.D.H. Bivar, *Mithra and Mesopotamia*, *Mithraic Studies* 275-289, esp. [redacted] 280f and plate 7c

[14] See e.g. Geo Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, [redacted]tgart 1965, 222-232 CIMRM 2307 connects the cult with the Euphrates, [redacted] John [redacted] Hinnells, *Reflections on the Bull-Slaying Scene*, *Mithraic Studies* 290-312, esp. 303f, Richard N Frye, *Mithra in Iranian History*, *Mithraic Studies* 62-67 If Mithras' name had changed in Armenia and Parthia to Mehr, the Romans still knew he was the same god: they called him [redacted] his old name just as they called Iranian kings Mithridates rather than Meherdates

[15] M. Macrea, *Apollo Parthicus*, *Acta of the Fifth Epigraphic Congress*, Cambridge, 1971, 349-356.

Deo forti Phoebo Appollin[i] Parthico, C(aius) Cassius Vitalis, 7(centurio) l(egionis) V M(acedonicae) p(iae) c(onstantis) l(ibens) posu(it).

The editor identified this Apollo with Azizus of Edessa, but Azizus was a god of Emesa, not Edessa, and Emesa is Syrian, not Parthian[16]. Possibly this *Apollo Parthicus* is the Mithras of the mysteries, for elsewhere, too, Roman soldiers call Mithras Apollo[17]. More likely, though, the new name denotes a new and different reception of the Parthian sun god Mehr = Mithras, parallel to a reception of the Parthian Anahita as *Venus Victrix Parthica*, mentioned on a tombstone(!) from Dalmatia[18]. Venus Victrix, there, is not the Roman goddess but an oriental goddess. The same name of Venus Vixtrix is also given, for example, to Atargatis, partner of Iuppiter Heliopolitanus[19]. Names like Apollo Parthicus for *Mithras* and Venus Victrix Parthica for *Anahita* stand in the well-known tradition of Greek and Roman interpretation that made of *Hadad* Iuppiter Dolichenus or Iuppiter Heliopolitanus and of *Atargatis* Venus Victrix or Dea Syria. Whether Mithras or Mehr, Apollo's new, unparalleled epithet *fortis* seems to refer to the god's Avestan qualification as uγra-bāzuš, strong-armed (Yašt 10, 75), a rare glimpse of what Roman soldiers knew of the Parthian god and what of him in particular appealed to them.

The Potaissa altar, dating to Septimius Severus' Parthian wars[20], reveals that the Parthian quality of the god was in no way repugnant even to such opinion leaders in the Roman army as were the centurions: to the contrary, it was emphasized. Similarly, the many Parthians

[16] H. Seyrig, *Antiquités Syriennes IV*, Paris, 1953, 132 (= *Syria* 1950, 237).

[17] *RIB* 1198 = *CIMRM* I, 837 B; *RIB* 1307 = *CIMRM* I, 842; cf. *CIMRM* I, 32, 55, 33,2; H. 1971. Macrea (note 15) sees the title *Parthicus* given to Apollo for a victory over the Parthians, yet there is no parallel for such a title of a god, except for Victoria (Dessau, *ILS*, 305). By contrast see *Apollo Lycius*, Dessau, *ILS* 4050.

[18] Dessau, ILS 3177; *Veneri victrici Parthicae Augustae*; cf. L. Balla, *Cultes orientaux à Savaria*, *Studia Ethnographica et Folkloristica in Honorem Bela Gunda*, Debrecen 1971, 469-487, esp. p. 479. M. Speidel, *Venus Victrix Parthica — The Iranian Anahita*, ANRW II/17 (1978), forthcoming.

[19] E. Swoboda, *Carnuntum, Seine Geschichte und Denkmäler*, 4th ed. Graz-Köln, 1964, 195f. Z. Kádár, *Die Kleinasiatisch-syrischen Kulte zur Römerzeit in Ungarn* (*EPRO* 2), Leiden, 1962, 80f.

[20] The legion came to Potaissa immediately after the Parthian war of Lucius Verus, i.e. in A.D. 167, yet the title *pia constantis*, according to E. Ritterling, *legio*, *RE* 12, 1924, 1579, dates only from the reign of Commodus.

and Persians serving in the Roman army freely advertised their Parthian nationality[21]. This may help to explain the apparent contradiction that Diocletian in A.D. 296 banned Manichaeism as a sect *'de Persica nobis adversaria gente progressa'* while ten years later he dedicated with his co-emperors an altar *deo Soli invicto Mithrae fautori imperii sui*[22]—it was not Iranian origin as such that was objectionable, but opposition to Roman gods and Roman ways in the name of Iranian doctrine. That was practiced by Manichaeans, but not by Mithraists, as Mithras was added, not opposed to Roman gods.

The Potaissa altar further shows that worship of the enemy's god was not a mere political move by the government but was carried by the living beliefs and emotions of the soldiers. It thus explains, in part at least, why the troops at Dura built a Mithraeum immediately after the fortress was taken from the Parthians and it also shows one of the ways Mithras came west, for Εὐρωπαῖοι always served as crack troops in the Parthian campaigns[23].

Thus, despite all the differences between Roman and Iranian Mithra worship, the relations between Parthia and the Mithraism of the Roman army may nevertheless constitute a significant aspect of the spread of the cult of Mithras and a remarkable religious interaction between Rome and Iran[24].

[21] For perhaps the earliest text of an *ala Parthorum* see *CIL* III, 8746 from Klis, near Solin Dalmatia in the improved reading of G. Alföldy, *Epigraphica, Studia* 8, 1965, 93-112, no. 7: [*Tiberius*] *Iulius Maxi*[*mi*]*nus, Crani Iulii Tiridatis f(ilius), dec(urio) ala Parthorum an(norum) XXVI, domitus Roma, h(ic) s(itus) e(st). Sevius Caelius* [—. He was apparently the son of one of the retainers of the Parthian noble Ornospades who served Tiberius in A.D. 6-9 as *haud ingloriosus auxiliator* during the Pannonian revolt and was rewarded with Roman citizenship (Tacitus, *Ann.* VI, 37). See also Herodian 7, 2, 1, etc. and CIL VI, 31187. For Persians see e.g. D. Hoffmann, *Der "Numerus equitum Persionicinforum" auf einer Masarkinschrift von Sant'Eufemia in Grado, Aquileia Nostra* 36, 1965, 82-98.

[22] *FIRA* II, 544-89; *CIMRM* II, 1698.

[23] Cassius Dio 75.12.

[24] Compare the story told about Aurelian (*SHA, Aur.* 5,5): *Data est ei praetorea, cum legatus ad Persas esset, patera qualis solet imperatori dari a rege Persarum in qua inscriptus erat Sol eo habitu quo colebatur ab eo templo in quo mater eius fuerat sacerdos.*

W. SUNDERMANN

SOME MORE REMARKS ON MITHRA IN THE MANICHAEAN PANTHEON

If H. H. Schaeder was right, the Manichaean god *Mihr-yazd* may only claim a restricted importance for the importance for the history and development of the homonymous Zoroastrian deity at best. Schaeder described the so-called Iranian elements in eastern Manichaeism as what he called "bewußte und planmäßige Umstilisierung des in seinem Lehrgehalt feststehenden und durch diese Umformung nicht angetasteten manichäischen Systems»[1], the adaptation to Iranian terms was, as he put it, "eine rein formale"[2], or a "rein mechanische 'Übersetzung'"[3] respectively, and all these "translations" were almost exclusively brought about by nobody else but Mani himself[4].

These statements have been open to dispute for more than 40 years, and they have met with consent and dissent. Suffice it to mention G. Widengren's strictly contrary view[5]. In my opinion the validity of Schaeder's outlook has ably been challenged and restricted by Mary Boyce who, on the strength of Middle-Iranian texts published after Schaeder's famous studies has recently pointed out that the freedom to "translate" gods' names still[6] remained open to Mani's followers, to Mani's disciple *Mār Ammō* at least[6]. Moreover, she was able to establish that the Manichaean *tertius legatus* identified in Parthian texts with the Iranian *Mihr-yazd* did not remain completely unaffected by the original conception of the local, Zoroastrian god[7].

As regards the Manicaean method of identifying own gods with alien gods in general, M. Boyce could confirm the undisputed but

[1] H. H. Schaeder, Urform und Fortbildung des manichäischen Systems, Leiprig 1927, p. 146.

[2] Ibid., p. 146.

[3] Ibid., p. 135.

[4] Ibid., p. 146.

[5] Cf. e.g. Stand und Aufgaben der iranischen Religionsgeschichte, Leiden 1955, p. 103 [= 127]ff.

[6] M. Boyce, On Mithra in the Manichaean pantheon, in: A Locust's Leg. Studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh, London 1962, p. 48, ibid. n. 3.

[7] Ibid., p. 48ff.

very important fact that identifications of gods depend on their having some aspects in common[8], a community, however, that properly covers the conceptions of both gods only in parts, or that is of a rather general kind, so that it is applicable to many gods. As for the Manichaean pantheon in Iranian tradition, these understandable shortcomings of Mani's method had the effect that both one Manichaean god could bear the names of two different Zoroastrian gods, and one Zoroastrian god's name could be shared by two different Manichaean gods in different Iranian languages. The best-known example to illustrate this observation is Mithra himself who, as *Mihryazd*, came to be identified with two Manichaean gods, the *spiritus vivens* or Living Spirit, the main god of the second evocation, in the Middle-Persian tradition[9], but the *legatus tertius* or Third Messenger in the Parthian one. In Parthian, moreover, he is frequently called *Narisaf-yazd*, and sometimes *hridig frēštag* as well[10]. In this point the Sogdian Manichaean tradition agrees with the Parthian one, in so far as it renders the name of the Third Messenger by *miši vayi* (myšyy βγyy), adopts the Parthian name *Narisaf-yazd* (in Sogdian transcription nr'ysβ yzδ)[11], and the term δštik frēšte, a borrowing by translation from the Parthian[12]. Henning who for the first time correctly elucidated this somewhat confusing linking of divine names and persons was of the opinion that its divergence follows from different aspects of the god Mithra among diverse Iranian peoples, the Persians on the one hand, the Parthians and Sogdians on the other[13]. The precariousness of this explanation, however, has been pointed out by M. Boyce[14]. Later on she offered a preferable solution of the problems involved in her article "On Mithra's part in Zoroastrianism"[15]. It is convincingly put forward there that in the Sasanian empire *Mihr-yazd* was worshiped as one, in fact the most powerful solar deity[16]. On the

[8] Ibid., p. 45 ff.

[9] For the names of the *spiritus vivens* in different languages cf. J. P. Asmussen, X*ᵃstvānīft, Copenhagen 1965, p. 23 n. 49.

[10] Hrdyg frystg = *tertius legatus*, attested completely, or partly restored in M 373/R I 9, M 480 c/I 14-15', and M 3400 2.

[11] In 18221 = T.M.389 b 23.

[12] M 14444 = T II D 170 e/V 12-13 : myōr βγ' 'stykw pr'yštk.

[13] Zum zentralasiatischen Manichäismus, in: OLZ 37 [1934], col. 5 ff. Cf. also I. Gershevitch, The Avestan Hymn to Mithra, Cambridge 1959, p. 41.

[14] On Mithra in the Manichaean pantheon, p. 46 n. 10.

[15] BSOAS 32 [1962], p. [1962], p. 23 ff.

[16] M. Boyce, Mithra's part in Zoroastrianism, p. 21 ff., 30.

other hand, those Zoroastrians who were well versed in their faith did never forget (even not in our days) that *Mihr* was more than this, a lord of the radiant light of all the luminaries of the sky, and consequently a greater god than *Xwaršēd*, the sun himself.

This short contribution which I submit to your attention is by no means an exhaustive description of all possible and remarkable additions to what we long since know about the Iranian Manichaean *Mihr-yazd*, on the strength of hitherto unpublished Turfan-texts. In order to complement from the Middle-Persian side what has already been established by M. Boyce, I intend to communicate and comment on one unpublished Middle-Persian Manichaean text only. It belongs to the Turfan-Collection, affords some fresh information on the eschatological part taken by Mihr-yazd, allows of a conclusion regarding the relation between this god and his Zoroastrian namesake, and I think it is worth being published anyway.

The fragment to be discussed here consists of two small pieces with the fragment-numbers M 867 and M 3845[17]. It is only in its present, completed state that its text turns out to describe at some length one of Mithra's achievements. The piece is part of a hymn each verse being written in three lines, but in fact consisting of two hemistichs. The fragment, obviously, treats eschatological matters. Although at least one verse is missing between the second and the third verse, i.e. between the first and second column of the page, a continuity of action and a coherency of contents may safely be presumed. The text runs in transliteration and translation as follows:

I/ 1/ 'w(ḯ h) 'nc hndy(ß)yßn	And also the Dark
2/ 'y t'(ryg) hmbwsn'g[18]	ἐνθόμημαις, the producer[20]
3/ 'y hrwysp bzgyḫ	of every sin.
4/ [ky pd] 'w(y p)hykyrb	[who, by way] of that (terrib)le(?)
5/ [sh] (m)yn (x)wyš grwy	shape[21], produces[22] her [ter]rible
6/ ['yg s]hmyn hmbwsnd[19]	+ gang[23].

[17] Cf. M. Boyce, A catalogue of the Iranian manuscripts in Manichaean script in the German Turfan Collection, Berlin 1960, p. 59 and 98.

[18] Point below n indicating abridged spelling of hmbwsyn'g.

[19] Points below n and d, abridged spelling of hmbwsynyd, i.e. *hambōsēnēd* "she produces", or *hambōsēnēd* "she produced", hardly hmbwsyn'd "she will produce".

[20] *Hambōsēnāg* (cf. n. 18) is part. act. of *hambōsēn-*, a causative derivation from *hambōs-* "to appear", cf. Berliner Turfantexte IV [BTT IV], Berlin 1973, p. 124, Phl. *hambōl-* and *hambōs-*, cf. D. N. MacKenzie, A concise Pahlavi dictionary, London 1971, p. 40.

(after a lacuna of one or more verses the text goes on :)

[[/	1/ 'wš hnd'c'nd 'w	And they[24] will throw[25] her
	2/ h'n qwrg 'wd zynd'n	into that furnace[26] and prison,
	3/ 'wd bn 'y j'yd'n	and into eternal bonds,
	4/ 'y qyrd r'z '[illegible]	which are made by the Light
	5/ (r)wšn o pd [hj'n š(h)[r]	Architect[27] in the rea[lm]

[21] Unfortunately the text, or what has been left of it, does not say what the "terrible(?) shape" is. But because *handēsīn i tēz* may be regarded as the demon *Āz*, it is certainly not too far-fetched to explain the "shape" (*pahikarb*) as an allusion to *Asaqlōn* and *Namrā'ēl* (*Nabrā'ēl*), a couple of demons who are instrumental to the fashioning of Adam and Eve and thus mankind as a demoniac procreation (cf. e.g. H. Ch. Puech, Le Manichéisme, son fondateur sa doctrine, Paris 1949, p. 80 f.). Mankind must be understood then to mean the "terrible gang" (or "Self") of *Āz* (cf. F. C. Andreas and W. Henning, Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan I, SPAW Phil.-hist. Kl. 1932, Berlin 1933 [Mir. Man. II], d II R 1 15 ff.). It has long since been established that both *Asaqlōn* and his consort were regarded to be no more than an outward covering and garment of *Āz* (Mir. Man. I, c I V 1 32 ff.). That *pahikarb* denotes them both, as it were collectively, is possible; if, however, it represents one demon only, one might preferably think of *Namrā'ēl* who, as *Pēsūs*, takes an important part in the Parth. Man. tradition and whose work of fashioning the first couple of man is described in almost the same way as the work attributed to *Āz* herself according to the MP. tradition (MP., Mir. Man. I, c V II 1 ff., d I V 1 21 ff., d II R II 1 22 ff., BTT IV, text 1.8 V/II-III, Parth. M 748 V 11 ff., cf. M. Boyce, Sadwēs and Pēsūs, BSOAS 13 [1951], p. 913 f., id. p. 910 f.). In the Parth. text the work of *Pēsūs* attains comprehensive cosmic extent and is not confined to the past and single work of creating Adam and Eve. This is still better compatible with the MP. hymn fragment to the discussed here. May-be the verses preceding its opening words described *Mihr's* victory over *Pēsūs*.

[22] Cf. n. 19.

[23] I think that the elsewhere unattested grwy is a faulty spelling of Pahl. *gruh* "group, crowd", NP. *gurūh*. Change of final *-v-h -ū*, particularly after long vowel, appears repeatedly (cf. H. S. Nyberg, A Manual of Pahlavi, Wiesbaden 1974, p. 276, G. Lazard, La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane, Paris 1963, p. 169 ff., A. Tafazzoli, Pahlavica II, AO Havn. 36 [1974], p. 116 f.). As for *gruh* I only know a NP. parallel form *gurū* (Lazard, *op. cit.*, p. 171). — A misspelling of grywy "self" is of course possible too.

[24] Possibly the Living Spirit and his sons. According to M 472 (F. W. K. Müller, Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan II [HR II], Anfang zu den APAW 1904, Berlin 1904, p. 100 f.) they will rebuke (nyarwhynd) *Āz*, *Ahriman*, and the other demons, when the Living Spirit will appear on earth and the world-conflagration begins.

[25] This passage proves the meaning "to throw" for MP. *handāxtan*. It has so far been attested only for NP. *andāxtan* (cf. W. B. Henning, ZII 9 [1933], p. 186).

[26] For qwrg cf. W. B. Henning, BSOAS 9 [1937], p. 84.

[27] This passage supports W. Geiger's suggestion to translate MP. *rēz* as "Baumeister".

6/ 'yg mnwh(m)[yd rwšn]	of the [Light] Nou[s],
7/ 'yg 'wy whyy(š)[t'w]	i.e. the New
8/ 'yg nwg hspyyn	Para[dise], the resting-place [28]
9/ 'yg zwr''n rznywz'[n]	of the warlike powers [29].
10/ 'wš myhr yzd byn'd	And *Mihr-yazd* will bind her
11/ pd h''n bn 'yg	with those fast
12/ hwstyg'n oo	bonds.

That the Living Spirit takes an important part in Manichaean eschatology could already be gathered both from the Middle-Persian *Šâbuhragân* [30] and from some Coptic texts [31]. The fragment published here instructs us that the Living Spirit will also fill the part of an ultimate combater and fetterer of the powers of darkness [32], in detail

(Archiv Orientální 10 [1938], S. 210f.). One might even ask whether MP. *r'z 'y wzrg* in M 98 V/5-6 is nothing but a literal rendering of the Syr. *bn rb'*, the "Great Builder" who, in any case, makes his appearance before the Living Spirit and who could have taken part in the Living Spirit's work. His building is called the "realm of the Light Nous", the "New Paradise", otherwise *dysm'n 'yg nwg* "the new building" (Mir. Man. I, b I V 1 29-30). It consists of the dwelling of the redeeming gods and the redeemed souls until the end of this world (M. Boyce, The Manichaean hymn-cycles in Parthian, London, New York, Toronto 1954, p. 15ff.), and of the hell within it, the ultimate and eternal prison of the powers of darkness. According to the Mir. Man. I-passage the prison is *my'n* "mitten" the new building.

[28] For *hspyn*, "rest", cf. W. B. Henning, BSOAS [illegible] [1965], p. 244 n. 11. A similar use of *hspyn*, almost in the sense of "resting-place", is attested in M 204 2-3: *pd hspyn 'yg ygwjdhr'n wys'y'd* "enter into the rest, the resting-place of the holy ones". Elsewhere "resting-place, lodging" is *hspynj* in Man. MP. (M 650 /I/R/4/) which is to be compared with Pahl. *aspanj*, Parth. *'spyn*, NP. *sipanj*, Sogd. *'sp'nc-* (cf. Nyberg, Manual II, p. 32).

[29] The new paradise is "a resting-place for the redeeming gods, who are banished from the Eternal Paradise during their struggle to recover the lost Light" (M. Boyce, Hymn-cycles, p. 16). Having been engaged in constant struggle with the dark powers from the time of *Ohrmezd*'s first battle on, they are aptly called "warlike gods", cf. e.g. F. C. Andreas and W. Henning, Mittelirranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan III [Mir. Man. III], SPAW. Phil.-hist. Kl. 1934, Berlin 1934, a 3,83, [illegible] that text the names of *Ohrmezd*, the Last God, the Mother of the Righteous, the Friend of Lights, *Narisaf*, the Great Builder-Master, the Living Spirit, Jesus the Splendour, the Virgin of Light, and the Great Nous are mentioned. (But elsewhere the attribute *razyōz* is not restricted to these deities. It may even be used in honour of certain church-leaders like *Mār Zakā* [Mir. Man. III, c 7], or perhaps Mani himself [M 5692 13 = M 5756/2/].)

[30] [illegible] 472 R 9ff. in HR II, p. 18f., M 470 R 13ff. in HR II, p. 20ff.

[31] Kephalaia I, Stuttgart 1940, p. [illegible], 19-24, p. 85, 19ff., Manichäische Homilien, ed. H. J. Polotsky, Stuttgart 1934, [illegible] 40, 4ff., p. 41, 6, A Manichaean psalm-book, ed. C. R. C. Allberry, Stuttgart 1934, p. 11, 3ff.

[32] Cf. H. Ch. Puech, Le Manichéisme, p. 84.

which — as far as I can see — did not find its way into modern descriptions of the Manichaean eschatology). One adversary of his is mentioned in our text, i.e. *handēšišn i tārīg*, and her shape. Who or what is *handēšišn i tārīg*?

Handēšišn "the thought" or "thinking" is a well-known Middle-Persian Manichaean term mainly denoting the fourth limb of the soul[33]. It corresponds inter alia to Parthian *andēšišn* and Greek ἐνθύμησις[34]. The more complex term *handēšišn i tārīg*, however, is an exact parallel to the *andēšišn tārīg* of a recently published Parthian text. The Parthian word was understood to mean the negative, dark counterpart of the just mentioned fourth limb of the soul[35]. This conception is repeatedly and unambiguously attested in further unpublished Parthian fragments[36]. The Dark ἐνθύμησις to be discussed here, however, "the producer of every sin", must necessarily be a decidedly more powerful demoniac entity than a humble fourth part of the "Old man's" spirituality could be expected to represent. It is almost self-suggesting then to remember the demon *Āz*. As the covetous and pernicious principle of matter, as the producer of the powers of darkness, and the exciter of greed and concupiscence, she is what was called Hyle by Mani himself[37].

If this much is granted, it is impossible not to identify the Middle-Persian "Dark ἐνθύμησις" with what in Coptic texts is called the "ἐνθύμησις of death" (ⲉⲛⲑⲩⲙⲏⲥⲓⲥ ⲙ̀ⲙⲟⲩ), explicitly explained to be Hyle[38]. It must be admitted, however, that both terms are not identical and that a strict correspondence of the Coptic phrasing does exist in the tradition of eastern Manichaeism, not only in Sogdian mrcyne šm'r' 'z "die Hyle, die ἐνθύμησις des Todes"[39], and Uigur *az yük ölümlik saqinč* "der Āz-Dämon, das Todesdenken

[33] W. B. Henning, BSOAS 12 (1947), p. 44, cf. BTT IV, p. 91 | 1766.

[34] Cf. BTT IV, p. 95 n. 2 and the literature quoted there.

[35] BTT IV, p. 95 | 1844.

[36] Unambiguously attested in e.g. M 27 V 13 (Parth.) and M 208 5-6 (Parth.). Cf. Éd. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine, JA 1911, pp. 561, 547. In M 34 6 simply called 'ndyšyn.

[37] H. H. Schaeder, Urform, p. 112 f. By the way, *āz* was already expected to appear among the combatants in Manichaean eschatology by G. O. C. Haas, Indo-Iranian Studies, London–Leipzig 1925, p. 195.

[38] Kephalaia I, p. 26,18; 27,5; 31,10; 74,15.

[39] W. B. Henning, Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch, APAW 1936, Phil.-hist. Kl. Nr. 10, Berlin 1937, p. 91, ad b 5.

(oder Denken des Todes)"[40], but also in Middle-Persian hndyšyšn 'y mrg[41]. Thus the conception of the "ἐνθύμησις of death" appears to be sufficiently well attested both in western and eastern Manichaeism, and moreover, it is likely to go back to the first layer of the Manichaean doctrine, for it was obviously coined on such older Gnostic terms as "Sophia of death" and "ἐπιθυμία of death"[42].

As for the unpleasantly vague term "the Dark ἐνθύμησις" of our text, I cannot but regard these words as a somewhat "terminologically inexact" parlance or, perhaps, as a mere mistake. Either possibility allows of the assumption that the "Dark ἐνθύμησις" is an assimilation to the names of such negative counterparts of the limbs of the soul as h'm t'ryg, m[nwhmyd] t'ryg, and 'wš t'ryg, particularly 'ndyšyšn t'ryg[43]. The resulting ambiguity of the wording is certainly no insurmountable obstacle. Suffice it to mention the wide application of the simple word hndyšyšn 'ndyšyšn itself. It is not merely the fourth limb of the soul. In a more general sense it may be used to denote the human faculty of thinking, sentiment, and meditation as a whole (and often contrary to word and deed)[44]. Moreover it happens to be "a substitute for the name of the Gloriosus Rex"[45].

Let me return to our hymn-fragment and express my conviction that we are entitled to conclude that it is Āz herself who will be bound for ever by the Living Spirit. This view is borne out by an almost complete parallel to our text in the 223rd Coptic Manichaean psalm[46]. It describes the eschatological work of the Living Spirit as follows: "In

[40] A.v. Le Coq, Türkische Manichaica aus Chotscho, III, APAW 1922 Nr. 2, p. 19; my translation follows H. J. Polotsky, Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten, SPAW, Phil.-hist. Kl. 1933, p. 78.

[41] M 299 c/I/V/2, context destroyed. Noted by M. Boyce, Catalogue, p. 21, where mrg instead of mry should be read.

[42] J. P. Asmussen, Manichaeism, in: Historia Religionum, ed. C. J. Bleeker and G. Widengren, Leiden 1969, p. 605.

[43] All of them attested in M 27, cf. Traité, p. 560.

[44] As for 'ndyšyšn cf. M. 32,r 7 (HR II, p. 63), Mir. Man. III b 18, p. 124, also M 5700 b 5., M 6020/II/R/I/5 (unpubl.), hndyšyšn: M 9 I R 17 (F.C. Andreas, W. B. Henning, Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan II [Mir. Man. II], SPAW, Phil.-hist. Kl. 1933, Berlin 1933, p. 298).

[45] W. B. Henning, BSOAS 12 [1947], p. 44.

[46] Psalm-book, p. 11, 13-16. It may be mentioned here that the same events have also been described at some length by *Ibnu n-Nadīm* in his *Fihrist* (Kitāb al-Fihrist I, ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig 1871, p. 330, 31ff.; G. Flügel, Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften, Leipzig 1862, p. 90; The Fihrist of al-Nadīm II, ed. B. Dodge, New York London 1970, p. 783). The passage has recently been translated by Dodge as follows:

a moment the living spirit will come ... he will succour the Light. But the counsel of death and the Darkness he will shut up in the dwelling (ταμιεῖον) that was established for it, that it might be bound in it for ever". And the psalmist goes on and stresses the point that what he has written has been taught by Mani himself: "This is the knowledge of Mani, let us worship him and bless him"[47]. I think there

Mani said, "This conflagration will last for a period of one thousand, four hundred and sixty-eight years". He said, "If this state of affairs comes to an end and the bold chieftainess, the Spirit of Darkness, sees the rescue of the Light and the exaltation of the angels while the warriors and guards [of Darkness] are surrendering, and if she sees the battle and the warriors about her accusing her, she will retreat to a tomb prepared for her and this tomb will be blocked with a rock the size of the world, which will barricade her in it [the tomb], so that the Light will be set free from anxiety due to the Darkness and its injury". Cf. also A. V. W. Jackson, JAOS 50 [1930], p. 198.

The tomb will be shut up by someone who was supposed to be "der Engel, der die Welt zu schaffen vom Lichtgott den Auftrag erhalten hatte" (Flügel, Mani, p. 242), or rather the Great Builder-Master (Jackson, loc. cit.). Our own results are in favour of Flügel's opinion. To shut up the *δάιμων* is obviously the Living Spirit's task.

We may conclude then that the puzzling word *hamāma*, or *hammāma*, etc., translated as "bold chieftainess" or understood as a demon's name is nothing else but an Arabic rendering of a word meaning *ἐνθυμητής*. In this case we have to start from *hamma* which is inter alia "to have to mind, intend, plan, consider". A possible nominal derivation seems to be *hammām* + fem. suff. *Hammām* is, according to G. W. Freytag, Lexicon Arabico-Latinum, Halle 1837, p. 407, "obtrecator", according to H. Wehr, A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, Wiesbaden 1961, p. 1033, "careworn, worried; anxious; eager, active, energetic". In the present context *hammāma* should be expected to mean something like "the female being who intends, plans, considers, who takes care; who is enterprising". The required *Tašdīd* at least is attested in *Ibnu l-Murtaḍā*'s rendering of the word (K. Kessler, Mani, Berlin 1889, p. 347, fl, p. 351 n. 2).

In *Ibnu n-Nadīm*'s report *al-hammāma* is further called "the Spirit of Darkness". This — together with *hammāma* — might betray that the Arabic term has possibly been derived from a wording like that one attested in our MP. hymn fragment, namely *handēšīn i tārīg*, instead of *handēšīn i marg*.

I had the opportunity to submit my suggestions to Prof. M. Fleischhammer who kindly wrote to me (letter of Oct. 19, 1975) inter alia: Ihre Überlegung, *hammāma* zu lesen und als "Sinnende usw." zu fassen, hat durchaus etwas für sich. Wie Sie schon der oben zitierten Stelle entnehmen können, hat die Wurzel *hamma/yahumma* auch in alter Zeit im Prinzip die bei Wehr verzeichnete Bedeutung. Wenn mir auch eine Form *hammāma* aller Erinnerung nach noch nicht begegnet ist, so gibt es doch *hammām* schon sehr frühzeitig als beliebten Personennamen. Lisān al-'arab 16, 107 heißt es: ... "*hammām* ... ist eine *fa"āl*-Bildung (also ein Adjektiv mit Intensiv-bedeutung) von einem Verbum mit der Bedeutung 'etwas planen, vorhaben etc.', und zwar dann, wenn man zu etwas entschlossen ist".

[47] Psalm-book, p. 11, 26-27. Cf. also Homilien, ed. Polotsky, p. 41,5 ff.: "He (= the Living Spirit) will put Darkness into the tomb(?), [its] manhood and [its] femininity".

is no reason not to believe him, and I conclude that the above described eschatological part taken by the Living Spirit belongs to the very "Urform" of the Manichaean lore.

According to C. R. C. Allberry the psalmist called the Living Spirit's adversary "the counsel [illegible] death" (πϣⲁ ⲛ̀ⲉ [illegible]). "Of death" is Allberry's addition, but ϣⲁ ⲛ̀ⲉ [illegible] least is attested, and that this word is the Coptic correspondence [illegible] the Greek ἐνθύμησις has long since been established by H. J. Polotsky[48]. Therefore Allberry's restoration and the proposed interpertation [illegible] the Coptic term as Hyle are in fact imperative.

These observations allow [illegible] discard once for [illegible] the assumption of a development of the above described eschatological myth by way of any secondary influence from the Iranian side, all the more as its details fit exactly into the pattern [illegible] a certain congruency of cosmogonical and eschatological events, following as it were necessarily from Mani's own line of thought: In the same way as the Living Spirit redeemed the First Man, he will draw up the Last Man, the Column of Glory, etc., into the realm [illegible] light[49]. Whereas he built the edifice of this world [illegible] the beginning of time and charged his sons to keep it in order, he will destroy this world in a general conflagration in those last days by revoking his sons from their proper places and functions [illegible]. And last not least, as the Living Spirit killed the archons [illegible] darkness in the beginning and fettered other demons in spheres and earths, it is likewise he who will achieve the work [illegible] the ultimate imprisonment of the powers of darkness [illegible] the βῶλος[51].

The above discussed Middle-Persian and Coptic texts render Mani's own eschatological ideas, but this does not prohibit us from comparing *Mihr*'s eschatological part according to the Manichaean doctrine and in Iranian tradition, particularly in that specific Iranian doctrine which Mani could have got most probably acquainted with, Zoroastrianism dominating third century Iran in Zervanite garb. In fact a somewhat

Without doubt the MP. *Šāhnāmagān* included a description of similar events (M. 472/R., HR II, p. 17f.), but the text is defective

[48] Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten, SPAW, Phil.-hist. Kl. Berlin 1933, p. 78f. Polotsky did not yet know nor expect that both the Greek and the Coptic words ἐνθύμησις and ϣⲁ ⲛ̀ⲉ could be used to denote the Hyle. For ϣⲁ ⲛ̀ⲉ = Hyle cf. also Psalm-book, p. 9, 17ff.

[49] Kephalaia 1, p. 54,19ff., p. 85,19ff

[50] M 472/R.9ff.; in HR II, p. 18f., Homilien, p. 39,22ff., Psalmbook, p. 11,3ff.

[51] For the βῶλος in Manichaeism cf. Puech, Le Manichéisme, p. 84, p. [illegible] n. 354.

comparable trait can be found in the Middle-Persian apocalyptic treatise *Zand ī Wahman Yašt* according to which *Mihr* "[illegible] the wide pastures" together with *Srōš* and other gods will support *Pišyōtan* against the demons [illegible] dark stock [illegible] the millennium of *Hušēdar*, the son of *Zardušt*. *Gannāg Mēnōg* summons *Mihr* to "rise up in righteousness" (*pad rāstīh ud ēst*), i.e. not to side with *Ohrmazd* and to abstain from battle. *Mihr*, however, retorts that the demoniac powers have already passed the bound [illegible] their afforded time by 1000 years [52]. His words are embarrassing *Gannāg Mēnōg*, and *Xešm*, the demon [illegible] wrath, flees defeated [53]. These and other eschatological works of *Mihr-yazd* are more concisely described in the *Ayādgār ī Jāmāspīg* [54].

Other Pahlavi books have more or less different details about *Mihr*'s eschatological part. The *Mēnōg ī Xrad* cedes the merit of smiting *Xešm* to *Srōš*, one of *Mihr*'s companions in the *Zand ī Wahman Yašt*, while *Mihr* himself, together with the Infinite *Zurwān*, the Genius of Justice, Fate, and Divine Fate (*zurwān ī akanārag ud mēnōg ī dādistān ... ud baxt ud bagōbaxt*), will perform the still greater work of smiting "the creation of Ahriman's and finally (i.e. immediately before the ultimate rehabilitation of the world) also the demon *Āz*" [55]. According to this text *Mihr* performs a work which strictly corresponds with what *Mihryazd*, the Living Spirit [illegible] the above presented Manichaean fragments, does.

[illegible] must be admitted, however, that it is commonly *Srōš* who in Zoroastrian tradition is held [illegible] be the appropriate adversary and subduer of *Āz*. Thus *Zādspram* describes *Srōš*, the genius of the mean, as the opponent of the excess and deficiency of *Āz* [56]. According to

[52] For the meaning of this passage cf. R. Ch. Zaehner, Zurvan a Zoroastrian dilemma, Oxford 1955, p. 102.

[53] The Text of the Pahlavi Zand-i-Vōhūman Yasht, ed. K. A. D. Nosherwān, Poona 1899, cap. 3,32-35, p. 18, transl. E. W. West, The Sacred Books of the East V, Oxford 1880, p. 228 ff., G. Widengren, Iranische Geisteswelt, Baden-Baden 1961, p. 204.

[54] G. Messina S.J., Libro apocalittico persiano Ayātkār ī Zāmāspīk, Roma 1939, p. 72 ff., p. 115 ff., cf. H. W. Bailey, BSOAS 6 [1931], p. 583 ff.

[55] E. W. West, The book of the Mainyo-i-Khard, Stuttgart London 1871, cap. [illegible], 14 f., pp. 17, 142., The Dīnā ī Mainō ī Khrut, ed. D. D. P. Sanjana, Bombay 1895, p. [illegible]. [illegible]. Zaehner, Dilemma, p. 368 f. Following Zaehner I prefer to read and translate *Āz* "greed" rather than *Az* "snake" (BSOAS 10 [1940-42], p. 624).

[56] R. Ch. Zaehner, A Zervanite Apocalypse I and II, p. 394 f., 611., Vichitakiha-i Zatspram I, [illegible] B. T. Anklesaria, Bombay 1964, cap. [illegible], 44-45, p. 146 f., p. [illegible]. Cf. Zaehner, Dilemma, 343 ff.

a Pahlavi *Riwāyat Srōš* will smite *Āz*[57]. A similar report of the same events is given in the small catalogue-work *Māh i frawardīn rōz i hordad*[58]. The *Bundahišn* states that the final ejection of Ahriman and *Āz* will be accomplished by a sacrifice conducted by *Ohrmazd* with *Srōš* as his assistant[59].

I do not want to dwell on the well-known intimate association and similarity of *Mihr* and *Srōš* in the Zoroastrian tradition[60], nor on the opposition between *Srōš* and *Xešm* attested already in the Avesta[61]. Suffice it to repeat that at least one version of the Zoroastrian eschatological myth can reasonably be compared with a Manichaean counterpart. It may be ranked with many other striking similarities of the Manichaean and the Zervanite doctrines which are by no means a fortuitous coincidence.

It seems sound then to assume some sort of dependence between the Manichaean and the Zoroastrian Mithra-stories, preferably a dependence of the Manichaean from the Zoroastrian myth which would help to answer the question why Mani called his Living Spirit *Mihr-yazd* in Middle-Persian. This natural suggestion, however, meets with certain difficulties. The crucial point is the time of origin of the Zoroastrian myth. Are we entitled to regard its Pahlavi versions as older than the Manichaean myth? Of course not. The above quoted *Wīzīdagīhā i Zādspram*-passage relates that Ahriman appointed *Āz* his general, and *Āz* for her/his part appointed four generals according to the four quarters of the world, namely wrath (*xešm*), winter, old age, and trouble (+*sēf*)[62]. This military arrangement will only break down

[57] Zaehner, Zervanite Apocalypse, p. 626f.. The Pahlavi Rivāyat accompanying the Dādistān-i Dīnīk, ed. E. B. Dhabhar, Bombay 1913, p. 156, no. 94. Cf. Zaehner, Dilemma, p. 354f.

[58] The Pahlavi Texts, ed. D. J. M. Jamasp-Asana, Bombay 1897, p. 106f. Cf. J. Darmesteter, Le Zend-Avesta II, Paris 1960, p. 640 n. 138.

[59] The Bundahishn, ed. B. T. A. Anklesaria, Bombay 1908, p. 227,7ff.; Zand-Akāsīh Iranian or Greater Bundahišn, transl. B.T. Anklesaria, Bombay 1956, p. 291. Der Bundehesh, ed. F. Justi, Leipzig 1868, p. 76,9ff.; p. 43. Cf. also Zaehner, Dilemma, p. 69 n. 1, p. 120, n. 2.

[60] H. Lommel, Die Religion Zarathustras, Tübingen 1930, p. 77f.; H. S. Nyberg, Die Religionen des alten Iran, Leipzig 1938, p. 65ff.; Zaehner, Dilemma, p. 102f.

[61] Y. 57, 10; Yt. 11, 15; cf. Lommel, Rel. Zarathustras, p. 77; M. N. Dhalla, History of Zoroastrianism, Bombay 1963, p. 273. Mithra is also regarded as an adversary of *Aēšma*, in Yt. 10, 97, but not as his particular opponent but as a mighty warlord causing the terror of many demons.

[62] Vichitakiha-i Zatspram I, ed. B. T. Anklesaria, cap. 34, 32, p. 143 and cxix.

immediately before the final rehabilitation of the world. The above quoted Middle-Persian *Rivāyat* tells about it that in these days both *Xešm* and *Āz* will threaten Ahriman and try to swallow him. But then *Āz* prefers swallowing *Xešm* and the other generals for the time being and goes on to threaten Ahriman, so that *Ohrmazd* and *Srōš* can overcome the two of them without much pains[63]. Although this myth reminds one remotedly of Plutarch's words that Areimanios will finally perish by the plague and famine he has brought himself[64], the Middle-Persian tales as they are handed down to us are unlikely to be older than the 6th century A.D., when Sassanian empire was divided into four military districts, north, east, south, and west[65].

The *Mēnōg ī Xrad* has been assigned to the time of *Xusrō I*[66], and the treatise *Māh ī frawardīn rōz ī hordad* dates from the reign of *Xusrō* II, but may embody older speculations[67].

Among older, probably pre-Sasanian Iranian traditions I only know a somewhat inconclusive allusion in Yt. 19,95. According to this text *Astvat.ərəta*'s (i.e. *Hušēdar*'s) companions will step forth and defeat *Aēšma*. What follows is a description of an eschatological battle in which many divine powers will smite their corresponding demoniac adversaries and finally drive away *Aŋra Mainyu*. But neither *Miθra*, nor *Sraoša*, let alone *Āzi*, are mentioned. May-be, the Zoroastrian tradition understood *Astvat.ərəta*'s companions (*haxaṇō*) to be *Mihr* and his attendance[68], or, according to J. Duchesne-Guillemin, Mithra "avait pris la place du Sauveur Astvat.ərəta : dans l'acte de mettre en fuite Aēšma"[69]. But anyway, this must be a later development of the myth.

Zachner, Zervanite Apocalypse, p. 390 f., p. 609., Zachner, Dilemma, p. 345 and 351.

[63] Pahlavi Rivāyat, ed. Dhabhar, p. 155, no. 90 ff., Zachner, Zervanite Apocalypse, p. 626 f., Zachner, Dilemma, p. 354 f.

[64] C. Clemen, Fontes historiae religionis persicae, Bonn 1920, p. 49, English transl. W.S. Fox and R.E.K. Pemberton, Passages in Greek and Latin literature relating to Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism, JCOI 14 (1929), p. [illegible].

[65] A. Christensen, L'Iran sous les Sassanides, Copenhague 1944, p. 370.

[66] M. Boyce, Handbuch der Orientalistik, 1.Abt., 4.Bd., 2.Abschn., Lieferung 1, Leiden Köln 1968, p. 54.

[67] J.C. Tavadia, Die mittelpersische Sprache und Literatur der Zarathustrier, Leipzig 1956, p. 139, M. Boyce, Handb. d. Oriental., p. 63.

[68] Otherwise Lommel, Rel. Zarathustras, p. 216.

[69] La religion de l'Iran Ancien, Paris 1962, p. 349.

Let us add here that the promotion of the very demon *Āz*, the adversary of *Mihr* and *Srōš*, seems to be a rather late and somewhat perplexing phenomenon traceable particularly in Zervanite texts which are [redacted] be dated in Sasanian times and still later [70].

And yet — I believe we need not content ourselves with a purely negative result. Let us also take into consideration the following items:

Firstly: A Parthian Manichaean hymn-fragment published by M. Boyce describes the final and definitive imprisonment of "the dark Demon of Wrath (Šmg t'ryg) together with his abyss" [71]. Both *Išmag* and *Āz*, it seems, could be used [redacted] render what ultimately should be enclosed in the βῶλος. This is not quite unexpected, for we are indebted to M. Boyce for the fine observation that in Iranian Manichaeism *Išmag* is sometimes nothing else but "the active spirit of Hyle" [72]. On the other hand it was already the Avestan *Aēšma* (= *Xešm*) who was held to take part in an eschatological battle. Thus for *Aēšma-Išmag* at least a precedence on the Zoroastrian side and [redacted] dependence on the Manichaean one may be asumed.

Secondly: The *Mēnōg ī Xrad*-passage describes the final victory of *Mihr*, the Infinite *Zurwan*, the Genius of Justice, Fate, and Divine Fate over *Āz*. It is obviously the powers and deities of justice and fate who will ultimately side with *Ohrmazd*, and this idea may have taken rise from, or in connection with the cosmogonical acts [redacted] the allotment of a certain period of supremacy to Ahriman and [redacted] *Mihr*'s mediating between him and *Ohrmazd*. Thus a Zoroastrian, may-be Zervanite, explanation of how and why *Mihr* came to [redacted] an eschatological combatant seems possible, and likewise a connection of the myth with Plutarch's description of the Persian religion. According to Benveniste Plutarch (about 46-120 A.D.) called Μιθρης the mediator (μεσιτης) between Oromazes and Areimanios in this selfsame sense [73]. The matter of the contract at least, the limitation [redacted] Ahriman's dominion to 9000 years, was known by Plutarch and reported by him on the authority of Theopompus [74]. This lead Benveniste [redacted] the

[70] Zaehner, Dilemma, p. 166 ff., R. Ch. Zaehner, The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism, London 1961, p. 226 ff.

[71] [redacted] Boyce, Some Parthian abecedarian hymns, BSOAS 14 [1952], text A (15) p. 438 f.

[72] Sadwēs and Pēsūs, BSOAS 13 [1951], p. 912 n. 8.

[73] É. Benveniste, The Persian religion according to the chief Greek texts, Paris 1929, pp. 87 ff., 93 f.

[74] É. Benveniste, The Persian religion, p. 71 f., [redacted] Clemen, Fontes, p. 49.

conclusion that "the whole text" as it has been handed down by Plutarch "must henceforth be regarded as an authentic and ancient exposition of Zervanism. [illegible] Theopompus who is quoted, and by Eudemus who perhaps inspired it, it takes us back to the fourth century B.C."[75]. Even if the Zervanite purport of the myth is doubtful at least[76], its pre-Manichaean origin is well-established.

Thirdly: A connection with the Plutarch-myth may also be suggested in the case of the *Zand i Wahman* — and *Ayādgār i Jāmāspig* — passages. They relate that the reason, why *Mihr* succours *Ohrmazd* against Ahriman and *Xešm*, is that the demons have committed a breach of contract and transgressed their afforded time of domination. This observation sufficiently illustrates the point that although both Middle-Persian treatises have been written down in their present form only in Islamic times, nevertheless their gist is of an earlier, not only pre-Islamic, but also pre-Manichaean origin. Here we may refer to the researches of F. Cumont and J. Bidez who did not only prove an Iranian background of such apocalyptic scriptures of the Hellenistic and Roman world from the 1st century B.C. on as the Oracle of Hystaspes, but also their manifold congruency with the *Zand i Wahman Yašt* and the *Ayādgār i Jāmāspig*[77]. The eschatological part taken by *Mihr* in the Middle-Persian texts has been compared by Cumont[78] with the appearance of the *rex magnus de caelo* and the *dux sanctae militiae* who will combat and finally imprison the "*impius*". A millennium of undisturbed happiness will follow during which the *princeps daemonum* will be kept in chains[79]. This is Lactantius' (4th century A.D.) report, most probably on the authority of the Oracle of Hystaspes, and Cumont explains the *rex magnus* to be originally the Ἥλιος βασιλεύς "ou plutôt Mithra, son incarnation"[80]

[75] É. Benveniste, The Persian religion, p. 112f.

[76] Cf. now W. Letz, Plutarch und der Zervanismus. Yād-nāme-ye Īrānī-ye Minorsky, Tehran 1969, p. 9f.

[77] F. Cumont, La fin du monde selon les mages occidentaux, RHR 103 [1931], p. 29ff., J. Bidez and F. Cumont, Les mages hellenisés, Paris 1938, I, p. 217ff., II, p. 361 ff. Cf. also É. Benveniste, Une apocalypse pehlevie : le Zāmāsp-Nāmak, RHR 106 [1932], p. 337ff., G. Widengren, Stand und Aufgaben der iranischen Religionsgeschichte, Leiden 1955, p. 106, G. Widengren, Die Religionen Irans, Stuttgart 1965, p. 199ff., J. Duchesne-Guillemin, Religions de l'Iran ancien, p. 344ff., M. Boyce, Handb. d. Oriental., p. 49

[78] La fin du monde, p. 86f.

[79] Bidez-Cumont, Mages hellenisés II, p. 370ff., p. 375.

[80] Bidez-Cumont, Mages hellenisés II, p. 372.

It is possible then, to say the least of it, that some scarce Iranian Zoroastrian traditions on Mithra as an eschatological combatant take us back to pre-Christian times.

All these statements as a whole allow of the suggestion that already by Mani's time at least *Yešn* and *Mihr*, perhaps even *Srōš*, were known to have taken part in an eschatological battle, according to the Zoroastrian, properly speaking the Zervanite, doctrine, so that Mani, when he called his Living Spirit *Mihr-yazd*, allowed himself to be guided not only by the Zoroastrian Mihr's warlike character[81], or his being "a bit solar"[82], but also by certain eschatological achievements of this god, such as his vanquishing certain demoniac powers in the last battle. We are, perhaps, even entitled to extend this theory to *Mihr*'s cosmogonical achievements as a μεσίτης. If Benveniste's and Zaehner's interpretation of the above quoted Plutarch-passage are right, Mani might have known about a Zoroastrian myth according to which *Mihr-yazd* brings about a treaty between Ohrmazd and Ahriman. Although acting as an impartial mediator he actually saves Ohrmazd from the onslaught of the dark powers and will finally contribute to Ohrmazd's victory. It is tempting, then, to assume that Mani discovered comparable traits in this deity and in his own Living Spirit who had once redeemed the First Man from the demoniac powers.

This does — if my opinion is right — credit to the learning of the famous propheta doctus, and it distinguishes him from many others who claimed knowledge of the Zoroastrian religion but were content with telling us that Mihr was the sun[83].

[81] M. Boyce, Some remarks on Mithra in the Manichaean pantheon, p. 45f.

[82] I. Gershevitch, Die Sonne das Beste, Mithraic Studies I, ed. J.R. Hinnels, Manchester 1975, p. 72.

[83] Cf. Strabo (63 B.C.-19 A.D.), Geography XV, 13, 732 (C. Clemen, Fontes, p. 34, Fox-Pemberton, p. 37): τιμῶσι (the Persians like the Medes and "many others") δ' καὶ ἥλιον, ὃν καλοῦσι Μίθρην. As Strabo proves independent from Herodot in what he writes on Mithra we may assume that he follows another source, or even his own observation (E. Benveniste, The Persian religion, p. 55f.). Ptolemy (2nd cent. A.D.), Tetrabiblon II, 17 (Clemen, Fontes, p. 58, Fox-Pemberton, p. 62): σέβουσι γὰρ (the regions of India, Ariane, Gedrosia, Parthia, Media, Persia, Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria)... Μίθραν δὲ τὸν ἥλιον. Hesychius (5th cent. A.D.), Lexicon (Clemen, Fontes, p. 89, Fox-Pemberton, p. 100): μίθρας· ὁ ἥλιος, παρὰ Πέρσαις μίθρης. Paulus Persa (6th cent. A.D.), Logica ad regem Chosroem, ed. J.P.N. Land, Anecdota Syriaca, Lugd. Bat. 1875, pp. 8, 28-9, 2 (text), 9 (translation), multivoca, ubi unus rei duo vel plura nomina sunt; ut e.g. solis sermone Persico **šēdāb* (written 'bḏ'bo), *xwarxšēd* (kwrkšyd), *mihr* (mhyr)

PAUL THIEME

MITHRA IN THE AVESTA

1. On the occasion of the first Mithraic Congress, held at Manchester, England, in the summer of 1971, I offered a paper on the concept of Mitra in Aryan belief. I concentrated on the methods of reconstructing certain features of the Proto-Aryan *Mitra* by comparing linguistic and conceptional coincidences in the pictures of the Rigvedic *Mitra* and the Avestan *Mithra*. Applying these methods, I tried to show that there are not only some specific particularities we can recognize as traits of Proto-Aryan *Mitra*, but that there is also a central idea that holds these traits together and makes them meaningful as parts of a whole, as details of a pattern. This idea is the sacredness of mutually exchanged solemn promises (e.g., pacts, contracts, treaties, covenants), the belief in this sacredness being based, essentially or, rather, exclusively, on the firm conviction that heavy punishment or, conversely, wonderful rewards will be administered by a supernatural power to whoever will not or will keep his contractual word. *Mitra* turns out to be—as A. Meillet first suggested and established in the beginning of this century—not a god of the sun or some other phenomenon of nature, conceived as a divinity, but the personification of this sacred concept 'contract, treaty,' designated in the *Rigveda* and in the *Avesta* by the appellative noun *mitra-/miθra-*. Throughout the *Rigveda* the god *Mitra* appears in the company of certain other gods, all of whom are equally recognizable as personifications of 'sacred' concepts: *Bhaga* 'god Share/Justice of distribution', *Aṃśa* 'god Lot/Equity of allotment', *Aryaman* 'god Hospitality', *Varuṇa* 'god Verity/True-Speech'.

2. Let us now concentrate on the god *Mithra* in the *Avesta* or, more specifically, on the picture that *Yasht* 10, the 'Mihr Yasht', sets before us. My intention is to supplement the diachronic discussion presented in my previous paper by a synchronic sketch. At the outset, however, it must be realized that the 'picture' *Yasht* 10 gives us is not an informative report, addressing people who do not know *Mithra*. Such a report would have necessarily been arranged systematically, giving fair and objective emphasis to each single point and its relative importance. *Yasht* 10 is, on the contrary, a commemorative description, addressing people who know the god and recalling the

facts in a subjectively chosen order, selection, and emphasis. Furthermore, this commemorative description is a poetic one, coloured by imagination and couched in glamourous language. Analysing the *Mihr-Yasht* requires some reorganization of the evidence by trying to bring the details of the text into a systematic order. It also involves an attempt to separate religious conceptions and poetic imagery or, in other words, to find the postulates of religious logic behind the creations and conceits of religious imagination.

Where an occasion offers itself, characteristics of Mithra will be compared with those of other gods. Such comparisons will, however, take an altogether different direction from those suggested in my first paper. Let me state here and now that the purpose of these comparisons is not to establish prehistoric or historic connections. On the contrary, I shall make my comparisons from a typological standpoint in order to reveal similarities of type that are of no historical consequence whatsoever, but due to analogous processes of thought observable throughout the world of man.

3. The *Miθra* of the *Mihr-Yasht* is a great and powerful god (*yazata-* 'worthy of worship'). He is an *ahura-* 'lord' (*Yt.* 10, 25; 69) like *Ahura Mazdā*, the God of Zarathushtra, and on several occasions he is treated as his equal.

He bestows great and wonderful blessings, and all the fundamental conditions for life and well-being seem to depend on him. Through him the waters rush down (from the mountains and the skies); through him the plants grow; he gives herds of cattle and men (sons and/or servants), progeny, swift horses, and 'broad cattle pastures.' He brings down great and disastrous calamities: he breaks in pieces houses, villages, and tribes; he smashes skulls, he mixes bones and hair and brains and blood on the ground of the earth, he destroys whole countries (18; 26, 72).

4. Blessings and disasters, however, are not distributed according to his whim, his is not an arbitrariness unfathomable by man: he is by no means an unpredictable tyrant. *Miθra's* blessings and disasters are dealt out according to one strict principle. As the *Yasht* does not tire of repeating—indeed it reemphasizes the point in practically every verse—*Miθra*'s blessings are for those who do not betray their contractual word, his disasters for those who do betray it (*miθradruj-*), who fight against their treaty-partners (*auuiimiθri-*) and do not acknowledge the sacredness of solemn vows (*aurnaθa-*). The blessings sent by *Miθra* are rewards, the disasters are punishments for practical,

social or political, behaviour. Even when his punishments seem rather excessive, they are in strict relation to the crime committed: he punishes "with the killings of hundreds for the killing of fifty, with the killings of thousands for the killing of a hundred, with the killings of ten thousands for the killing of a thousand, with the killings of innumerable numbers for the killing of ten thousand" (43). Whether *Miθra* is 'enraged' or whether he is 'pacified,' he remains a benefactor of mankind, which cannot live in peace without truthfulness, without strict adherance to given promises, or without the reliability of contracts.

5. The particular nature of *Miθra*'s beneficence can be brought into relief by comparing him to other beneficent gods. Take as an example *Ardvi Sūrā Anāhitā* (Yt. 5). *Ardvî Sûra Anâhitâ* is created as a benefactress of mankind and her specific function is to extend help. She does so on certain conditions: she must be worshipped with sacrifices, where animals—in particular, horses—are slaughtered, and her help is reserved only for those who themselves want to help others, for example, *θraetaona*, when he is about to slay *Aži Dahāka*, the demon of drought. She withholds her help when worshipped by *Aži Dahāka* himself, because he wants to depopulate the earth. But this is all: she does not deal out punishment of her own. She does not stand, like *Miθra*, for a socio-ethical idea, but for the belief in divine help to be granted to the pious who offer worship and sacrifices and to men of good will who act and fight for a good cause or for the benefit of others. She is, essentially, a divine benefactress of benefactors. She acts as a benevolent figure, hopefully and wistfully dreamt up in religious fairy tales, while *Miθra* incorporates a sacred concept, essential for society in real life.

6. *Ardvi Sūrā Anāhitā* does not help only men, but also women. She purifies the seed of men and the foetus, and also the milk of women (Yt. 5.1: 5). "Marriageable girls shall entreat thee (viz., *Ardvî Sûrâ Anâhitâ*) for homes... for strong husbands" (87).

Miθra, on the other hand, is a god of men, and it seems only of men: he is a god of the lord of the house, the lord of the village, the lord of the tribe, the lord the country (*Yt.* 10. 17f.; 83f.). He comes to "the men who are truthful" (74), which in its context means 'to the men who are of the true (i.e., Zarathushtrian) religion'. Contrast what is said of *Airyaman* who, in this respect, resembles *Ardvî Sûrâ Anâhitâ*: he is invoked to come to the men *and* to the women of Zarathushtra (*Yasna* 54.1).

Hospitality, over which *Airyaman*, 'god Hospitality,' watches likewise rests on a sacred contract, the contract between guest and host. It is, of course, a kind of domestic contract in the keeping of which women naturally play an essential role: the guest must be protected by the householder, but fed and made to feel comfortable by the womenfolk. It is a logical, expected consequence that *Airyaman* is invoked by men and women alike.

The contracts over which *Miθra* watches in the *Avesta* seem to be exclusively contracts between men (116) or between groups of men, more accurately, between men of authority who speak and act for their families, villages, tribes and countries (17f.; 84). It is therefore logical that *Miθra* is a god only of men. It may be remembered that *Mitra* in the *Rigveda* receives the attribute *priyatamo nṛṇām* (*Rigveda* 7.62.4) "most dear to men" and that the later Mithraic communities, composed exclusively of men, must be called 'Männerbünde'.

7. In order to exercise his function to protect the sacredness of treaties, the god Contract/Treaty must have certain properties and powers. He must be watchful and even omniscient in order to detect at once the breach of a contract. He must have the power to bless those who keep their treaties and the power to punish those who do not. Poetic imagination turns these abstract postulates into concrete, often picturesque assertions.

8. *Miθra* is "watchful" (*jagauruuāh-*) or, put more concretely, "without sleep" (*ax'afna-*), picturesquely formulated as follows: 'the longhanded witch of sleep becomes frightened before him' (97). The *Rigveda* expresses this concept no less concretely: "*Mitra* looks at people without blinking" (3.59.1), that is, without closing his watchful eyes even for the fraction of a moment.

Miθra is "the observer" (54) and "guardian" (54) "of all creation, of the whole earth" (54, 103). More concretely, "he overlooks the whole country of the Aryans...all that is between heaven and earth" (13,95). More picturesquely, "his are broad outlooks" (7, etc.), "he looks from the high Harā mountain even before the sun rises... he has a house on the Harā from which he regards all corporeal life" (13; 50f.).

He is "omniscient" (*vispo-vidruuāh-*). More concretely and picturesquely, "he is of ten thousand eyes," "of a thousand ears;" he has "spies, ten thousand in number." He is omnipresent: "his place is of the breadth of this earth," he is himself "of this breadth" (44; 95).

It seems necessary to warn against misunderstanding such imagina-

tive elaborations and concretizations of *Miθra*'s abstract properties as the continuation of an old mythology which would show that *Miθra* was originally some god of light or, as was also proposed, the divinized night sky. They are not half-obscured vestiges of a past mythology, but, rather, poetically created germs of a potential future mythology: we are observing mythology in the making.

II. *Miθra* has the power to defeat and punish those who "betray their contract first" (45), that is, those who are the first to break a contract, thereby forcing their partners also to break their contractual promises: they are those who "betray their contract/contractual word" (*miθra-druj-*), who "fight against their partners in contract" (*auuimiθri-*, *auuimiθraiya-*, 20ff.; 101), who "are without vow" (*auruuaθa-*: 11), that is to say, who "do not acknowledge the sacredness of solemn promises." This power of *Miθra* manifests itself in a double way and is of two quite different types both of which again are elaborated by the poet:

Type A: *Miθra* has the power to lame:

"Thou bringest down terror to [the parts] of the very body of the mortals who do betray (lit., "who are not non-betrayers of") their contract/contractual word...thou takest away the strength in their arms, the swiftness in their feet, the light in their eye, the hearing in their ears" (23). In other verses, *Miθra* makes ineffectual the running of the horses, the flight of the weapons of the contract breakers (20f.; 48).

Type B: *Miθra* takes part himself in the battle as chariot fighter (*raθaeštā*), wielding a mace of miraculous properties (*vazra-*):

"Everything he cuts to pieces, bones and hair and brains and blood of the treaty breaking mortals does he mingle on the ground of the earth" (12):

"Thereupon he throws them down, he, *Miθra* ('Contract'), who is of wide cattle pastures—with the killing of hundreds for the killing of fifty, with the killing of thousands for the killing of a hundred..., as he is enraged, driven into hatred..." (41).

III. In his first role, his role as a lamer, *Miθra* acts like a magic spell or a curse. In his second role, his role as a fighter, *Miθra* appears a divine hero. In his first role *Miθra* resembles in type the Vedic *Varuṇa* "god of Verity/True Speech" who sends mortal illness, dropsy, and has ropes to fetter whoever has sinned against truth. In his second role he resembles Avestan *Vərəθragna-*, "god of Victory" or Vedic *Indra* who overpower and kill their enemies in battle.

11. In part, *Miθra*'s blessings appear to be just the inversion of his punishments: while he lames the bodies or the horses of those who fight against their contract partners, he gives "strength of the body/health" (108), "sharpness of eye" (*pouru-spaxšti-*, lit., "espying of the joints/vulnerable spots of the enemy," 11) to the faithful and swiftness to their horses (11). *Miθra* helps them to win their fight and his own helper is the god of Victory himself, running in front of his chariot in the shape of a wild boar (71).

12. However, while *Miθra*'s curses and his help in battle come into play only then when a treaty happens to be broken, his most wonderful boons and blessings are permanent. They are bestowed in their fulness under normal conditions when treaties are faithfully kept by both parties. And they are meant to be shared by both. These blessings are by no means merely the inversion of his curses. They are the natural results of treaties concluded for mutual advantage. They are, in particular, the blessings of peace, of a lasting peace that does not rest on the shaky ground of mutual good-will or generally peaceful and friendly sentiments, but, rather, is firmly established on the conviction of the sacredness of solemnly given mutual promises, which at the same time inspires trembling fear and glorious hopes. The blessings of lasting peace are safety and, in its train, prosperity.

As a sacred treaty (*miθra*), or rather "god Treaty," establishes borderlines (*karšô-râzah-*, 61), *Miθra* bestows peaceful dwelling, which is 'good dwelling' (4), gives heards of cattle and men (65; 28), and is accompanied by riches (78): he is "of broad/wide cattle pastures" (*vouru-gaoyaoti-*), that is, he bestows wide pastures where cattle may freely roam, even far from the protecting settlement, without fear of treacherous attacks and robbery.

13. In addition, *Miθra* is held responsible for certain further blessings which are not the immediate effect of the security of peace, but are considered the share of countries that are under the rule of a righteous ruler. As such a ruler he creates prosperity in its widest sense, replenishing the waters (of the rivers), letting the waters rush (from the mountains and from the sky) and making the plants grow (61).

14. The beneficence of *Miθra* is constantly called to mind by his standing epithet "of broad/wide cattle pastures." This characteristic, however, is not elaborated by poetic imagery in the same way as his fighting role. That it might have been is shown, for example, by *Rigveda* 5.63, where *Mitra* and *Varuṇa*, the "protectors of truth," are celebrated in verses of magnificent splendour as the bringers of the monsoon thunderstorms.

15. *Miθra* is, on several occasions, associated with, and worshipped together with, other divine beings of the Zoroastrian pantheon. I think we have a standard by which to measure the actual intimacy and judge the true character of these associations. If we look at *Miθra* when he is described in action, asking which role his associates play in such contexts, it turns out that they are his helpers rather than his equals. *Vərəθraγna* "god Victory," *Rašnu* "god Justice," *Sraoša* "god Obedience" —to name some of the more conspicuous ones—help him because they are themselves strong, victorious, and helpful. They are, as it were, doubles of forces of which *Miθra* already disposes by himself; they are not intrinsically necessary complements. They are fighting in his retinue (41; 67; 70); they are shadows of his greatness, not his actual companions; nor does *Miθra* ever return their services.

16. *Miθra* essentially stands alone. This is remarkable since, in the *Rigveda*, *Mitra* almost never stands alone (for an exception, cf. *RV* 3.59). He is almost exclusively shown in close company with other gods of the same socio-ethical order, in particular with *Varuṇa* "god Verity" and *Aryaman* "god Hospitality." They work together, in particular *Mitra* and *Varuṇa*, as gods of equal rank and standing, each in his own right, each with his own dignity. In the *Avesta*, *Miθra* is never associated with *Airyaman* at all. (There is no trace of *Varuṇa* except in the unwarranted reconstructions of modern scholars).

17. In ritual contexts and in prayers, *Miθra* is occasionally named together with *ahura Mazdā*, but never so in action. Thus the compound *Miθra-Ahura* "*Miθra* and *Ahura* (*Mazdā*)" occurs only in prayers. The close connection it establishes and the identical dignity it suggests—explicitly stated in *Yt* 10.1—for *Miθra* and *Ahura Mazdā* is without doubt comparatively late, obviously created for *Miθra*'s greater glory by Zoroastrian priests. It is in type and motivation altogether different from the Rigvedic compound *Mitrā-Varuṇā* "Mitra and Varuna."

18. Zarathushtra does not mention *Miθra* even as one of the helping powers or spirits of *Ahura Mazdā*. There is no reason to believe that Zarathushtra 'eliminated' *Miθra*, because his worship was to him of a particularly distasteful kind in that it involved animal sacrifices. Nothing in the *Yasht* would point to this conclusion. That Mitra always belonged to the *asura/ahura*-group, not to the *deva/daeva*-group, explicitly denounced by Zarathushtra, is borne out by the *Rigveda*. And, of course, Zarathushtra did believe in the sanctity of solemn

promises and treaties (*Yasna* 46.5), but, for Zarathushtra, the faithful keeping of contractual promises would in any case result from *aśa-* "truth/Truth" and from *vohu manō* "good thinking/Good Thinking." In fact, the concept of 'contract' as one of the leading principles of *Ahura Mazdā*'s rule and of the behaviour of the pious would not really fit into his system. For Zarathushtra's system is a system of moral order, arranged according to the rules of moral logic. 'Truth,' 'Good thinking,' 'Obedience,' '(eligible) Rulership,' '(beneficent) Allegiance' (*Ārmaiti-*), etc. are moral postulates for which man has to decide with free decision, commanded only by 'wisdom/Lord Wisdom.' As a god, *Miθra* is the product of religious rather than of moral logic. He is not the object of moral decision so much as the object of religious fear and hope. His innermost core, however, is not even religious, but magical. *Miθra* works, even in the *Yasht*, when he is not half hidden under ritual formulas, not because he is invoked and worshipped with sacrificial libations, not because he rewards pious sentiments and punishes disbelievers, but because he represents a magical power, which works automatically and which is presumed to be a natural property of spoken truth, in this case: of the solemn words of a promise.

19. The *Yasht*'s picture of *Miθra* is of a remarkable unity and consistency, in that all his specific actions and specific qualities are grouped, as it were, round one central point and all refer to one central idea. This idea is the sacredness of mutually exchanged promises, of the inviolable dependability of a contract solemnly agreed upon or of a pact, a treaty, a covenant, a troth, a bond, an alliance, or howsoever the term may be most appropriately translated: there is no point in quibbling about such glosses when one is investigating an Old-Iranian term.

It seems necessary, however, to warn against attempts to complicate the semantics of *mitra-/miθra-* by introducing terms that are not near-equivalents of Latin *pactum*, *foedus* n., but designations of certain moral attitudes we should, in contradistinction to archaic thinking, associate with the keeping of pacts, like German *Treue* (Lommel), which is an often sentimentalized 'virtue,' supposed to induce decent, honest men to honour their promises; or like Latin *pietas* (Lentz), which is the dutiful respect and reverence shown towards parents and elders; or, even worse, like English *allegiance* (H. P. Schmidt), which designates, essentially, the moral attitude of an inferior or weaker party towards a superior who has taken the responsibility to protect

him. It may be recalled that the earlier acceptation of modern German *Treue* (Old High German *triuwa*, Gothic *triggwa*) is '*pactum, foedus*' (see Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch sub verbo*) and that Latin *fides* also originally designated "dependability [of a spoken word" —again without any [illegible] the moral connotations that in later Republican times come [illegible] the foreground (see *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, sub verbo*; Ed. Fraenkel, *Rheinisches Museum* 71 [1916], 187 ff.).

20. This unity and consistency in the picture [illegible] *Miθra*, however, loses [illegible] great deal of strictness when we relate *Miθra*'s actions and qualities not [illegible] their centre, but to each other. There do exist contradictions between them, hardly noticeable to the emotional poet and his deeply stirred listeners, but clearly distinguishable to the analysing scholar.

Sometimes, as I pointed out (§[9], *supr.*), *Miθra* works like a laming spell and sometimes as [illegible] fighting hero.

Sometimes he is a *mainyauua yazata* "a god consisting of spirit" - even his horses throw no shadow, because they are spirits (68) - and sometimes he smashes skulls, wielding his very material mace (43; 37).

Sometimes he is a supra-national god, who comprehends the breadth of this earth, who is the lord [illegible] the countries of the world, who observes all material life, who looks at all that is between heaven and earth (54; 95; 103), and sometimes he is a national god who looks at the country [illegible] the Aryans/Iranians (13).

Sometimes he is a supra-religious god, "for a contract exists for both the adherent of truth (that is, for a Zoroastrian) and for an adherent of lie (that is for an 'infidel') (2) This aspect is, by the way, entirely logical; according to popular belief, even in Christian countries, you can conclude a pact with the devil himself, who is a professional liar, yet forced [illegible] keep strictly [illegible] the letter of his contractual word. Sometimes *Miθra* appears to be a god of the Zoroastrians, who comes [illegible] the men of the true religion (74), who listens to the call of the pious and rewards their ritual worship like any other god of the pantheon.

21. This contradictoriness of detail [illegible] by no means astonishing; it is, rather, what we should have expected. For *Miθra* is both the result [illegible] thougthful, insightful abstraction and the creation of emotional imagination.

Miθra's figure is an expression of the sober conviction that our human world, with all [illegible] interrelations between persons, groups of

persons, and countries, cannot endure without the dependability of solemnly pledged promises, because without it there can be neither safety nor peace. It is, moreover, an expression of the fervently hopeful, though irrational, belief that there must be a divine power to protect such promises by rewarding the faithful and punishing the faithless. As an eloquent presentation of this conviction and this belief, the *Mihr-Yasht* is great religious poetry, it is to be counted among the classics of the world's religious literature.

HUBERTUS VON GALL

THE LION-HEADED AND THE HUMAN-HEADED GOD IN THE MITHRAIC MYSTERIES

Very characteristic of Roman Mithraic art is the type of a naked lion-headed youth. He is entwined by a snake, and the snake's head usually rests on the lion's head. The lion's mouth of this demon is usually open giving a grim and infernal impression. He is mostly represented with four wings, and further attributes are two keys (or one key) and a sceptre in each hand; sometimes he is standing on a globe (fig. 1). It must be stressed that this mythological type is entirely restricted to Mithraic art. Exact parallels are missing in contemporary Egypt and from the composite beings on Gnostic gems, though in both of these cases animal-headed creatures are numerous. There is a variant of the lion-headed Mithraic demon with an entirely human body, which also has a human head. This latter type is more scarcely represented though it must be supposed that some headless statues with a small neck and accentuated shoulders may have belonged to the human-headed type (pl. XXX).

From the beginning of the nineteenth century until recently it has generally been accepted that the lion-headed demon of Roman Mithraism was the god of eternal time, Aion. When Georg Zoëga first proposed this identification[1] it seemed very plausible since at that time no inscribed monuments of the Greek god Aion were known.

Cumont accepted this view and believed in an identity of Aion with the Iranian god Zurvan, the common father of the principles of good and evil. Thus the lion-headed god was regarded by Cumont as "the pinnacle of divine hierarchy" and "the origin of things"[2]. The first doubts about the identification of Zoëga and Cumont were put forward by Legge[3] who pointed out that in the *Fihrist* of An-Nadim the Prince of Darkness of the Manichaeans was imagined as a being

[1] G. Zoëga, *Bassi rilievi antichi di Roma* II, Rome 1808, p. 32ff.

[2] F. Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, Engl. transl. T.J. McCormack, New York 1956, 107.

[3] F. Legge, "The Lion-headed God of the Mithraic Mysteries", *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 1912, p. 125ff.; 1915, 151ff.

composed of a lion's head, the body of a snake, the wings of a bird, the tail of a fish and the feet of a reptile[4]. Legge's main evidence was a relief found 1875 in York-Eburacum (*CIMRM* 833) with an inscription which reads according his opinion: *Volusius Irenaeus Arimanio votum solvit* (but compare the interpretation of U. Bianchi p. 518f.)[5]. Though its head is missing the figure of the stele resembles in general the type of the Mithraic lion-headed being and thus the equation of the lion-headed god with the *Deus Arimanius* of the inscriptions from Rome (*CIMRM* 369), Ostia (*CIMRM* 222), and Aquincum (*CIMRM* 1773, 1775) seemed to Legge to be proven. This identification remained unknown until it was again taken up tentatively by Duchesne-Guillemin[6] and definitely by Zaehner[7].

Another confirmation of Legge's theory, which remained unnoticed or too little emphasized, was that more recently inscribed monuments have been found, which show the Greek god Aion with his name inscribed nearby, so that they can be regarded as certain representations of the god of eternity: these are the mosaics from Antioch on the Orontes[8], Philippopolis-Shahba[9] in Syria and a relief from Aphrodisias in Caria[10]. On the mosaic from Shahba Aion is represented as an elderly man, half-naked and holding the zodiacal wheel in one hand.

[4] For this tradition see particularly R.C. Zaehner, "Postscript to Zurvan", *BSOAS* 17, 1955, 239.

[5] Legge, *loc. cit.*, 1912, p. 142. E. Hübner, who first published the monument and inscription from York in *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande* (continued as *Bonner Jahrbücher*) 58, 1876 p. 147ff. interpreted "Arimanio-" as a proper name, accepting that the figure is Aion. For a discussion of this lecture s. U. Bianchi, "Mithraism and Gnosticism", *Mithraic Studies*, ed. by J.R. Hinnells, Manchester 1975 (hereafter: *MS*), vol. II, p. 460ff.

[6] *Ormazd et Ahriman*, Paris 1953, p. 126ff.; "Ahriman et le dieu suprême dans les Mystères de Mithra", *Numen* 2, 1955, p. 190ff. In a later modification of this position the same author explained the lion-headed god as an identity of Aion-Serapis-Zeus-Helios-Mithras-Hades-Ahriman; "Aion et le Léontocéphale, Mithras et Ahriman", *La Nouvelle Clio* 10, 1958-60, p. 1ff.

[7] *Zurvan, a Zoroastrian Dilemma*, Oxford 1955, p. VIIIf. cf. footnote 4; *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*, New York 1961, p. 129f.

[8] D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* I, Princeton-London-The Hague, 1947, 197 pl. 43d; *Hesperia* 13, 1944, 269; F. Brommer, *Marburger Winckelmann-Programm* 1967, p. 2, pl. 2.

[9] Brommer, *loc. cit.* p. 3, pl. 2. E. Will, *Annales Archéol. de Syrie* 3, 1953, p. 27ff. J.W. Salomonson, ed.: Th. Kraus, *Das römische Weltreich, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte* II, Berlin 1967, p. 270, pl. 351.

[10] *EAA* I s.v. "Aion" col. 262. Brommer, *loc. cit.* 3 pl. 3.

On the relief from Aphrodisias the god of infinite time is depicted in an even more human way, with part of his head veiled as was usual during sacrifice. There is no leonine head on these representations and the entwining snake is also missing.

With regard to the lion-headed demon and its alleged interpretation as Aion and the Iranian equivalent Zurvan we find often described that he represents a menacing or devouring aspect of time. But I think this view is untenable, since neither in Greek nor in Iranian religion have time gods a menacing or devouring character.

As we have seen Aion is represented on the Greek inscribed monuments as being calm and human and the same can be said for the other categories of Greco-Roman time gods, Chronos, the planetary gods of the week, Annus, the personification of the year, and also Kairos[11].

The alleged menacing or devouring aspect of the time god is an unfortunate conclusion drawn from the Mithraic lion-headed statues which Cumont thought to be identical with Kronos and hence his equation of the lion-headed figure with Chronos which should have been identical with Aion and this again with Zurvan. But this is unproven and highly improbable in a religion which for almost any notion and emanation had a single figurative type. Further the identification of the human-headed variant with Aion is in no way convincing either. None of the Greek inscribed monuments show Aion winged and entwined by a snake, nor does a snake accompany this god. For an equation with the Iranian Zurvan there are even graver objections. For example, we learn from the great Greek formula for the abjuration of Manicheism[12], that the Manichaean Supreme God, the so-called Father of Greatness is described as *tetraprósopos*, that means in its exact translation four-faced. This would correspond to the four qualities of the Iranian time god Zurvan as had been demonstrated by Schaeder and accepted particulary by Zaehner[13]. Now the designation of the four-fold god Zurvan as *tetraprósopos*, the Latin equivalent of which would be *quadrifrons*, points clearly towards a

[11] Cf. for other representations of time gods, D. Levi, *Hesperia* 13, 1944, p. 286ff., figs. 11, 13 (silver patera from Parabiago), fig. 14 (Mosaic from Sentium in Munich); fig. 15 (Mosaic from Hippo Regius in Algeria). See further the Mosaic in Tunis, Mus. del Bardo with Annus in a zodiacal wheel. *EAA* VII 1823, fig. 1414 s.v. "zodiaco". Representations of Kairos: *EAA* IV, p. 289f. figs. 343-44.

[12] See Migne *SG* I col. 1461-1472, cf. A. Adam, *Texte zum Manichäismus* (= *Lietzmanns Kleine Texte* ... no. 175) Berlin 1960, p. 97 l. 12.

[13] *Zurvan, a Zoroastrian Dilemma*, Oxford 1955, p. 219ff.

conception of a multiheaded god. If we accept this it would be incomprehensible that the followers of Mithraism in looking for a figurative type for Zurvan—if they really venerated that principle in their temples—would not have adopted the type [illegible] Ianus *quadrifrons* so readily at hand in Imperial Rome and also a real time god.

On the other hand it is known that lion-headed Aiones or rather Archontes played a certain role in the sects of Gnosticism[14].

In the important sect of the Ophites (so named after a snake —Gk. ὄφις— as their most revered animal) a lion-headed Archon was guarding the first and seventh gate of the cosmic diagram. Looking at the iconographic evidence we find indeed a lion-headed Archon frequently represented on magical gems[15]. However, this lion-headed type differs [illegible] some important details from the lion-headed god in Mithraism: (1) he is mostly depicted unwinged; (2) the snake [illegible] never encircling his body; and (3) he is never standing on an globe. Thus it appears that the lion-headed god [illegible] Mithraism was largely independent from Gnostic ideas and the similarities could better be explained by assuming that both types derive from a common Persian source. There is now a gem [illegible] the Boston Museum [illegible] Fine Arts with a Pehlevi inscription and representation of a mixed Sasano-magical character on both sides[16] (pl. XXXII, [illegible] 11). On the front side it shows a rather chematized image of a Sasanian king and on its reverse a [illegible] animal-man holding in extended hand[illegible] two cock-standards the shafts of which again are entwined by snakes. Though it is not quite clear whether the demon is lion-headed, there are, however, as Goodenough[17] has pointed out, some similarities to the lion-headed types of the magical gems (pl. XXXII, fig. 12), particularly the snake encircling [illegible] shaft or

[14] U. Bianchi, "Mithraism and Gnosticism", *MS*, 464 f., cf. *Die Gnosis*, ed. by C. Andresen, vol. I, Zürich-Stuttgart 1969, p. 127f. (*Origenes contra Celsum* VI 30). — It is probably due to these late syncretistic beliefs that Nonnus of Panopolis (about 400 A.C.) describes the Aion [illegible] the mysteries as "maniform, holding the key of generation" (Dionys. VII 22ff., transl. of *Loeb Class. Libr.*) cf. Levi, *loc. cit.* 276.

[15] E.R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols of the Greco-Roman Period*, III, New York 1953, figs. 1140 (= our pl. XXXI, 12), 1045, 1096, 1110, cf. A.A. Barb, *EAA* III *s.v.* "Gnostiche, Gemme", p. 972f. and *MS* pl. 8a.

[16] Ph. Ackermann, "The Iranian Serpentarius and Gemini", *Bull. [illegible] the American Inst. of Persian Art and Archaeol.* IV 3, 1936, p. 126ff. A.U. Pope-Ph. Ackermann, *A Survey of Persian Art*, [illegible] 256 W.—cf. A. Alföldi, "Der iranische Weltriese auf archäologischen Denkmälern", *Jahrb. d. Schweizerischen Ges. f. Urgeschichte* 40, 1949/50, 19 which contains other valuable material in this connection.

[17] Goodenough, *op. cit.* [illegible] p. 249, III fig. 1084 (here pl. XXXI, 11).

sceptre. The animal-man of the Sasano-magical gem is a better version of the more crude type of Sasanian gem known as "Gayomard", a hairy, ithyphallic animal-like man[18] shown frontally and usually holding two staffs or sceptres in his hands. Sometimes the Gayomard type is represented as twins and this gives us a hint that the double-faced crude bronze figurine of a lion-man with out-streched arms published by Barnett as Mithraic probably belongs to the same category of Iranian images[19].

There are, however, no earlier Persian representations which would correspond to the Mithraic lion-headed demon at all and it is therefore better to refer to the Mesopotamian background of this type as was so well demonstrated by A. D. H. Bivar during the first Mithraic Congress. Bivar had already drawn attention to a coin type from Cyzicus, a mintage from the fifth century B.C., which shows a lion-headed winged demon whom Classical archaeologists are inclined to identify with Phobos, the god of fear[20]. There is another representation of a lion-headed being on the South frieze of the Pergamon altar in Berlin[21]. It is very significant to find here a lion-headed giant struggling with a youthful hero whom Classical archaeologists tend to identify with Aither, the god of the bright sun-light. Thus if we find the lion-headed giant among the adversaries of the gods of light to whom the entire South frieze is devoted he can have had only a dark significance (pl. XXXII, 10).

[18] See A. D. H. Bivar, *Catalogue of Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum. Stamp Seals II: The Sasanian Dynasty*, London 1969, pl. 5, 6, group [illegible] Twins: *ibidem* group BG, p. 26 the type is convincingly interpreted as the astral constellation of Orion because of the dog usually accompanying it.

[19] Barnett, *MS* II, 466ff., pl. 32a, b. The Iranian conception of Ahriman must have been very close to such mixed animal-*cum*-human creatures. Compare the demon of disease Azidahaka (Zohak) slain by Thraetaona (Fereidun) on the Sasanian seal in the British Museum (Bivar, *op. cit.* 27 pl. 6 BH 1 and *BSOAS* 30, 1967, 523f. pl. 1 [illegible] with the Ahriman lying under the horse of Ohrmazd on the relief of Ardeshir I. at Naqsh-e Rostam (W. Hinz, *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen*, Berlin 1969, 131 fig. 64): Both have a human face with dishevelled hair but animal (lion's?) ears. The Ahriman of Naqsh-e Rostam further seems to have serpent legs, see Hinz, *op. cit.* 127 [illegible] 60. Here [illegible] XXXI, 13.

[20] *MS II*, 283 pl. 8b cf. P. R. Franke-M. Hirmer, *Die griechische Münze*, München 1964 pl. 198 no. 704.

[21] A. v. Salis, *Der Altar von Pergamon*, Berlin 1912, p. 86ff. fig. 12, "Die Löwenkampfbilder des Lysipp", 112, *Winckelmannsprogramm der Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, Berlin 1956, p. 12ff. fig. 5. E. Schmidt, *Der Grosse Altar zu Pergamon*, Berlin-Leipzig 1961, p. 30 pl. 18. Here pl. XXXI fig. 10 after W. Müller, *Der Pergamon-Altar*, Hanau 1964, fig. 29.

Some scholars like Pettazzoni[22] have tried to trace the Mithraic leontocephalic being to Egypt but there are no exact parallels and it is doubtful whether the rather hybrid relief from Oxyrhynchos (*CIMRM* 103) or the Serapis-like statue in Castel Gandolfo (*CIMRM* 326) can be taken as proofs for that view.

Also some of the Mithraic statues and reliefs have as well as the snake a *hydria* beside their feet which indicates that the composite being is conceived as the master of elements[23], the lion's head standing for the fire, the snake for the earth and the *hydria* for the water. Furthermore his sceptre and the globe on which he sometimes stands express power. These observations would indeed help to support Zaehner's view of the leontocephalic demon as the "prince of this world Ahriman" ruling over the elements (cf. CIMRM 314, here pl. XXIX, fig. 2). In the most recent study J. Hinnells has gone thoroughly through all 40 sculptures listed by Vermaseren as "Aion" and has demonstrated their various attributes in a diagram[24]. He comes to the conclusion that because of these attributes and his affinity to the lion's grade the lion-headed god was "the cosmic power appropriate to the fourth grade and presided over the soul's ascent to the heavenly world".

Indeed seeing that two reliefs in the Museo Torlonia at Rome (*CIMRM* 543.544 see pl. XXIX, fig. 1) and a statuette from Sidon (*CIMRM* 78) were provided with apertures in the mouth probably to be used for blowing fire (on the initiate?) and comparing this with the relief from the Palazzo Colonna in Rome (*CIMRM* 383), where the lion-headed is spouting fiery breath onto an altar before him, one cannot deny a certain connection of this god with the fire rites and fire tests practised in the Mithraea. If, as it appears, the fire lustrations were particularly connected with the tests of the three lower grades[25] we can understand that the lion-headed demon must have been something like a tutelary god or patron of these initiations. In this connection it has been already pointed out by Hinnells that on a relief

[22] *L'Antiquité Classique* 18, 1949, 265ff.

[23] The same seems to be indicated by the highly composite character of the Duke of Darkness of the Manichaeans (cf. above p. 512) as already remarked by Legge, *loc. cit.* (note 3), 1912, 141

[24] J.R. Hinnells, "Reflections on the Lion-headed Figure in Mithraism", *Acta Iranica* 1975, *Monumentum H.S. Nyberg* I 333ff.

[25] M.J. Vermaseren, *Mithras, Geschichte eines Kultes*, Stuttgart 1965, p. 121f.; id., *Mithriaca I, The Mithraeum at S. Maria Capua Vetere, EPRO* 16, p. 44f.

from Heddernheim the lion-headed god is bearing a fire shovel[26] which appears again as an emblem of the lion grade on the mosaic in the Mitreo di Felicissimo in Ostia.

Again it is significant in this connection that one of the five (including the monument from York, p. 512) inscriptions dedicated to the *Deus Arintanius*, namely, *CIMRM* 1773, from Aquincum, was set up by an initiate with the name Libella of the rank of the lion (Leo).

On the tauroctonus relief from Sofia (*CIMRM* 2320) the figure of the lion-headed god on a globe is shown standing besides the two caves where the institution of Sol by Mithras and the sacred meal of Sol and Mithras is taking place. On the other side of the two caves a lion is depicted and obviously both the lion-headed demon and the lion are performing here the role of guardians of the ritual proceedings in the caves. This is also the particular and essential reason why we usually find the lion-headed demon holding one or two keys.

In Greek religion the key[27] has a widespread symbolism ranging from a direct connection with gates (i.e., particularly the gates of heaven and Hades) until within the highly advanced symbolism of the Pythagoreans and the Orphists[28] even certain numbers were regarded as keys, that is, as keys of the order of nature. Therefore the keys of the lion-headed Mithraic god[29] must not necessarily be connected with the seven planetary gates through which the soul of the deceased passed according to the belief of the Mithraists since in this case we should logically expect seven keys, or better seven separate "*archons*". Seeing that on two reliefs from Germany (Saalburg, *CIMRM* 1163 and Heddernheim, Mithraeum II, *CIMRM* 1110) Cautopates is holding a large hooked key of the type used for temple gates the symbolism of this object in Mithraism was evidently of a more general character. In Greek Mythology and belief the title *kleidouchos* "key-holding" was not only associated with gods or goddesses like Serapis, Hades-Pluton and Hekate but was also an important office of mortals in the sanctuaries. Thus we tend to an interpretation of the

[26] Hinnells, *loc. cit.* p. 362 fig. 40 fig. 9; 46 fig. [illegible].

[27] See Liddell-Scott-Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*[9] *s.v.* κλειδοῦχος, p. 956; Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* XI 1, 518f. *s.v.* "*kleidouchos*" (Kohl) and *RE* II A 1 *s.v.* "Schlüssel", 565ff. (Hug).

[28] Thus with the Pythagoreans the numbers 4 and 10 were regarded as "keys" and with the Orphists number 10, cf. Liddell-Scott, *op. cit.*, and *RE* XI 1, 600.

[29] See R. Turcan, *Les Religions d'Asie dans la Vallée du Rhône*, *EPRO* 30, p. 26, who refers to the key as a symbol of the secret which the initiation reveals but which must be "closed" to the public.

keys [illegible] the lion-headed Mithraic god as the figural expression of his character as a guardian and tutelary god of the temples in [illegible] more direct and the mysteries in a more general way.

At least it appears as if the evidence [illegible] the monument and inscription from York-Eburacum (*CIMRM* 833) has been judged in too negative a sense by J. Hinnells[30]. The headless sculpture evidently does show no trace [illegible] a lion's mane, but nevertheless the rest of the neck is so massive and broad that [illegible] originally can only have borne an animal's head and not a human one. Furthermore, he is winged and the usual keys, a fire tongue[31], and his loin cloth do correspond to the other features of the Lion-headed and the omission of the entwining snake is not exceptional, as diagram A of Hinnells himself shows. In regard [illegible] the inscription and its dedication *ARIMANIV* the new reading and interpretation by U. Bianchi is indeed convincing[32].

On the other hand the interpretation [illegible] the name as a proper name or, preferably, *cognomen* would not rule out the monument from any further consideration but rather would imply new problems [illegible] the understanding of the character of the *Deus Arimanius* [illegible] Mithraism. If we accept Arimanius as a proper name [illegible] can only be a theophoric name[33] derived from Mithraic religion to which the monu-

[30] Hinnells, *loc. cit.*, p. 340ff.

[31] Thus according [illegible] the photographs published: Leroy A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, *EPRO* 11, Leiden 1968, pl. [illegible], no. 833; *MS II*, pl. 7b; Hinnells, *loc. cit.*, [illegible] fig. 1.—The "indefinable object" in the god's right hand certainly does not appear to [illegible] a thunderbolt as tentatively proposed by Cumont and Vermaseren, *CIMRM* 833.

[32] *MS II*, 462 where *Arimanio(m)* is restored by analogy to the monument from Heddernheim, *CIMRM* 1127, with the accusatives *p(etram) genetricem, caelum, oceanum* meaning there evidently (images of) the native rock, the heaven and the ocean dedicated [illegible] Mithras, Cautes and Cautopates. On the strength of this restauration, U. Bianchi interprets *Arimanio(m)* as (image [illegible] Ahriman dedicated to the *D(eo)*, which is again, as we shall see, the *Deus Arimanius* himself.

[33] Cf. the valuable epigraphic material from Gaul presented by R. Turcan, *Les Cultes d'Asie dans [illegible] Vallée du Rhône*, *EPRO* 30, Leiden 1972. Besides a Sextus Cabirius Iullinus (p. 33f.) we find a Helius and even an Aeternus as proper names (p. 41f.), but [illegible]hat is most striking is a slave with the name Mithres (*CIL* XII 2348) who was probably an adept of Mithras (p. 42). This would indeed give a new hint how the York inscription also can be explained, namely as a dedication [illegible] a master Volusius Irenaeus and his slave Arimanius to the god indicated by the slave's name and also the relief above it. However, we should then understand the character of Arimanius as benevolent unlike its Iranian original. There [illegible] no reason to doubt that if we accept the lion-headed god as the *Deus Arimanius*.

ment evidently belongs. But whether *ARIMANIV* of the inscription means the god or whether it is a theophore name of the dedicant the monument must represent the *Deus Arimanius* because of the abbrevation *D(eo)* on the left outside the *tabula* which can only refer to the god represented. A small hollow between the feet of the figure was evidently intended for offerings[34] which indicates that the monument was an object of veneration in itself and not dedicated to another god, particularly not Mithras whose usual abbrevation was *DIM* (= *Deo Invicto Mithrae*). But on the other hand the interpretation of the lion-headed god as the *Deus Arimanius* also implies that the Mithraic god had little or nothing in common with the original Iranian Ahriman[35].

Seeing that on the relief in Vienne the lion-headed Mithraic god[36] is standing between the Dioscuri as the typical saviour gods of the mysteries[37] he evidently cannot have had an evil character whereas the Iranian Ahriman, from the beginning of the Avestan tradition, as the Angra Mainiyu until the Ahriman of the recent Parsee religion never ceased to be regarded as the evil spirit. It had already been pointed out by F. Cumont that the title "deus" of the Roman Arimanius presupposes a real cult of this god whereas, according to purely Iranian beliefs, Ahriman was only a spirit to whom sometimes the Magi directed sinister offerings of a probably apotropaic charac-

[34] Such a niche for offerings is not only well known on funerary monuments as Hinnells has already stated (*loc. cit.*, p. 342) but at least one monument has a small niche associated with a cult or votive relief: The Roman rock relief of Cybele and adorants at Hasan Oghlan near Ankara. Barnett, *BiOr.* XII, 1953 pl. 8, 9.

[35] See already F. Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* II s.v. "Arimanius", 825. That in the theology of Roman Mithraism the role of Ahriman must have changed considerably is further indicated by the contradiction between the Mithraic bullslaying scene and the Middle Persian texts. The latter without exception name Ahriman as the killer of the primordial bull, cf. I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, Cambridge 1959, p. 63, cf. Duchesne-Guillemin, *La Nouvelle Clio* 10, 1958-60, p. 97.

[36] *CIMRM* I no. 879 fig. 227. Turcan, *op. cit.* p. 22[illegible], pl. 5.

[37] See particularly F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le Symbolisme Funéraire des Romains*, Repr. Paris 1966, p. 35ff. and p. 70 for the relief of Vienne. In particular the drawing of a stucco relief from a tomb at the Via Flaminia, *op. cit.*, p. 74 fig. 7 where above the Dioscuri the motive of the two Erotes with lifted and lowered torch appears, would allow the conclusion that the Dioscuri on the relief from Vienne are something like an alternative to Cautes and Cautopates.

ter[38]. It is significant enough that Arnobius, a Christian writer of about 300A.C., refers, in his *Adversus Nationes* VI 10, to the lion-headed god of Mithraism only as *nomine frugiferio*[39]. Now the epithet *frugifer* or *frugiferius* "the fertile one" is associated with various gods, particularly Pluton and Saturn[40], and if little certain can be said about it at least it had no negative significance.

Such a change of the role of an originally malign being into a protective and fertile god is only explicable by the character of the mysteries as secret religions and by their new attitude towards death and afterlife. Thus if the mysteries promised a better afterlife and rebirth as an alternative to the rather pessimistic eschatological conceptions of the ordinary pagan religions of Greco-Roman antiquity it becomes understandable that the symbolism and iconography connected with death and material destruction in the mysteries is also different from that of the ordinary pagan religions[41].

It is obvious from the lid of the silver casket found in the Walbrook Mithraeum in London[42] that the griffins depicted there have a meaning differing from the one usually found associated with griffins and lions on Roman funerary monuments[43]. If in Roman sepulcral art griffins and lions devouring a living animal usually symbolize the power of death over a living being this cannot be the case on

[38] Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* II s.v. "Arimanius", 825. See also F. Legge, "The worship of Mithras", in *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity, 330 B.C. to 330 A.D.*, repr. New York 1964, 238 —It is commonly overlooked that the Ahriman of the proper Persian belief besides being an aggressive and destructive spirit is also a perturbator of the mind: Plutarch, *Themistokles* XXVIII 2 records, that after Themistokles sought asylum at the Persian court, the Persian king "prayed Arimanius ever to give his enemies such minds as to drive their best men away from them» (Engl. transl. *Loeb Class. Libr., Plutarch's Lives* II 77)

[39] On this passage, cf. Leroy Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology, EPRO* II, Leiden 1968, p. 354 note 2. Hinnells, *loc. cit.* (note 24) p. 358 note [illegible].

[40] Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* VII 1, 1211, s.v. "Frugifer" (Wissowa)

[41] Thus the gloomy Hades of the ordinary Greek religion is transformed into a more benevolent Pluton within the Eleusinian Mysteries and Porphyry, *Peri agalm.* [illegible] II, 3, regards Pluton even as the sun under the earth. cf. M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griech. Rel.* [illegible], München 1950, 420 and with more general reference to the mysteries, p. 651 ff.

[42] J.M.C. Toynbee, *A Silver Casket and Strainer from the Walbrook Mithraeum in the City of London, EPRO* 4, Leiden 1963. I. Flagge, *Untersuchungen zur Bedeutung des Greifen*, Sankt Augustin 1975, 60ff. pl. 59-61.

[43] Hinnells, *loc. cit.*, p. 353 and references in note 74 to which we can add now Flagge, *op. cit.*, p. 47ff.

the silver casket cited. On this lid we find two griffins opening boxes in which apparently living men are kept captive. In a third scene they are helped out by other initiates. As J. Toynbee has already observed the representation evidently refers [redacted] a ritual of death and resurrection probably practised in the Mithraea themselves[44]. Such a conclusion is corroborated by the discovery of a tomb-like cist in the Mithraeum of Carrawburgh near Newcastle upon Tyne[45]. So also the hideous and menacing impression the lion-headed god must have made, particularly in Antiquity—when as we learn again from Arnobius (see note 39) the open mouth was "smeared with undiluted cinnabar"—cannot [redacted] explained from any threatening attitude of this deity towards man but rather from representing the power which overcomes death and assists the initiates on their right path.

As we have already said, there is now a human-headed variant of the leontocephalic god in Mithraism represented best by a statue from Merida [redacted] Spain[46] and a relief from Strasburg-Argentorate[47] in Germania Superior (pl. XXX figs. 3.4).

In the important Mithraeum of Merida (ancient Augusta Emerita) in Spain, both types, the lion-headed and the human-headed god are represented by statues. This speaks strongly against the old conception of Franz Cumont according to which the human-shaped demon was a "Roman beautification of the horrific features of the Oriental god"[48]. If in the sanctuary [redacted] Merida both types are found, this can only result from a different significance or rank of the lion- and human-headed beings. It is hardly possible that the artists, who were here working for religious purposes would have gone so far as [redacted] alter the head of a distinctive Mithraic type according to whether they themselves felt more akin towards Hellenistic or Oriental art.

[44] Toynbee, *op. cit.*, p. 11f. 14; cf. Flagge, *op. cit.*, [redacted] 62ff.

[45] J. A. Richmond-J. P. Gillam, *The Temple of Mithras at Carrawburgh*, 1951, p. 19f. pl. [redacted].

[46] *CIMRM* 777 fig. 211. *EAA* IV s.v. "Merida", p. 1037 fig. 1229. A. Garcia y Bellido, *Les Relig. Orient. dans l'Espagne Romaine*, *EPRO* 5, Leiden 1967, 29f. pl. 3.

[47] *CIMRM* II no. 1326 fig. 350. The original relief in Strasburg, Musée Rohan, was heavily damaged during the Franco-German War [redacted] 1870/71, cf. Himmels, [redacted] *cit.*, pl. 46 fig. 18. A gypsum cast of the undamaged relief in the Musée des Antiquités Nationales in Saint Germain-en-Laye is reproduced here with kind permission of the museum (pl. XXX fig. 3).

[48] *The Mysteries of Mithra*, Engl. transl., New York 1956, p. 223, caption of [redacted] 49 and p. 224. The lion-headed god of Merida see *CIMRM* I 776 [redacted] 210 and Garcia y Bellido, *op. cit.*, [redacted] pl. 2.

However, the opposite view proposed by René Dussaud[49] according to which the lion-headed demon is a later development of the human-headed type is neither plausible nor convincing. Dussaud's starting point was the relief originally in Strasburg. This relief shows the human-headed type, bearded and accompanied by a lion, as is customary for Mithra himself. The outstanding detail of the Strasburg monument is that the lion is here subordinate to the winged god who therefore must be higher in rank than his lion-headed counterpart. The relief further shows two vases beside the god which have an undoubtedly ritual character. To the left we see a vase encircled by a snake, reminiscent of the type of serpent vases used in the Mithraea, whereas the vessel to the right is depicted buried into the earth and with a horseshoe-shaped opening on the front. That such vessels were really used in the cult is shown by the marble vase from Philippeville in Algiers (*CIMRM* 128), to which U. Bianchi has first drawn attention[50]. We can therefore only conclude that gods such as those represented on the Strasburg relief presided over the rites with the type of vase described was connected, though unfortunately nothing precise can be said about either the function of the vase or the actual rite.

It has to be stressed that, besides the monuments from Strasburg and Merida, the Torso from Walheim (pl. XXX figs. 5, 6) with an ouroboros above a bowl on his chest (*CIMRM* 1298) and the headless, clothed statue from Arles[51] must also have been human-headed originally because of the small size of their necks. The youthful Apolline statue from the Mithraeum of Merida closely resembles the god of the syncretistic relief in the Galleria Estense in Modena which apparently represents the egg-born Orphic god Phanes in his equation with Mithras[52]. This equation is assured by an inscription from Rome

[49] *Syria* 27, 1950, 253ff.

[50] *MS II*, p. 463 note 32.

[51] *CIMRM* I no. 879 fig. 277, Turcan, *op. cit.* (note 33), p. 22ff. pl. 2, 3.

[52] *CIMRM* I nos. 695/96 fig. 197. - The question whether this relief was originally intended for the Orphic cult and later transferred to a Mithraeum is the object of controversial discussion, see M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion* II, München 1950, p. 479 note 5 pl. 6, 1.; Hinnells, *loc. cit.*, p. 346. Referring this relief to the Orphic cult means, however, that it would be the only known sculptural evidence of a religion, of which so far the only attested testimonies are small gold *lamellae* (cf. Vermaseren, *MS* III, p. 447) found mainly in South Italian tombs, as "netherworld passports" and an altar dedicated to Erikapaios from Asia Minor. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 232. It appears therefore better to accept the monument from Modena as Mithraic-syncretistic rather than Orphic.

(*CIMRM* 475) and by the close resemblance of the relief from Modena to the one found [redacted] Borcovicium-Housesteads which shows Mithras himself (*CIMRM* 860). The god of the relief from Modena is surrounded by an oval zodiac. We again find the demon in question standing in the middle of a large zodiac forming the crowning arch above the painted cult scene of the Mithraeum in the gardens of the Barberini palace at Rome (*CIMRM* 390). The figure here is again [redacted]circled by [redacted] snake and standing on a globe. It [redacted] generally accepted that the head of this figure was leonine, but this is not certain. The excavation report[53] indicates that the head [redacted] the figure in question was missing. What we can see today is a headless figure with accentuated shoulders entwined three times by a snake (pl. XXXI, fig. 8).

There is [redacted] parallel to the central figure of the Barberini Mithraeum, a fragment from the second Mithraeum of Poetovio (Ptuj in Slovenia, *CIMRM* 1510)[54]; cf. pl. XXXI, fig. 9, again we find the god encircled by a snake on top of a tauroctonus-relief. It is unfortunate that the head of this figure is missing too. The god is, however, standing in an oval which reminds us strongly of the human-headed Modena figure whereas none of the preserved lion-headed types is depicted [redacted] a zodiacal wheel or oval. There is another hint that the figures from the Barberini fresco as well as the relief-fragment from Poetovio were originally human rather than lion-headed. This is implied by a marble relief now lost and formerly on the house of one Ottavio Zeno near the theatre of Pompey at Rome (*CIMRM* 335)[55]. The relief is only preserved [redacted] an old drawing (pl. XXXI, fig. 7), probably made by Jacobus Boos, a Dutch engraver who worked at Rome in the sixteenth century. The etching itself dates from 1564. This drawing is also of a certain historical interest, since the Latin verses accompanying the drawing show that at that time the religion of Mithras was not yet again understood. Nevertheless, this early drawing is admirably accurate as the preserved part of Cautes and Cautopates in the Louvre Museum can show (*CIMRM*, fig. 92). Only one figure

[53] Annibaldi, *Bullettino della Commiss. Archeol. Comunale di Roma* 1938, [redacted] 251 f. and *ibidem* p. 71, 1943-45 (1947), p. 97ff.

[54] The only known illustrations in: [redacted]. Saria, *Zbornik za Umetnostno Zgodovino* 12, 1933, 71 fig. 4 and 75 fig. 9 (reconstruction of the whole cult image) = pl. XXXI fig. 9.

[55] In *CIMRM* I fig. 93 the upper rim of the monument is cut away. The drawing first published in A. Lafrery, *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* (Rome 1575); cf. Bernard de Montfaucon, *L'Antiquité expliquée*[2] 1722, vol. I. 2 p. 373ff. [redacted] 215, 4, cf. the discussion of the monument by Cumont, *TMMM* II, p. 231 f. fig. 63.

does not correspond [redacted] the features otherwise known from the Mithraic reliefs, and this is—as Franz Cumont[56] has already observed—the figure before the sun-god Helios-Sol which must be identified as Phosphorus. But Phosphorus is never entwined by a snake and I think that this circumstance is best explained by the Dutch artist "completing" the upper left corner which was probably defective by then. It appears that the artist borrowed elements of the central winged god, which must at that time have been well preserved, for the figure [redacted] Phosphorus.

This central figure with two wings (like that on the Modena relief) is depicted human-headed and it is hardly probable that the engraver made a mistake here since all the other features [redacted] the upper rim—the seven altars standing for the seven planets and standing daggers between them—occur on other Mithraic reliefs and are therefore evidently correct. The possibility that this figure was originally lion-headed is, in my opinion, excluded by the fact that, in the Mithraeum of Dura-Europos on the second gypsum relief[57], as well as on the painted arch[58], we find an entirely human god forming the centre. In both cases we probably have Saturn before our eyes. These entirely human-shaped busts [redacted] the gods [redacted] the arches [redacted] the Dura Mithraeum makes it probable, that the human-headed, rather than the lion-headed god[59], usually occupied the centre of an arch above the Mithraic bull sacrifice.

By these observations we come [redacted] the conclusion that there must have been a difference [redacted] rank which separated the lion-headed god from its human-shaped counterpart. In our opinion the lion-headed

[56] Cumont, *TMMM* [redacted], p. 233.

[57] F. Cumont, "The Dura Mithraeum", ed. by E. D. Francis, *MS* I, p. 166f. (there identified as Baal Shamin), pl. 23. – Vermaseren, *CIMRM* I 46 no. 40 fig. 15. – Saturn in 'heaven' [redacted] the newly found relief from Hermopolis Magna in Kairo, [redacted] Grimm — D. Johannes, *Kunst der Ptolemäer- und Römerzeit im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo*, Mainz 1975, no. 38 pl. 73.

[58] Cumont, *MS* I, p. 170f. pl. 26b. Vermaseren, *CIMRM* I, no. 42, I [redacted] 16; *Mithras, Geschichte eines Kultes*, Stuttgart 1965, 86 fig. 40.

[59] Cf. Mithras among animals on top [redacted] [redacted] vault on the reverse of the cult relief from Heddernheim, Mithraeum I. Vermaseren, *CIMRM* II no. 1083 fig. 275; *Der Kult des Mithras im römischen Germanien*, Stuttgart 1974, p. 59 and fig. 2. Cf. [redacted]. Schoppa, "Das Mithraeum", *Schriften des Städtischen Museums Wiesbaden*, nr. 2, 1959, p. 9 [redacted] 2. – The lion's head on top of the relief from (?) Apulum seems to [redacted] a symbol of Jupiter (cf. the relief from Bologna, *CIMRM* I no. 693 fig. 195) rather than an abbreviation of the lion-headed god.

god appears to belong to a lower level of guardian and tutelary gods reminiscent of older Oriental half animal types and probably bore the name Arimanius. The human-headed version, however, seems to have stood closer to Mithras himself. M.J. Vermaseren[60] has already explained the human statue of Merida as the young new Saturnus who is closely connected with the birth of Mithra[61].

[60] "A Magical Time God", *MS* II, p. 450f.

[61] The abbreviations used here follow in general the list given in *Mithraic Studies*, ed. by J.R. Hinnells, Manchester 1975. — The author is heavily indebted to Dr. Georgina Herrmann and Alexander H. Morton from the British Institute of Persian Studies for reviewing his English text.

ERNEST WILL

ORIGINE ET NATURE DU MITHRIACISME

Les problèmes fondamentaux posés par le mithriacisme, c'est-à-dire le culte à mystères gréco-romain, n'ont pas connu de développement sensible depuis un quart de siècle pour ce qui est de l'origine du culte; mais des enquêtes récentes débouchent sans doute sur une meilleure compréhension de sa nature profonde.

Origine du mithriacisme. — Les problèmes d'origine sont de deux ordres : la date de la formation des mystères et le lieu de ce phénomène[1].

Le mithriacisme se présente comme un culte qui, à l'exemple du christianisme, a connu une diffusion lente après une sorte de période d'incubation succédant à la formation proprement dite.

Les données chronologiques sont les suivantes:

1) le texte de Stace (vers 80 de notre ère) décrivant l'image du tauroctone [illegible] attestant la pénétration du culte à Rome; c'est le début de la grande diffusion qui se place ainsi sous les Flaviens, entre 70 et 100[2];

2) le texte de Plutarque (*Vie de Pompée* 24) qui signale l'existence des mystères [illegible] Cilicie au moment de la guerre des pirates. La naissance du culte remonte ainsi au moins à 100 avant J.C.

Ces deux dates sont séparées par deux siècles environ, ce qui peut paraître long pour une période d'incubation[3]. Il a fallu, semble-t-il, une nouvelle impulsion pour assurer la diffusion générale du culte. On peut penser que cette impulsion est liée aux guerres d'Arménie de Néron suivies de la guerre judaïque. Ces entreprises se sont accompagnées de nombreux et importants déplacements de troupes d'ouest en est et d'est en ouest, mouvements évidemment très favorables à la pénétration du culte en Occident.

[1] [illegible] renvoie à l'exposé général que j'ai donné de ce problème *Relief cultuel*, p. 144 suiv. Les remarques exposées ci-dessus apportent des points de vue nouveaux ou des changements de position.

[2] Quelques monuments confirment, du moins s'ils sont bien interprétés et datés, le texte de Stace (*Thébaïde*, I, 717): le relief de Savelar (Vermaseren, *CIMRM* [illegible] de 77-78 et peut-être des reliefs occidentaux (Cf. *Relief cultuel*, p. 209, n. [illegible]).

[3] On pourrait, en bonne méthode, appliquer au texte de Plutarque l'adage *testis unus, testis nullus* ; on ne peut toujours, de fait, que l'appuyer d'arguments de vraisemblance et de probabilité.

Quant à la naissance proprement dite, elle suppose une région et une époque où les données perses restent vivaces; l'Asie Mineure, et surtout l'Asie Mineure orientale, et la fin de l'époque hellénistique apparaissent comme particulièrement propices[4]. Il suffit de rappeler dans ce contexte les tentatives des roitelets de Commagène à la même époque (1er siècle avant J.C.) pour assurer leur pouvoir et leur prestige en se rattachant à la fois à la Grèce et à la Perse; comme l'on sait, ils se sont fait représenter face à face avec Mithra. 150 ans plus tard, l'heure de la Perse est passée et l'Iran parthe ne suscite plus ni crainte ni admiration profondes du côté de Rome[5]. La vraisemblance est donc des plus favorables au texte de Plutarque.

L'étude de l'iconographie — qui est notre seule autre ressource — fournit des arguments qui vont dans le même sens.

L'image du tauroctone, essentielle dans l'imagerie du culte, ne semble à première vue que d'une secours médiocre en tant qu'indice chronologique. Personne n'oserait plus aujourd'hui reprendre les arguments de Cumont et proposer une origine pergaménienne pour le groupe — et une date localisée dans le 2e s. avant J.C. — sous prétexte que certaines têtes du dieu offrent une expression pathétique dont l'invention reviendrait à l'"école de Pergame"[6].

Une nouvelle analyse de cette image peut mener plus loin. On la désigne volontiers du terme de "sacrifice" mithriaque. Mais s'agit il bien d'un sacrifice[7]?

Examinons la composition de plus près. Voici la victime supposée qui s'est abattue ou a été forcée à genoux; son dompteur appuie le genou gauche dans son dos et maintient du pied droit la patte arrière correspondante de l'animal; tout en lui tirant la tête en arrière, il lui plonge le glaive au défaut de l'épaule. Voilà un tableau qui ne correspond en rien ni aux scènes de sacrifice connues ni aux textes qu'on peut mettre en avant. Il est de règle en effet dans

[4] Contrairement au sens littéral du texte de Plutarque, c'est la Cilicie orientale qui se révèle comme le berceau probable du culte à mystères (cf. *Relief cultuel*, p. 166 et n. 1). Rappelons qu'à côté de la monnaie de Tarse du règne de Gordien se place l'inscription d'un *pater* de l'époque de Caracalla provenant d'Anazarbos (Vermaseren, *CIMRM* [illegible] *bis*). La présence de mages est marquée non loin de là par l'inscription de Faraşa-Arsaramneia (Vermaseren, *ibid.* 19).

[5] Rappelons qu'Auguste efface la honte de Carrhes et que depuis Néron Rome est à l'offensive sur le front parthe.

[6] Cf. *Relief cultuel*, p. 176 suiv.

[7] *Relief cultuel*, p. 213, les lignes qui suivent modifient ce qui a été dit à cette place.

le sacrifice grec de ramener [illegible] tête en arrière — au moins dans les sacrifices olympiens — de façon à pouvoir lui couper plus facilement [illegible] cou et faire jaillir le sang[9].

Ce qui met sur la voie de la bonne interprétation, c'est le pied du dieu posé sur [illegible] jarret de l'animal. Il s'agit là d'une formule remontant à l'archaïsme grec: [illegible] vainqueur, dans un certain nombre de scènes, pose, avant de frapper, son pied de façon dominatrice sur celui de son adversaire[9]. S'agirait-il donc non d'un sacrifice, mais d'un combat?

Une série de documents vient confirmer cette hypothèse. Les plus étonnants sont fournis par [illegible] fameux sarcophage d'Alexandre de Sidon. On voit là dans la partie droite de la Bataille un Macédonien mettant son adversaire oriental à mort à la manière dont [illegible]ithra tue le taureau: le vainqueur aborde le vaincu par derrière, pose son pied sur la jambe de l'autre, lui ramène [illegible] tête en arrière et [illegible] enfonce l'épée au défaut de l'épaule. Le même schéma exactement reparaît dans la scène énigmatique de l'un des petits frontons: c'est l'image de l'exécution d'un prisonnier ou d'un adversaire surpris [illegible] abattu[10].

On ne manquera pas maintenant de se souvenir d'une des illustrations les plus saisissantes de ce même schéma: il s'agit de la mort de Penthésilée de la main d'Achille sur une coupe attique fameuse: seule la représentation frontale avait fait méconnaître l'attitude. Je pense enfin qu'il faut identifier le même geste dans le groupe du Galate du Musée des Thermes; cette fois, après avoir égorgé sa femme, le guerrier se plonge à lui-même l'épée de haut en bas au creux de l'épaule[11].

[9] Il faut noter qu'il est peu probable que, dans la réalité, on égorgeait des animaux de la taille d'un bœuf sans plus. Les monuments romains montrent plus d'une fois un des victimaires en train d'assommer l'animal tandis que l'autre attend de lui couper [illegible] gorge; [illegible] p. ex. *rhyton* de Boscoreale (*Monuments Piot*, V, [illegible] 34-35). L'iconographie antique semble manifester une certaine réticence à montrer l'égorgement: Nikè se contente d'ordonner de brandir le couteau. Cf. cependant la monnaie d'Auguste, Mattingly, *British Museum Coins*, I, 180, 671, pl. 16, 14 et l'*oenochoé* de Boscoreale (*Monuments Piot*, V, pl. [illegible]).

[9] Sur une métope bien connue du temple C de Sélinonte Héracles s'apprêtant à abattre l'Amazone a posé son pied gauche sur le droit de son ennemie (p. ex. [illegible]. Papoiannou, *Art grec*, éd. Mazenod, fig. 386). Sur une curieuse métope de l'Héraion du Sele on voit déjà Hector tuant Patrocle en l'abordant par derrière [illegible] en lui tirant [illegible] tête en arrière (cf. *ibid.* fig. 228).

[10] V. v. Graeve, *Alexandersarkophag*, pl. 34, [illegible], 62 (bataille) et pl. 67, 68, [illegible] couleur (!) pour [illegible] fronton.

[11] Pour la coupe d'Achille-Penthésilée, Pfuhl, *Malerei*, [illegible] 185, fig. 501, [illegible] pour le Galate du Musée des Thermes, Bieber, *Sculpture Hellenistic Age*, fig. 281-283.

L'image du tauroctone n'est donc pas un sacrifice banal. Le reste de l'iconographie mithriaque nous en avertissait d'ailleurs. Les scènes cycliques nous montrent le dieu livrant un long combat au fauve — un domptage rude et difficile — et ce combat est suivi de la mise à mort; tout comme dans les scènes citées, l'ennemi vaincu est exécuté[12].

Ce langage de l'image doit être retenu quand il s'agit de donner son sens précis à cette scène centrale. Il ne s'agit pas d'un sacrifice et d'ailleurs le culte ne comporte pas de sacrifice du taureau — au contraire de ce que l'on pourrait attendre. Bien entendu, cette mise à mort pouvait être interprétée théologiquement comme un sacrifice, plus exactement même comme le sacrifice dont dépendait l'histoire du monde. De même, la mise en croix de Jésus est techniquement une forme d'exécution capitale; théologiquement, elle peut être présentée comme le sacrifice qui assure le salut de l'humanité[13].

Le modèle premier de l'image du dieu tauroctone semble bien avoir été la création du sculpteur athénien qui a conçu et exécuté la frise de la Balustrade d'Athéna Nikè de l'Acropole[14]. Ce rapprochement ne nous fournit qu'un indice très général. Il me semble qu'on peut cependant ajouter ceci: le geste particulier de la mise à mort — éclairé par les monuments signalés à l'instant — appartient à un contexte grec bien vivant et vivace encore à l'époque hellénistique. Bien que le modèle de la Balustrade ait servi encore à l'époque impériale, on peut douter que ce geste très particulier fût compris encore à cette époque et dans le centre hellénisé sans doute, mais non à proprement parler

[12] Sur les reliefs à scènes multiples cette lutte avec le taureau reçoit un développement plus ou moins important (cf. le tableau *C* de *Relief cultuel*, p. 380-381). La scène la plus importante dans le mythe et peut-être dans le culte est celle du *transitus* (Mithra porte le taureau sur son dos en le tenant par les pattes postérieures, la tête vers le bas).

[13] Cumont (*Textes et monuments*), I, p. 179 pensait reconnaître le sacrifice du taureau primordial de l'*Avesta* dont le sang assurait la vie dans la création. D'autres solutions — mais qui ne sauraient abandonner le fil directeur fourni par l'iconographie — restent toujours possibles.

[14] *Relief cultuel*, p. 169 sqq. Il ne subsiste qu'un fragment très mutilé, *DD*, de la scène de la Nikè terrassant le taureau, assez cependant pour montrer qu'elle ne le frappe pas de son glaive. Il n'existe à ma connaissance qu'un monument romain qui montre Nike frappant à la manière de Mithra, un couvercle de sarcophage de la Walters Art Gallery de Baltimore (*Mélanges de Rome*, 1885, pl. 12; Robert, III, 2, 58, 162).

hellénique où fut créée l'image du tauroctone[15]. C'est là un indice ténu, mais qui renforce ceux que l'on peut grouper par ailleurs[16].

L'image composite, celle qui associe à la figure divine toute sorte d'éléments accessoires, est révélatrice d'une manière analogue. Elle marque un recul de l'hellénisme, un retour aux traditions plus orientales; cette image est additive et explicative et non pas narrative et illusionniste. Ce sont des tendances analogues que l'on a cru reconnaître à la même date — la deuxième moitié de la période hellénistique — dans la création d'images divines comme celle d'Artemis d'Ephèse, d'Aphrodite d'Aphrodisias, de Jupiter héliopolitain[17].

Mais c'est le cadre historié qui pose les problèmes les plus complexes. On peut faire état là d'une série de documents connus et rapprochés déjà qui appuient une origine hellénistique de ce procédé de composition.

Il y a longtemps, en effet, qu'on a signalé des similitudes frappantes avec les *stupas* de l'Inde des dynasties Sungu et Andhra qui se placent dans les deux derniers siècles précédant notre ère. Les piliers à figures et à scènes étagées sont des éléments constitutifs des *toranas* et des barrières de ces *stupas*[18].

On peut rapprocher de ces piliers quelques documents nabatéens aujourd'hui mieux connus. Des travaux récents ont fourni une image

[15] Sur ce centre et les lignes de diffusion, je maintiens entièrement ce que j'ai écrit *Relief cultuel*, p. 165 et 385 suiv. Les Mithra-Attis de Panticapée (cf. Blavatsky-Kochelenko, *Culte de Mithra sur la côte septe. de la Mer Noire* (*EPRO* VIII) p. 14, fig.) ne représentent ni Mithra ni Attis ce sont des Eros en costume oriental, cf. *Relief cultuel*, p. 203 n. 1) et dont la date hellénistique n'est nullement certaine. — Le culte à mystères pénètre en Crimée, comme ailleurs, à l'époque impériale, cf. les monuments d'Ai-Todor, ouvrage cité, p. 22, fig. 22*a* et *b*.

[16] Une contre-épreuve curieuse de la démonstration fournie ci-dessus me paraît offerte par deux monuments hors série, le groupe de Criton l'Athénien d'Ostie (Vermaseren, *CIMRM* 476-479) et celui de S. Prisca à Rome (*Ibid.* 230 et Vermaseren-Van Essen, *Excavations Mithraeum S. Prisca*, pl. 19-20) Mithra transformé en héros grec — c'est-à-dire dépouillé de son costume oriental — élève seulement l'arme sans frapper. Les auteurs classicisants de ces deux œuvres impériales ne comprenaient plus un geste familier encore à leurs prédécesseurs de l'époque hellénistique.

[17] Pour la discussion sur la date de ces idoles cf. p. ex. R. Fleischer, *Artemis von Ephesos*, p. 354 et 366 suiv.

[18] J'avais cru devoir renoncer dans mon *Relief cultuel* à ce rapprochement faute de documents comparables dans le monde gréco-romain. Pour les documents indiens, cf. B. Rowland, *Art and Architecture in India* (Pelican Books) pl. 16 *B*, 19 *A*, 20 et 21, pp. 54, 57, 60. Et H. G. Frantz *Buddhistische Kunst Indiens*, fig. 40, 43, 44, pour les stupas de Bharhut, Sanchi et Bodhgaya.

plus claire de la porte monumentale, de l'époque de Trajan, qui menait au grand temple du Qasr Firaoun; les pilastres des baies sont partagés en panneaux carrés superposés, alternativement ornés de bustes et de grandes rosaces. Cette façon de subdiviser les pilastres, qui n'est pas du tout dans la tradition de l'architecture grecque classique, se retrouve ailleurs à Pétra, aux antes mêmes du temple — qui, lui, date du milieu du Ier siècle avant J.C. — et sur des pilastres d'édicules conservées dans certaines tombes[19]. Le procédé semble ainsi bien implanté; sans doute seul l'arc porte encore des figures, mais il serait bien étonnant que ce fut le seul exemple à Pétra et ceci sur un monument très romain par ailleurs.

A notre connaissance, ce procédé reste cantonné à Pétra et demeure tout à fait inconnu dans la Syrie romaine. On peut ainsi admettre à Pétra la persistance isolée d'une formule hellénistique et qui, comme telle, a sa contrepartie en Inde. L'arc de Pétra ne montre que des bustes étagés; ailleurs ils peuvent céder la place à des figures ou à des scènes.

Il convient dans ce contexte de souligner, plus qu'on ne le fait, l'importance et l'ancienneté de ces cycles d'image, et dans le domaine religieux aussi, dans le Proche Orient et notamment en Syrie. Sans doute les cycles connus là — essentiellement ceux de Doura — datent-ils seulement de notre ère; mais ils ne font que continuer une tradition plus ancienne. On n'a pas prêté attention au fait que cette tradition est démontrée par les fameuses poutres historiées du temple de Bêl de Palmyre, consacré en 32 de notre ère: ce n'est pas pour ce temple que de tels panneaux disposés en série ont été inventés[20]. Et l'une des scènes conservées montre — de façon en quelque sorte symbolique — une *dexiôsis* entre dieux (Aglibol et Malakbêl), pendant de celle de Mithra et d'Hélios.

L'hypothèse de la constitution de l'imagerie mithriaque dans la deuxième moitié même de l'époque hellénistique, ou disons vers 100

[19] Porte monumentale de Petra, Brünnow-Domaszewski, *Provincia Arabia*, I, n° 406, fig. 345-346; Bachmann, *Petra*, p. [illegible], fig. 47; G.R.H. Wright, *Syria*, 45 1968, p. 26 suiv. fig. 1 et 2. Qasr Firaoun, Brünnow-Domaszewski, *ibid.* n° 403, fig. 339; Kohl, *Kasr Firaun*, p. 8 et 9, fig. 7 et 8; [illegible] I et VII; Browning, *Petra*, p. 158, fig. 94. Pour les tombes, Brünnow-Domaszewski, *ibid.* n° 468 et Browning, *ibid.* p. 190, fig. [illegible].

[20] Pour les reliefs de Palmyre, cf. H. Seyrig, *Syria*, 1934, p. 154 pl. 28, 19, 20, 22 et Seyrig-Amy-Will, *Le temple de Bêl*, *Album*, pl. [illegible], 96 et 89. Seules les scènes des poutres *A* et *B* sont interprétables; elles sont ou rituelles ou mythologiques; il en va de même pour la poutre *C* et aussi pour les éléments de la frise interne *FO* 1 et *FO* 3.

en gros, non seulement ne soulève pas de difficulté, mais peut s'appuyer sur un ensemble d'indices variés : on rejoint ainsi les réflexions que l'on fait par ailleurs à l'aide des données purement historiques.

J'ajoute une remarque qui est suggérée par les monuments de Doura : l'importance dans le Proche-Orient de la peinture ne saurait être sous-estimée. Il s'agit malheureusement de documents très exposés à la destruction et dont, sans Doura, nous n'aurions plus qu'une médiocre idée. Il y a quelque apparence que dans l'histoire de l'imagerie mithriaque la peinture a eu tenir aux origines une place qui lui fut ravie par la suite par la sculpture[21].

N'oublions pas en effet que dans de nombreux cas les Mithréa ne nous sont connus que dans leur 2e état et qu'un état premier — *uetustate collapsum* selon la formule des inscriptions — pouvait offrir une apparence passablement différente.

Il faut dans ce débat se garder le plus soigneusement possible de l'*argumentum e silentio* : les monuments du culte les plus anciens — même en Occident — ont péri. La même méfiance doit nous guider quand on invoque la rareté des monuments mithriaques en Orient. Cette rareté s'explique tout simplement par la rareté des fouilles. Rien de comparable en Orient aux fouilles patientes, durables et généralisées, pratiquées sur le limes européen, celui du Rhin et celui du Danube. Chaque fois cependant que les fouilles s'étendent en Orient, Mithra apparaît. Aujourd'hui on jalonne de mieux en mieux la côte syro-phénicienne : Césarée de Palestine, Tyr, Sidon, Laodicée donnent l'impression d'une diffusion très générale et comparable à celle connue en Occident[22]. Rien toutefois, il convient de le souligner, ne donne

[21] Cf. p. ex. la curieuse inscription du Mithréum Aldobrandini, Vermaseren, *CIMRM* 233 : *deum uetusta religione in uelo formatum et umore obnubilatum marmoreum ... omni impendio uo fecit*

[22] Pour Sidon, signalons la découverte récente, dans le sanctuaire d'Echmoun, d'une dédicace de Theodotos prêtre de Mithra de 140-141 (cf. M. Dunand, *Bull. Musée Beyrouth* 26, 1973, pl. 13) qui atteste l'ancienneté de ce Mithréum. Pour Tyr, rappelons la découverte plus ancienne de deux dadophores, cf. M. Chéhab, VIIth *Internat. Congress Iranian Art and Archaeology, Memorial vol.* 2, p. 290, fig. 11. Pour Césarée, ici même le rapport de R. J. Bull (p. [illegible] suiv.). Les attestations pour Arshawa-Qibar et Seia témoignent de la profondeur de l'expansion du culte. On a de bonnes raisons de penser que le culte est parvenu à Doura de Palmyre même. Les stratèges Ethpunai et Zenobios commandent une unité irrégulière, ils ne sont pas citoyens romains et gardent leurs noms indigènes, ils écrivent en grec : il n'y a pas lieu de supposer qu'ils aient jamais quitté leur Palmyrène natale — à l'inverse d'autres Palmyréniens qui ont fait une carrière régulière dans l'armée romaine.

une idée différente de celle de l'Occident. Ces documents ne sont pas plus anciens que ceux apparus ailleurs. Ils ne viennent à proprement parler ni renforcer, ni contredire l'hypothèse fondamentale du centre d'origine constitué par la Cilicie. Seule l'exploration plus poussée de cette région pourrait un jour jeter une lumière plus nette sur les débuts du culte.

Pour l'instant, dans ce débat des origines, nous ne disposons toujours pas d'un document décisif et les documents connus plus récemment ne sont pas plus concluants que ceux dont on a toujours fait état, mais aucun non plus ne témoigne dans un sens contraire. Ils restent les uns et les autres favorables à la thèse traditionnelle et au témoignage des Anciens.

Nature du mithriacisme. — Le mithriacisme trouve sans peine sa place parmi les autres cultes à mystères. Il donne au fidèle l'assurance qu'il peut s'élever jusqu'à l'être suprême et s'identifier avec lui; au repas rituel qui constitue l'acte central du culte est liée dans le mythe et dans l'imagerie l'ascension sur le char solaire vers le séjour des dieux.

Les traits originaux du mithriacisme sont marqués, d'un côté, par l'accent mis sur l'importance et le nombre des degrés d'initiation et sur les rites nécessaires pour passer de l'un à l'autre; et de l'autre, par le caractère viril de la doctrine et masculin de la communauté; les femmes sont exclues. La notion d'élection propre aux cultes à mystères se trouve ainsi particulièrement accusée et si le mithriacisme transcende les groupes sociaux traditionnels (famille, tribu, cité) il ne prétend pas cependant à l'universalité et, comme des études récentes l'ont souligné, sa diffusion reste liée à certains milieux socio-professionnels. C'est l'étude du milieu dans lequel les mystères se développent qui permet une réévaluation de leur nature profonde.

La place tenue par l'élément militaire dans la clientèle du culte a été reconnue dès le départ, mais aussi exagérée jusqu'à une époque récente. Il est trop évident que les civils tiennent une large place dans cette clientèle. J'ai été amené moi-même dans une recherche consacrée aux mithréa de Poetovio d'analyser de plus près la constitution des groupes de fidèles de cet endroit[23]. Plus récemment, dans une étude très suggestive, R. L. Gordon a cherché à définir la signification historique du mithriacisme dans le support que fournissaient son contenu et sa structure à l'ordre établi : une religion d'obéissance et une struc-

[23] *Adriatica praehistorica et antiqua G. Novak dedicata*, 1970, p. 633.

ture hiérarchique venant au secours des organismes auxquels ces deux éléments sont indispensables, l'armée et les services publics[24].

Il est certain en effet qu'à côté de l'armée on rencontre une série de petits fonctionnaires ou employés qui font partie des services publics ou de ceux qu'on peut leur assimiler. D'où les *tabellarii* et *arcarii* attestés à Rome (pour la maison impériale) ou en province (*regnum Noricum*) ou alors les employés des différentes fermes d'impôt, ceux du *portorium* de Poetovio ou de Virunum et autres. Aux douanes il faut sans doute ajouter les carrières. Dans ce personnel, esclaves et affranchis tiennent une bonne place, mais le rôle de leurs patrons (les *conductores*) n'est pas moins évident.

Il est très probable cependant que des entreprises plus strictement privées liées au commerce ont fourni un lot important d'adorateurs du dieu perse. A Rome ou à Ostie, les faits paraissent presque certains, même si les *collegia* ou *sodalicia* nommément attestés demeurent rares. On y ajouterait volontiers des mithréa comme ceux de Londres et de Mérida. Dans ces deux cas, si l'on fait la comparaison avec les mithréa des militaires ou des petits fonctionnaires, c'est la richesse de l'installation qui est frappante : à Londres[25], statues de marbre venues d'Italie, à Mérida[26] plusieurs statues de marbre dont l'une signée d'un artiste grec. On notera aussi que le *pater* de l'endroit porte un cognomen bien grec (*Hedychrus*) dans cette ville si romaine. La situation est parallèle sur tous ces points à Ostie[27]. On semble bien retrouver ici et là ce milieu d'Orientaux hellénisés, principalement commerçants, qui a fourni une bonne clientèle à d'autres cultes orientaux. Bien entendu, dans les cas envisagés, il ne s'agit pas de petits boutiquiers, mais de représentants du grand commerce. Pour toute cette question, l'étude de la documentation conservée devra être poussée.

Quel que soit le rôle profond que l'on attribuera au mithriacisme et si l'on s'en tient simplement à l'analyse des conditions favorables à son développement, on s'aperçoit qu'il est volontiers accueilli dans de petits groupements, groupements pourrait-on dire de déracinés, d'hommes éloignés de leur patrie, coupés de leur famille plus vaste, par leurs occupations professionnelles. Le fait est évident pour les militaires,

[24] R. L. Gordon, *Religion. Journal of Religion et Religions* 2, 1972, pp. 92-121.

[25] Vermaseren, *CIMRM* 814-826, J. Toynbee, *Roman Britain*, fig. 40, 42, 43 et n° 26-38.

[26] Vermaseren, *ibid.* 772-797; n° 774 signé de Demetrios.

[27] Vermaseren, *ibid.* 216 et Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia*, III, *Mitrei*.

mais ne l'est pas moins pour les deux autres catégories mentionnées. C'est d'ailleurs ce rapport avec la profession qui explique aussi le recrutement limité aux hommes: il faut dire pour le culte à mystères que non seulement la femme, mais la famille n'y a pas de place. Les fidèles savent aussi que d'un jour à l'autre ils peuvent se trouver déplacés d'un poste à un autre et parfois à l'autre bout de l'Empire, mais que là-bas ils auront quelque chance de retrouver une communauté unie dans la même dévotion. On peut être tenté de définir le mithriacisme comme une religion de la "camaraderie," camaraderie du champ de bataille, de la caserne, du bureau, de l'entreprise[28].

Aucune autre religion à mystères ne répondait à ces exigences. Isis, Mater, Bacchus s'adressaient à l'homme en général et offraient des possibilités émotives diverses et profondes, bien accordées aussi à la sensibilité des femmes. La figure héroïque de Mithra, soleil radieux et invincible, garde un air de majesté sévère; véritable antithèse de celle du Christ souffrant[29], l'image du dieu perse a su répondre à l'attente d'un public particulier propre à la structure de l'Empire. Militaires et fonctionnaires d'un côté, personnel de grandes entreprises, de l'autre, constituaient tout un réseau administratif et économique, celui-là même que révèle dans une large mesure encore la carte de diffusion du mithriacisme. C'est là apparemment un phénomène unique dans l'histoire des cultes à mystères gréco-romains.

[28] Ce n'est que tardivement que l'aristocratie romaine annexe le culte de Mithra dans sa lutte désespérée contre le christianisme triomphant, cf. les inscriptions bien connues du groupe de Praetextatus, Vermaseren, *CIMRM* 420.

[29] La prétendue rivalité entre le christianisme et le mithriacisme était un thème bien connu depuis E. Renan. La façon dont s'opérait le recrutement des groupes mithriaques montre à l'évidence que ces groupes n'avaient ni le désir ni le pouvoir de concurrencer la nouvelle doctrine.

EDWIN M. YAMAUCHI

THE APOCALYPSE OF ADAM, MITHRAISM, AND PRE-CHRISTIAN GNOSTICISM

1. *Pre-Christian Gnosticism*

Among the most important issues in the study of religions in the early Roman Empire is the question of the possible influence of such movements as Gnosticism, Mithraism and other mystery religions upon nascent Christianity. Complicating the issue are the many questions which may be raised about the date and the nature of the evidences which are used to postulate the existence and the nature of such movements [illegible] a period and in such places where influence upon Christianity could have been possible.

After studying the Patristic, Hermetic, Iranian, Syriac, Mandaic, Jewish, and Coptic evidences which have been adduced to support the existence of a pre-Christian Gnosticism, I have come to the conclusion that they fall into two categories: (1) early evidence, such as the New Testament itself, Philo, the [illegible]ead Sea Scrolls, etc., which [illegible] ambiguous; and (2) clearly Gnostic but late evidence such as the Mandaean and Manichaean texts[1]. The assumption therefore of a pre-Christian Gnosticism which lies [illegible] the basis of so much New Testament interpretation has been merely presumed but not proven.

2. *The Nag Hammadi Texts*

Among the most recent and most important texts which have been cited to support the thesis of a pre-Christian Gnosticism are the Coptic treatises discovered at Nag-Hammadi, Egypt, in 1945[2]. The Nag

[1] See Yamauchi, *Gnostic Ethics and Mandaean Origins*, Cambridge, Mass., 1970; *Pre-Christian Gnosticism*, London, 1973 [hereafter abbreviated *PCG*]; 'Some Alleged Evidences for Pre-Christian Gnosticism', *New Dimensions in New Testament Studies*, [illegible]. R. N. Longenecker and M. Tenney, Grand Rapids, 1974, [illegible] 46-70

Scholars, on the contrary, who feel that Gnosticism preceded and influenced Christianity have written essays in *Gnosis und Neues Testament*, [illegible]. K.-W. Tröger, Gerd Mohn, 1973

[2] J. Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics*, New York, 1960; D. Scholer, *Nag Hammadi Bibliography 1948-1969*, Leiden, 1971; *idem*, 'Bibliographia Gnostica Supplementum I', *Novum Testamentum* XIII, 1971, pp. 322-36; *idem* XIV, 1972, pp. 312-31; *idem*, XV, 1973, pp. 327-45; *idem*, XVI, 1974, pp. 316-36.

Hammadi collection consists of 12 (not 13 as reported earlier) codices "plus one tractate, of which eleven codices, the one tractate, and fragments of a lost codex survive[3]." They were probably buried early in the fifth century A.C. as there is a reference in *CG* VI (40, 7-9) to the controversy of the Anomoeans, which can be dated to the second half of the fourth century A.C.[4]. The manuscripts were transcribed *c.* A.C. 350. Fragments of letters and receipts have been discovered in the bindings, two of which are dated to A.C. 339-42[5]. It is quite clear that the composition of the originals of the individual tractates, most of them in Greek, must be dated much earlier. For example, *The Apocryphon of John* was cited by Irenaeus *c.* A.C. 180.

A number of works from Nag Hammadi seem to be barely Christianized Gnostic compositions. The Christian elements of *The Apocryphon of John* have been analysed by a number of scholars as secondary[6]. Wilson, however, cautions:

> We may suspect non-Christian documents underlying such texts as the Apocryphon of John, but suspicion is not proof. The fact that we can eliminate Christian elements and still be left with a fairly complete and coherent system does not necessarily mean that such a system ever existed. Once again the possibility remains, but it cannot be taken for granted[7].

B. Pearson in his recent interpretation of *The Testimony of Truth* (CG IX, 3) as a Gnostic work based on a Jewish midrash, speculates: "The midrash, which we have identified as a literary source, reflects only Jewish, not Christian, influence. ... Moreover, as a gnostic piece it is remarkably undeveloped and bears all the marks of a very early (pre-Christian?) form of Ophite gnosis[8]." However, apart from his impressions, Pearson does not offer us any supporting evidence for the existence of a pre-Christian Ophite Gnosticism.

[3] J.M. Robinson, "Inside the Front Cover of Codex III," *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of Alexander Böhlig*, ed. M. Krause, Leiden, 1972, p. 87.

[4] F. Wisse, "The Nag Hammadi Library and the Heresiologists," *Vigiliae Christianae* XXV, 1971, p. 208.

[5] Tröger, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[6] S. Arai, "Zur Christologie des Apokryphons des Johannes," *New Testament Studies* XV, 1969, pp. 302-18. I. Schottroff, *Der Glaubende und die feindliche Welt*, Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970, pp. 87-114.

[7] R. McL. Wilson, "Jewish Christianity and Gnosticism," *Judéo-Christianisme* (*Mélanges Daniélou*), Paris, 1972, p. 264.

[8] B. Pearson, "Jewish Haggadic Traditions in *The Testimony of Truth* from Nag Hammadi (*CG* IX,3)," *Ex Orbe Religionum: Studia Geo Widengren*, Leiden, 1972, p. 469.

In a recent review of my book, *Pre-Christian Gnosticism*, Giles Quispel has suggested that *Brontë* (*CG* VI, 2, which title German scholars restore as *Nebront*) may provide us with a document of pre-Christian Gnosticism:

> Here Wisdom styles herself as the saint and the prostitute the Sophia of the Greeks and the Gnosis of the Barbarians .... I guess that this writing originated in Jewish Alexandria, about 200 B.C. It reveals to us the existence of a liberal Judaism which was open to the mother religions of the Near East. And I have no doubt that the title 'prostitute' is to be traced back to the cult of the Babylonian Ishtar. Much is still not completely clear. Was Anath once, like Ishtar, conceived of as being a prostitute? Was Anath-Jahweh, venerated by the Jews of Elephantine in Egypt, the prototype of the wanton Wisdom (prounikos) to be found in the Apocryphon of John[9]?

The High God in this work is an androgynous being who incorporates all kinds of paradoxes and contradictions. For example:

(13, 17ff.)	I am the honored one and the scorned one. I am the whore and the holy one, I am the wife and the virgin.
(14, 26ff.)	For I am knowledge and ignorance. ... I am war and peace.

Though the translators maintain that there are hardly any traces of Christian influence in this highly poetic work, I would suspect possible New Testament allusions in the following lines:

(13, 16)	For I am the first and the last.
(16, 4-5)	For I am the wisdom [of the] Greeks and the knowledge of the barbarians.
(17, 25f.)	Come forward to childhood, and do not despise it because it is small and it is little.
(21, 20)	And I have no one who will judge me[10].

In answer to Professor Quispel's query, we have no textual evidence from ancient Syria (e.g. from Ugarit), that Anath was considered a divine prostitute, but when the Semitic goddess was imported into

[9] *Louvain Studies* V, 1974, p. 212. See also Quispel's forthcoming article, "Jewish Gnosis and Mandean Gnosticism."

[10] Berliner Arbeitskreis für koptisch-gnostische Schriften, "'Nebront', Die zweite Schrift aus Nag-Hammadi-Codex VI," *Theologische Literaturzeitung* XCVIII.2, 1973, cols. 97-104. I am indebted to MacRae's translation for the Nag Hammadi Seminar of the Society of Biblical Literature.

Egypt in the New Kingdom she was depicted as a nude goddess, identified on a relief in the Winchester College as 'Qudshu-Astarte-Anath[11].' A monument of the goddess Qudshu from Memphis does name her as 'the Prostitute[12].' Though Anath, Bethel, and Eshem used with YHWH at Elephantine are probably not epithets, as Albright argued, but are evidence of syncretism[13], this does not mean that the Jews at Elephantine worshipped Anath in the character of a divine prostitute. Nor am I able to follow Professor Quispel in tracing the origin of fallen Sophia to Anath-Jahweh.

I would agree with the evaluation of the *Berliner Arbeitskreis* that *Nebront* is to be viewed as a work of late philosophical speculation rather than as evidence of a 'vorchristlicher ursprünglicher Gnosis[14].' The opposition of 'prostitute' with 'respectable woman' in *Nebront* (13, 18) is simply one of a series of contrasts, and has no more significance than the contrast between 'the mother and the daughter' or 'the barren and the one who has many children: (13, 20ff.).

There are still other Nag Hammadi tractates, some unpublished, which may be either marginally Christian or non-Christian[15], but three treatises in particular have been singled out as evidence of a non-Christian Gnosticism which may possibly be pre-Christian: 1) *Eugnostos* (*CG* III, 3 and V, 1), 2) *The Paraphrase of Shem* (*CG* VII, 1), and 3) *The Apocalypse of Adam* (*CG* V, 5).

In the case of *The Letter of Eugnostos* and *The Sophia of Jesus* (*CG* III, 4) we have both the Christian and the allegedly non-Christian version of the same basic text. This relationship was discerned as early as 1948 by J. Doresse[16]. A systematic comparison of the two works has

[11] I.E.S. Edwards, "A Relief of Qudshu-Astarte-Anath in the Winchester College Collection," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* XIV, 1955, pp. 49-51.

[12] W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Wiesbaden, 1962, p. 499. R. Stadelmann, *Syrisch-palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten*, Leiden, 1967, p. 116. On the general subject of the divine prostitute, see Yamauchi, "Cultic Prostitution: A Case Study in Cultural Diffusion," *Orient and Occident*, ed. H.A. Hoffner (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament* XXII), Kevelaer, 1973, pp. 213-22.

[13] B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, Berkeley, 1968, pp. 173-79.

[14] Tröger, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[15] Cf. *PCG*, pp. 103-104. A. Böhlig, "Zur Frage nach den Typen des Gnostizismus und seines Schrifttums," *Es Ordo Religionum: Studia Geo Widengren*, Leiden, 1972, p. 398, suggests among others: *The Three Steles of Seth* (*CG* VII, 5), and *Zostrianos* (*CG*, VIII, 1).

[16] J. Doresse, "Trois livres gnostiques inédits: Évangile des Égyptiens, Epître d'Eugnoste, Sagesse de Jésus-Christ," *Vigiliae Christianae* II, 1948, pp. 137-60.

been made by M. Krause, who has been able to demonstrate that *Eugnostos* was adapted for the composition of *The Sophia of Jesus*[17]. Krause claimed that *Eugnostos* is wholly without any Christian element, but Wilson pointed out a series of possible allusions [redacted] the New Testament[18]. More recently Krause still refuses to accept such ideas as the Son of Man, the Savior, and the Church [redacted] *Eugnostos* as Christian elements, "Since these terms, however, are not exclusively attested in the New Testament ...." He concludes, "I therefore count the text among the non-Christian documents, which should not be taken to mean that it is of pre-Christian origin. It probably dates from the first or second century A.D.[19]" It should not be overlooked that Eugnostos is listed as the transcriber [redacted] *The Gospel of the Egyptians* (*CG* III, 2) [redacted] a way which sets him forth as a professing Christian[20].

The Paraphrase of Shem has been hailed as an important non-Christian and possibly pre-Christian tractate[21]. Until recently the only information we had was an article [redacted] F. Wisse published in 1970[22]. In 1973 M. Krause published a translation[23], so that we are now able to judge for ourselves Wisse's analysis that the *Paraphrase* contains only "slim and controversial parallels with Christianity."

To be sure, there are no explicit Christian references and the vast bulk of the material is certainly non-Christian. But in addition to the possible allusion to Jesus' baptism in the Jordan (32, 5-17) and the saviour's garments (which may call to mind *Ephesians* 6:11-17, as noted by Wisse), I believe that the following can be interpreted as allusions [redacted] Christ or to Christianity:

[17] M. Krause, "Das literarische Verhältnis des Eugnostosbriefes zur Sophia Jesu Christi," *Mullus (Festschrift, T. Klauser)*, Münster, 1964, pp. 215-23.

[18] R. McL. Wilson, *Gnosis and the New Testament*, Philadelphia, 1968, p. 115.

[19] [redacted]. Krause in *Gnosis II, Coptic and Mandaean Sources*, [redacted] W. Foerster, Oxford, 1974, p. 26.

[20] Doresse, *The Secret Books*, p. 192, *idem*, "'Le Livre sacré du grand Esprit invisible' ou 'L'Évangile des Égyptiens'," *JA* CCLIV, 1966, pp. 428-29; H.-M. Schenke, "Das Ägypter-Evangelium aus Nag-Hammadi-Codex III," *New Testament Studies* XVI, 1970, p. 208.

[21] J.M. Robinson, "The Coptic Gnostic Library Today," *New Testament Studies* XIV, 1968, pp. 378ff.

[22] F. Wisse, "The Redeemer Figure in the Paraphrase of Shem," *Novum Testamentum* XII, 1970, [redacted], 130-40.

[23] "Die Paraphrase des Sêem," *Christentum am Roten Meer II*, Berlin, 1973, pp. 2-105.

(8, 24-31) I am Derdekeas[24], the son of the unspotted, boundless Light. The Light of the boundless Spirit came down in a weak nature for a short time until the entire impurity of Nature became empty.

Most striking is a bitter polemic against water baptism:

(37, 14-25) For the water is a body, which is the smallest. And men will not be freed because they are bound by the water, as from the beginning the light of the spirit is bound, O Shem. They were led into error by many forms of demons, because they believed that sin might be taken away through the baptism of the impurity of water, which is dark, weak and worthless, and which destroys.

Now Wisse preferred to take this as a polemic against the baptism of some pre-Christian baptist sect,[25] about which, of course, we know very little[26]. But it seems to me quite clear from the context that the reference is much more plausibly interpreted as a polemic against the baptism of a worldly church. The passage which immediately follows that above refers to:

(37, 29-35) ... the error (*planē*), and the impurity (*akatharsia*), the envy, the murder, the adultery, the false witness, schisms (*hairesis*), plunderings, lust (*epithuma*), babblings, wrath, bitterness, in(sult) ....

Such vices are unfortunately characteristic of an established, institutional church, which is only nominally Christian, rather than of the small and presumably zealous baptistic sects of Palestine. The polemic of *The Paraphrase of Shem* is strongly reminiscent of the Gnostic Heraclean's polemic against the church's baptism, which was merely a 'somatic' act performed on the body[27].

3. *The Apocalypse of Adam*

The Apocalypse of Adam is a revelation of Adam to Seth, which foretells the salvation of Noah from the flood, and the salvation of Seth's seed from destruction by fire, brimstone and asphalt. Noah is identified as one "whom the generations will call 'Deucalion'"

[24] From the Aramaic *d'rd'qā* "small child."

[25] Wisse, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

[26] Cf. J. Thomas, *Le mouvement baptiste en Palestine et Syrie*, Gembloux, 1935.

[27] E. Pagels, "A Valentinian Interpretation of Baptism and Eucharist—and Its Critique of 'Orthodox' Sacramental Theology and Practice," *HTR* LXV, 1972, p. 158ff.

(70, 15ff.), the hero of the Greek story of the deluge[28]. Toward the end of the *Apocalypse* is a long passage in which thirteen kingdoms seek to describe the *Phoster* or Gnostic Illuminator. The final kingdom is the Gnostic generation without a king.

The importance of this document lies in the claim of the editor, A. Böhlig, that it is a non-Christian and a pre-Christian presentation of a redeemer figure[29]. In view of parallels with Mandaean texts, Böhlig associates the origin of this document with a Palestinian baptist group inasmuch as he assumes a pre-Christian Palestinian origin for the Mandaeans. James Robinson has hailed this text (and *The Paraphrase of Shem*) as the necessary evidence for Bultmann's hypothesis of a pre-Christian Gnosticism[30].

The analysis of *The Apocalypse of Adam* as a non-Christian and presumably pre-Christian, Gnostic text has been supported by Kurt Rudolph[31]. MacRae also believes that the ApocAd is a non-Christian text[32]. He suggests that instead of the Jewish-Iranian Gnosticism posited by Böhlig, we should trace the origins of this apocalypse to late Jewish speculations. In a later reappraisal, MacRae concedes that "there may be a trace of an extremely superficial allusion to Jesus of Nazareth in the magic name(s) "Jesseus Mazareus Jessedekeus" which occurs at the very end of the work. ... if it is a garbled form of the name of Jesus, the work can hardly antedate the spread of Christianity[33]."

[28] Such an identification was made by Philo, *De Praemiis et Poenis* 23: "This person, in whose day the great deluge took place, is called by the Greeks Deucalion and by the Hebrews Noah," and also by Justin Martyr, *Apol.* ii.7.2. Cf. Jack P. *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish and Christian Literature*, Leiden, 1968, pp. 47, 106.

[29] A. Böhlig and P. Labib, *Koptisch-gnostische Apocalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi*, Halle-Wittenberg, 1963; A. Böhlig, *Mysterion und Wahrheit*, Leiden, 1968, p. 149.

[30] James M. Robinson and Helmut Koester, *Trajectories through Early Christianity*, Philadelphia, 1971, p. 234, n. 4.

[31] In a review of Böhlig and Labib, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* XC, 1965, col. 361.

[32] G.W. MacRae, "The Coptic-Gnostic Apocalypse of Adam," *Heythrop Journal* VI, 1965, pp. 27-35.

[33] G.W. MacRae, "The Apocalypse of Adam Reconsidered," *Society of Biblical Literature Proceedings*, ed. L.C. McGaughy, II, pp. 574-75.

Other scholars are not at all convinced that there are no allusions to Christianity in the *ApocAd*[34]. The key passage which describes the work of the Illuminator is 77, 1-19. It describes one who will:

> ... work signs and wonders, to put to shame their powers and their archons. Then the God of the powers will be troubled, saying: 'What is the power of this man, who is higher than we?' Then he will provoke a great wrath against that man. And the glory will pass through and dwell in holy houses, which it has chosen for itself, and the powers will not see it with their eyes, nor will they see the Illuminator. Then will they punish the flesh of the man upon whom the Holy Spirit has come[35].

When one has together the following traits: (1) the working of signs and wonders, (2) the opposition of powers who do not comprehend the Illuminator, (3) the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the Illuminator, and (4) the punishment of the flesh of the Illuminator, it would seem almost inescapable that we have a cluster of references to Jesus Christ[36].

Böhlig, however, prefers more distant Iranian parallels. In an article published in 1964 he tried to explain the suffering of the Illuminator in terms of the prediction of the suffering of a Saviour by Zoroaster, as recorded in the writings of Theodore bar Konai, who wrote, it should be noted, in the end of the eighth century A.C.[37]. Writing in 1968, Böhlig accepted MacRae's alternative explanation in terms of the Jewish concept of the suffering Messiah as outlined by J. Jeremias[38]. But *pace* MacRae I see no reference to a *Pais* or Servant in the text, nor to the suffering of a Messiah who vicariously expiates the sins of Israel[39].

[34] Cf. the reviews of Böhlig and Labib by A. Orbe, *Gregorianum* XLVI, 1965, pp. 169-72; J. Daniélou, *Recherches de science religieuse* LIV, 1966, pp. 285-93; H.-M. Schenke, *OLZ* LXI, 1966, cols. 23-24; R. Haardt, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* LXI, 1967, pp. 153-59.

[35] Foerster, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[36] Wilson comments: "(the narrative, brief and summary as it is, appears too closely tailored to the figure of Jesus to be entirely independent", Wilson, *Gnosis and the New Testament*, p. 138.

The Berliner Arbeitskreis also identifies the one upon whom the Holy Spirit descends as Jesus: "Sie werden über den richtigen Erlöser von dem belehrt, den der oberste Gott 'erwählt hat aus allen Äonen' und 'über den der heilige Geist gekommen ist', Jesus", Trüger, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

[37] A. Böhlig, 'Die Adamsapokalypse aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi als Zeugnis jüdisch-iranischer Gnosis', *Orientalia Christiana* XLVIII, 1964, p. 47.

[38] A. Böhlig, *Mysterion und Wahrheit*, p. 154.

[39] W. Zimmerli and J. Jeremias, *The Servant of God*, Naperville, 1957, pp. 77-78.

Böhlig also seeks to explicate the Illuminator in terms of the Iranian *Sōshyant*. However, the word as used in the Gathas of Zoroaster is generally thought to be a reference to himself. In a recent article J.R. Hinnells has sought to argue that the Sōshayant figure in the late Pahlavi texts may be taken as evidence of a pre-Christian saviour and that this concept may have influenced Christianity[40]. His first proposition is debatable, and his second highly questionable. In any case the Sōshyant does not seem to be a suitable inspiration for the Gnostic Illuminator[41].

The Mandaean parallels which Böhlig adduces are strained and overtaxed. The simple reference to baptism in the Adam apocalypse does not justify any derivation from or association with the Mandaeans. For as Böhlig himself notes, baptism in the *ApocAd* is spiritualized and identified with 'gnosis'[42]. But this is certainly not the case with baptism among the Mandaeans, who regard it as possessing a cultic and even magical significance[43]. The conviction of the leading Mandaean scholars—E.S. Drower, Kurt Rudolph, Rudolph Macuch—that Mandaeanism had a pre-Christian origin rests largely upon the subjective evaluation of parallels between Mandaean texts and the Gospel of John. The objective evidences do not indicate a date for an origin earlier than the second century A.C.[44]. If Mandaean parallels with the *ApocAd* prove anything, they point to a post-Christian rather than a pre-Christian date for the text[45].

[40] J.R. Hinnells, "Zoroastrian Saviour Imagery and Its Influence on the New Testament," *Numen* XVI, 1969, pp. 161-85.

[41] C. Colpe, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, Göttingen, 1961, p. 164: "Mit dem gnostischen Urmenschen hat das nichts zu tun ... Dieser Sōšyans ist ein Heros, kein inkarnierter Erlösungsgott, im Deutschen eher ein Heiland als ein Erlöser zu nennen ..."

[42] Böhlig and Labib, *Koptisch-gnostische Apocalypsen*, p. 95; Böhlig, "Die Adamsapokalypse ...", p. 46.

[43] E.S. Drower, *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran*, Oxford, 1937; repr. Leiden, 1962, pp. 100-101.

[44] See Yamauchi, *Gnostic Ethics and Mandaean Origins*.

[45] This is also the conclusion reached by Wilson, *Gnosis and the New Testament*, p. 139: "In view of this, and of the Mandean and other parallels to which Böhlig has drawn attention, I should be inclined (but very tentatively?) to disagree with him and suggest that this document represents not a pre-Christian Gnosis but a later stage".

The Manichaean parallels adduced by Böhlig also point in the same direction. The debate as to whether Manichaeism was essentially a Christian heresy—a position maintained by F.C. Baur, F.C. Burkitt and A.D. Nock—, or an oriental religion preserving pre-Christian Gnostic elements—a position supported by [illegible]. Kessler, R. Reitzenstein, [illegible]. Nyberg, and G. Widengren—has been decisively determined in favor [illegible] the former by the publication in 1970 of the Greek codex on the life of Mani from Cologne[46]. The tiny codex, $4^1/_2$ by $3^1/_2$ centimeters, dates from the fifth century A.C. and is no doubt a translation [illegible] an early Syriac text. It confirms an-Nadim's *Fihrist* that identifies the baptismal sect of Mani's youth with that of al-Ḥasib, i.e. the Arabic form [illegible] the famous Elchasai[47]. The latter, who flourished during the early second century during Trajan's reign, seems to have come from a Jewish-Christian background probably from Transjordan. Before 1970 those who stressed the pre-Christian roots of Manichaeism, such as Geo Widengren, had identified Mani's baptismal sect with the Mandaeans, assuming that the latter were pre-Christian[48].

In the passage which describes a fiery destruction (75, 9-14): "Then will fire, brimstone, and asphalt [illegible] cast upon those men, and fire and darkness will come upon those aeons, and the eyes [illegible] the powers of the Illuminators will become dark"[49] Hans Goedicke detects verbal allusions to the famous description of Vesuvius in A.C. 79 in the

[46] A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, "Eine alte griechische Mani Schrift," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* V, 1970, pp. 97-216, plates IV-VI. R.N. Frye, "The Cologne Greek Codex about Mani," *Ex Orbe Religionum: Studia Geo Widengren*, Leiden, 1972, pp. 424-29.

[47] E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, Philadelphia, 1965, II, pp. 745ff.

[48] G. Widengren, *Mani and Manichaeism*, London, 1965, [illegible] 26; E.S. Drower, *The Secret Adam*, Oxford, 1960, p. xxi; [illegible]urt Rudolph, *Die Mandäer I*, Göttingen, 1960, p. 239.

Quispel has recently commented, *Louvain Studies* V, 1974, pp. 211-12: "Now, the Greek Mani Codex from Cologne definitively proves that Mani in his youth belonged to a Jewish-Christian and not to a Mandaic sect. It is very painful to see that Kurt Rudolph denies this, because [illegible] does not want to admit that in his masterly study 'Die Mandäer' (1960-61) [illegible] has made a mistake. This shakes our confidence in his other conclusions too".

[49] Foerster, *op. cit.*, p. 19. Cf. R. Kasser, "Bibliothèque Gnostique V: Apocalypse d'Adam", *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* XVI, 1967, p. 325.

letters (VI. 16 and 20) of the Younger Pliny to Tacitus[50]. Pliny published the letters *c.* A.C. 110. Professor Goedicke would therefore date the *ApocAd* not later than the first decade of the second century. But assuming that Goedicke is correct, it would seem that A.C. 110 should establish the *terminus a quo* rather than the *terminus ad quem*, that is, the *ApocAd* is not earlier than this date but may be considerably later.

There is finally a passage, which is evidently an allusion to Mithras' rock birth, which may help us to date the *ApocAd*. In the series of sayings by various kingdoms about the Illuminator, the eighth kingdom says (80, 21-25): "A cloud came upon the earth. It enveloped a rock. He originated from it[51]."

Such a clear reference to Mithraism raises a number of issues which need to be examined especially as they relate to the date of the *ApocAd*. How ancient is the cult of Mithraism in general, and how old is the concept of Mithras' rock birth in particular? What are the dates of the actual representations of the rock birth, and their geographical distribution? At what date would the adaptation of such a concept in a Gnostic text be most probable? A pre-Christian date? A date in the first century A.C.? Or a date in the second century A.C. or later?

4. *The Rock Birth of Mithras*

The rock birth of Mithras is a common feature of Mithraic reliefs. As Vermaseren describes it:

> This birth was in the nature of a miracle, the young Mithras being forced out of a rock as if by some hidden magic power. He is shown naked save for the Phrygian cap, holding dagger and torch in his uplifted hands. He is the new begetter of light (*genitor luminis*), born from the rock (*deus genitor rupe natus*), from a rock which gives birth (*petra genetrix*)[52].

There are, of course, many interesting variations. At Dura-Europos flames shoot out from the rock. At Trier the youthful Mithras holds the globe of the earth in his left hand.

[50] H. Goedicke, "An Unexpected Allusion to the Vesuvius Eruption in 79 A.D.", *AJP* XC, 1969, pp. 340-41.

[51] Foerster, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[52] M.J. Vermaseren, *MSG*, p. 75; cf. F. Cumont, *MM*, p. 131.

What is the origin of such a concept? Vermaseren speculates that in view of the Dura representation we may think of a primeval association of rock with the ignition of fire: "This conception is almost certainly based on a very ancient tradition dating from the time when man first discovered that both light and fire could be produced by striking a flint[53]." But this is hardly more than a guess.

More cogent is Vermaseren's suggestion that "the whole story of Mithras' birth, however, may have been influenced by that of the various deities in Asia Minor and especially by that of *Agdistis* ...[54]", on whom our sources of information are Pausanias (2nd cent. A.C.) and the Christian writer Arnobius (4th cent. A.C.). According to Pausanias VII. xvii. 10:

> Zeus, it is said, let fall in his sleep seed upon the ground, which in course of time sent up a demon, with two sexual organs, male and female. They call the demon Agdistis. But the gods, fearing Agdistis, cut off the male organ[55].

Arnobius in *Against the Heathens* V.5 cites an unknown writer Timotheus:

> Within the confines of Phrygia, he says, there is a rock of unheard-of wildness in every respect, the name of which is Agdus, so named by the natives of that district ... from which this Great Mother, too, as she is called, was fashioned along with the others, and animated by the deity. Her, given over to rest and sleep on the very summit of the rock, Jupiter assailed with lewdest desires. But when, after long strife, he could not accomplish what he had proposed to himself, he, baffled, spent his lust on the stone. This the rock received, and with many groanings Acdestis is born in the tenth month, being named from his

[53] *MSG*, p. 76; cf. M.J. Vermaseren, "The Miraculous Birth of Mithras", *Studia Archaeologica Gerardo van Hoorn Oblata*, Leiden, 1951, p. 95.

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 98. If one wished to speculate, one could ask if there are any remote connections with the Hittite-Hurrian texts about Kumarbi and Ullikummi, dating from the 14th-13th centuries B.C. Ullikummi was a diorite stone monster who grew miraculously. The scene of the stories is Mount Hazzi (known to the Semites as Zaphon, and to the Greeks and Romans as Mons Casius), south of the mouth of the Orontes River, not far from Cilicia. See H.G. Güterbock, "The Hittite Version of the Hurrian Kumarbi Myths: Oriental Forerunners of Hesiod", *AJA* LII, 1948, pp. 123-34; P. Walcot, *Hesiod and the Near East*, Cardiff, 1966.

[55] Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, tr. W.H.S. Jones (Loeb Classical Library), London, 1933, III, pp. 268-69.

> mother rock. In him there had been resistless might, and a fierceness of disposition beyond control, a lust made furious, and *derived* from both sexes[56].

Notwithstanding the common motif of a birth from a rock the character of the androgynous Agdistis has nothing in common with Mithras.

In the realm of unprovable hypothesis because we lack Scythian texts is Schwartz's suggestion that Mithras' rock birth may be due to Scythian influence (on the Medes)[57]. The only support for such a thesis is Dumezil's suggestion that a Scythian solar divinity lies behind the rock-born Ossetic hero Sozryko-Soslan.

What does the rock symbolize? Vermaseren suggests that it is "a symbol of heaven like the rocky grotto in which Mithras kills the bull and like the vaulted *spelaea* in which the Mithraists held their ceremonies[58]." Ferguson writes, "Mithras was born from a rock; the representations of this suggest the sun rising behind mountains ...[59]." There is in *Yasht* 10 a passage in which Mithras appears resplendant on top of *Hara Berezaiti*, or Mount Elburz. But as Vermaseren observes, "This is not a description of a real birth, but this manifestation of the deity as the giver of light, ... and, besides, the feminine name of the mountain were apt to lead to the conception of the birth of the god from a Mother-Goddess. ... Mithras' birth remained an obscure affair: the principal thing was that he existed ...[60]."

In view of the silence of the Avestan texts about the birth of Mithras we may suggest that the doctrine of his rock birth was more probably a late innovation, not much earlier than the dispersion of Mithraism through the Roman Empire, rather than an original element of Mithra's Persian background.

5. *The Spread of Mithraism*.

To determine when the rock birth of Mithras could have become known to the author of the *ApocAd*, we need to discuss: (1) the evidence

[56] *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, Buffalo, 1886, VI, p. 491.

[57] Martin Schwartz, "Cautes and Cautopates, the Mithraic torchbearers", *Mithraic Studies*, ed. J.R. Hinnells, Manchester, II, p. 423.

[58] Vermaseren, "The Miraculous Birth", p. 95.

[59] John Ferguson, *The Religions of the Roman Empire*, London, 1970, p. [illegible].

[60] Vermaseren, "The Miraculous Birth", p. 93.

for the earliest spread of Mithraism, and (2) the date and provenience of the actual monuments which bear the rock birth motif.

Our first problem is to define what we understand by *Mithraism*. The uninitiated reader is given a misleading impression of continuity when he reads the following statement by J.R. Hinnells:

> First of all, as against Fuller, it will be argued that of all the Mystery cults Mithraism is probably the oldest, and secondly it will be shown that Mithraic worship was [illegible] met in Syria and even Palestine, in the first century BC, and that it spread to Asia Minor long before the arrival of Christianity there[61].

We are all aware that Mithraic worship does not imply the same kind of 'Mithraism' as the Mithraic mysteries of the Empire. The only common denominator may be the central figure of Mithras. Attempts to discover textual evidence of the tauroctony in Avestan texts by Lommel have been criticized by Gershevitch as forced[62]. On the other hand, attempts to interpret Roman reliefs on the basis of Avestan texts by Campbell have not convinced many scholars[63].

As Lacuchi points out, "Mithraism in the second century B.C. is not necessarily the same as Mithraism in the third century A.D.[64]". Lacuchli distinguishes three consecutive types of Mithraism:

> The first is pre-Hellenistic Mithraism, i.e., the Mazdean religion as it existed before it came into contact with the Magna Mater-mystery world of Asia Minor. The second was Mithraism as it reached Asia Minor and was influenced by the religious forces in and around the Cybele cult. The third was Mithraism in the Roman empire[65]

We may distinguish between the following: (1) the worship of Mithra as attested in the Old Persian and Avestan texts for the Achaemenid period, (2) the cult of Mithra in the Parthian and Hellenistic period, and (3) the mysteries of Mithra in the Roman Empire. The nature and the parameters of each type of 'Mithraism' is a matter of vigorous debate.

[61] J.R. Hinnells, "Christianity and the Mystery Cults", *Theology* LXXI, 1968, p. 21.

[62] Ilya Gershevitch, "Die Sonne das Beste", *Mithraic Studies*, ed. J.R. Hinnells, I, p. 79.

[63] R.L. Gordon, "Franz Cumont and the doctrines of Mithraism", *Mithraic Studies*, I, p. 220, n. 18.

[64] Samuel Lacuchli, *Mithraism in Ostia*, Chicago, 1967, pp. 88 ff.

[65] Samuel Lacuchli, "Urban Mithraism", *Biblical Archaeologist* XXXI, 1968, p. 74.

We have ample evidence of the worship of Mithras by the Achaemenids in the Old Persian texts, the Avesta, and classical accounts. Recently R.A. Bowman has claimed that he has evidence for a cult of Mithras at Persepolis which would be the ancestor of the Mithraic mysteries[66]. This claim is based upon his translation of the Aramaic inscriptions upon about 200 mortars, pestles and plates of a flinty green stone found at Persepolis by Schmidt in 1936-38. These date from the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes I, and may have been used to prepare the *haoma*-drink. Since many of those identified were soldiers, and many bore theophoric names with Mithra, Bowman concludes:

> In the light of all facts at our disposal, it seems likely that in the green stone ritual vessels bearing Aramaic texts from Persepolis, we see evidence that already in Achaemenid times a proto-Mithraic cult was actively operative in the Persian army[67].

Unfortunately for such promising new evidence reviewers have not been convinced by Bowman's arguments. Hinnells cautions, that "the evidence may show the great popularity of Mithra among the dedicants at Persepolis, it may be that soldiers held him in special veneration as a sort of patron saint, but to take the further step of positing a special cult is not warranted[68]." Other Aramaic specialists have rejected Bowman's translation of key phrases. Naveh and Shaked write, "It may be stated right away that we consider Cameron's secular interpretation more acceptable than Bowman's ritualistic one[69]". According to Levine:

> Bowman considers the Aramaic texts from Persepolis as ritual records, describing aspects of the haoma ceremony, and recording the names of the celebrants. We conclude that they are administrative notations, recording the names of the donors of the objects on which the texts are inscribed[70].

The further development of the cult of Mithras in the Hellenistic and Parthian period is still shrouded in obscurity. It is often assumed that the origins of the Mithraic mysteries are to be placed in Hellenistic

[66] R.A. Bowman, *Aramaic Ritual Texts from Persepolis*, Chicago, 1970.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 15

[68] J.R. Hinnells, "Religion at Persepolis", *Religion* III, 1973, p. 158.

[69] J. Naveh and S. Shaked, "Ritual Texts or Treasury Documents?" *Orientalia* XLII, 1973, p. 446.

[70] Baruch A. Levine, "Aramaic Texts from Persepolis", *JAOS* XCII, 1972, p. 70.

Asia Minor. According to Nock, "the Mithraism which reached the western world was a new thing, created by fusion in Asia Minor ...[71]." Campbell speculates:

> It was evidently the passing of the Mithraic mysteries from Iranian to Greek speaking peoples that caused the production of sculptured, and also painted, representations of the central theme of the cult. This seems to have taken place in Phrygia and is represented in our Graeco-Phrygian subtype of tauroctone[72].

None the less as Cumont himself recognized there is almost a complete lack of Mithraic monuments from Asia Minor[73], a situation which has not been improved in the decades which have passed since Cumont wrote. Our evidence from Hellenistic Asia Minor is limited to *onomastica*, that is, the name 'Mithradates' in the kingdoms of Pontus, Commagene, etc. From Commagene in south-eastern Asia Minor we have from the first century B.C.E. texts of Mithradates I Kallinikos at Arsameia and of his son Antiochos at Nemrud-Dagh. Mithras is identified with Helios. But as Vermaseren notes, this tells us nothing about Mithraic mysteries:

> But the inscriptions do not say anything about a secret cult of Mithras; the god simply takes his place beside the acknowledged state gods[74].

In view of the lack of evidence from Asia Minor, Gordon has recently argued that the mysteries of Mithra, including the grade system, the *spelaeum*, etc. did not originate in Asia Minor but in the west "on the basis of the Zoroastrian pseudepigrapha and some knowledge of Anatolian beliefs[75]." Gordon's radical proposal has the merit

[71] A.D. Nock, *GM*, p. 109.

[72] Leroy A. Campbell, "Typology of Mithraic Tauroctones", *Berytus* XI, 1954, p. 26.

[73] *MM*, p. 15. W. Blavatsky and G. Kochelenko, *Le culte de Mithra sur la côte septentrionale de la mer noire*, Leiden, 1966, pp. 35-36, claim the spread of the Mithraic cult to the north shore of the Black Sea on the basis of minor archaeological finds, such as a few terra-cotta statuettes of Mithras-Attis, dated to the first century B.C.E.

[74] *MSG*, p. 29. Cf. H. Waldmann, *Die Kommagenischen Kultreformen unter König Mithradates I*, Leiden, 1973, p. 111: "Doch ist damit noch keineswegs das Mithras-Verständnis erreicht, das seinem später über das ganze römische Reich verbreiten Kult zugrunde liegt ...".

[75] *Mithraic Studies* I, p. 246, n. 119; R.L. Gordon, "Mithraism and Roman Society", *Religion* II, 1972, p. 111.

of confining itself to the available evidence and may be correct. We need to bear in mind, however, the fragmentary nature of [redacted] of our archaeological evidence.

The earliest explicit reference [redacted] Romans coming into contact with Mithraic mysteries [redacted] Plutarch (d. 120 A.C.), who describes Pompey's campaign against the pirates of Cilicia, *Pompey* 24:

> They themselves offered strange sacrifices of their own [redacted] Olympus (in Lycia), where they celebrated secret rites or mysteries, among which were those [redacted] Mithras. These Mithraic rites, first celebrated by the pirates, are still celebrated today[76].

This celebrated passage has been cited by numerous scholars including Cumont[77], Brandon[78], Laeuchli[79], Schütze[80], and Vermaseren[81], for the assertion that Mithraic mysteries were introduced [redacted] Italy in 67 B.C.E.

Though such a development may be inferred from the certainty that Pompey took some Cilician pirates back to Rome for his triumph, and perhaps from Servius (A.C. 400), who comments that some pirates were settled [redacted] southern Italy, the text of Plutarch itself says no such thing. This fact has been pointed out by Toynbee[82], Gordon[83], and Francis[84].

What Plutarch does say in *Pompey* 28 is that of more than 20,000 prisoners:

> Some of them were received by the small and half-populated cities of Cilicia which, on admitting them to citizenship, were given additional

[76] *Plutarch, Fall of the Roman Republic*, tr. Rex Warner, Harmondsworth, 1972, p. 182.

[77] *MM*, p. 37.

[78] S G F. Brandon, "Mithraism and Its Challenge to Christianity", *Hibbert Journal* LIII, 1955, p. 110: "Plutarch tells the story [redacted] how the cult was first brought to Rome in 67 B.C [redacted] Cilician pirates who had been captured by Pompey, but its progress [redacted] the metropolis was not rapid [redacted] first".

[79] Laeuchli, "Urban Mithraism", p. 81: "Plutarch tells us that pirates brought Mithra into Italy ...".

[80] Alfred Schütze, *Mithras Mysterien und UrChristentum*, Stuttgart, 2nd ed., 1972, p. 15

[81] *MSG*, pp. 8-9.

[82] J. M. C. Toynbee, "Still More about Mithras", *Hibbert Journal* LIV, 1956, pp. 107-108.

[83] Gordon, "Mithraism and Roman Society", p. 113, n. 10.

[84] E. D. Francis, "Bull-Slaying [redacted] Manchester", *Contemporary Review* CCXXI, 1972, pp. 297-98.

> land. Many were settled by Pompey in the city of Soli which had recently been devastated by King Tigranes of Armenia and which he now restored. Most of them, however, were given a place to live in at Dyme in Achaea, which was at that time very underpopulated and had a [illegible] of good land.

Most of the Cilician pirates probably came from Cilicia Tracheia, i.e., 'rough' Cilicia to the west, a mountainous and forested region. They were resettled by Pompey in 67-65 B.C.E. in the plains of Cilicia Pedias at Soli and other cities: Appian mentions Epiphaneia and Mallus; Zephyrium, Mopsuhestia, and Alexandria adopted 67 B.C.E. as their era[84]. Tarsus was the capital of the *conventus* of Cilicia.

Though Cilicia, situated strategically at the juncture of land and sea routes, doubtless played a role in the diffusion of Mithraism, our archaeological and inscriptional evidence is quite limited. Cumont suggests that the inscription from a defile in the Taurus, which reads *emageuse Mithrē*, published by Gregoire, dates from the first century A.C.[85]. The evidence from Tarsus is quite late, namely the coins of Gordian III (A.C. 233-44). The excavations by Goldman at Tarsus, however, were quite limited. Vermaseren may therefore be right in assuming a continuity in Mithraic traditions at Tarsus[87].

What has been largely overlooked are the implications of the major resettlement of the captured pirates. Even if we are not prepared to accept Plutarch's statement that 'most' of 20,000 prisoners were settled at Dyme in Achaea, we may concede that far more Cilician pirates were resettled in Greece than in Italy. Granted that not every pirate was a Mithraist, how shall we account for the startling fact of the virtual absence of Mithraism in Greece? A partial answer may be that the native inhabitants were not receptive to the religion of transplanted pirates. In Campbell's words, "... it would probably take more than a pirate to make the mysteries popular in the West[88]."

Even if we assume that some Mithraist pirates were transported to Italy by Pompey in 67 B.C.E., we must not exaggerate the significance of this datum. As Cumont himself recognized, "The influence of this small band of sectaries on the great mass of the Roman

[83] A.H.M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Empire*, Oxford, 2nd ed., 1971, pp. 201 ff.

[84] Franz Cumont, "Mithra en Asie Mineure", *Anatolian Studies Presented to William Hepburn Buckler*, Manchester, 1939, p. [illegible]. Cf. *CIMRM* t. [illegible].

[85] *MSG*, pp. 27-28.

[86] Campbell, "Typology", p. 24.

population was virtually as infinitesimal as is to-day the influence of Buddhistic societies on modern Europe[89]."

The first public recognition given [redacted] the Persian god Mithras [redacted] Rome was the occasion of the state visit of Tiridates, the king of Armenia, in A.C. 66. According to Dio Cassius LXIII, 1-7, Tiridates addressed Nero with these words: "And I have come to thee, my god, to worship thee as I do Mithras." Pliny, *Natural History* XXX, vi, 17, says that Tiridates had brought "Magi with him, had initiated Nero into their banquets." [redacted] is going beyond the evidence to assert that this means that Nero became an initiate in the Mithraic mysteries[90]. One can only hold this conclusion if he follows Cumont [redacted] assuming that the Magi were already practioners of the Mithraic mysteries[91], a premise which was severely criticized by Gordon at the First International Congress of Mithraic Studies[92].

Chronologically the next evidence for Mithras in Italy are the lines of the poet Statius (c. 80 A.C.) to Apollo in his *Thebaid* I, 719-20: *seu Persei sub rupibus antri indignata sequi torquentem cornua Mithram* "Mithras, that beneath the rocky Persian cave strains at the reluctant-following horns." According [redacted] Campbell this passages "seems to be the description of a tauroctone relief of the rustic cave type ... Our best guess is that the earliest Mithraic chapels were established in Rome and the coastal towns during the last two decades of the first century ...[93]." Gordon, in an understandable reaction against the maximalist interpretation [redacted] the evidence by Cumont, adopts a minimalist interpretation of Statius: he does not grant these lines as evidence of Mithraic mysteries, which he would date only to the reign of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, but only of a Mithraic cult[94].

The earliest dated Mithraic inscription [redacted] a Greek inscription on the base of a statue found in 1926 in Asia Minor on the borders of Phrygia and Mysia[95]. It [redacted] dated to the year A.C. 77-78, that is, in the reign of Vespasian. The earliest dated Mithraic inscription in the West is a statue, now in the British Museum. It bears the name of an Alcimus, the servant [redacted] T. Claudius Livianus, who was a prefect

[redacted] *MM*, p. 37.

[90] As Schütze, p. 17, for example, asserts.

[91] *MM*, p [redacted]; cf. *MSG*, p. 24.

[redacted] *Mithraic Studies*, I, pp. 215-47.

[93] Campbell, "Typology", p. 26.

[94] *Mithraic Studies* I, p. 245, n. 119.

[95] Cumont, "Mithras [redacted] Asie Mineure", p. 71. [redacted] *CIMRM* I, 23.

under Trajan in A.C. 101[96]. There are a handful of inscriptions which date to the early second century, but the vast majority of inscriptions date after A.C. 140. Gordon, who has argued for the latest possible date for the introduction of Mithraic mysteries, states:

> The first evidence for Mithraea is around 140-50 A.C. In contrast to the situation in Christianity, the building of the Mithraic mysteries are important in cultic and symbolic terms. It is therefore reasonable to argue that Western Mithraism did not exist until the mid-second century A.C., at least in a developed sense, since there certainly is some earlier scattered evidence for a cult or cults of Mithras in the West. The question is whether this earlier evidence actually relates to the mysteries, and, if so, how[97].

On the other hand, many scholars have argued that Mithraic mysteries began to be diffused under the Flavian emperors: Vespasian (A.C. 69-79), Titus (A.C. 79-81), Domitian (A.C. 81-96). Ferguson claims:

> It is properly pointed out that the first trace of Mithraism in the west is in A.D. 69 when at Bedriacum some soldiers of the 3rd legion salute the rising sun. Whether these are in fact Mithraists or not, there were Mithraists in the 15th legion at Carnuntum in 71, and under the Flavians the cult spread[98].

Such a statement is no doubt based upon Cumont's conviction that "it is undoubted that the fifteenth legion brought the Mysteries to Carnuntum on the Danube about the beginning of the reign of Vespasian ...[99]." This is a possible inference from the evidence, which, however, is less precise.

We know that the *Legio XV Apollinaris* was transferred to Pannonia in A.C. 71 or 72 after fighting against the Parthians and the Jews. Members of this legion helped to build the earliest Mithraeum at Carnuntum (Deutsch-Altenburg) on the Danube, east of Vienna. According to Campbell:

> One of the altars in this Mithraeum (*Textes* II, no. 371) was dedicated by Titus Flavius Verecundus of the *legio XIIII Geminae Martia Victrix*, which legion had been brought from Upper Germany to Pannonia for the Dacian war of A.D. 86 or 93. This legion was stationed, along with

[96] *MSG*, p. 29; cf. *CIMRM* I, 594.

[97] *Mithraic Studies* II, p. 352; Gordon, "Mithraism and Roman Society", p. 93.

[98] John Ferguson, "More about Mithras", *Hibbert Journal* LIII, 1955, p. 323; *idem*, *The Religions of the Roman Empire*, p. 48.

[99] *MM*, p. 38; cf. p. 47.

> the XV Apollinaris, in the recently formed Colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa [illegible] A.D. 110. [illegible] is possible therefore that this Mithraeum was started [illegible] early as the beginning of the second century[100].

We therefore have the *possibility* of a Mithraeum early in the second century. We may infer that members of the *Legio XV* were already Mithraists when they were transferred to Carnuntum in Pannonia, but we do not know this for a fact. We ought therefore to say merely that it is possible though not certain that Mithraism was being diffused by Roman soldiers north of the Alps in the Flavian period [illegible] the end of the first century.

Evidence summarized by Daniels points to a similar pattern of the establishments of Mithraea by legionaires who served in the East and who were transferred [illegible] Europe in the early second century A.C. at Aquincum (Budapest) in Pannonia, and by functionaries [illegible] the tax office at Poetovio on the border of Noricum and Illyricum—both before the Marcommannic invasions [illegible] the 160's[101].

It was from the mid-second century that Mithraism then spread rapidly far and wide throughout the Empire. What bearing do these facts have upon our original question? When and where could the author of the *ApocAd* have learned about Mithras' rock birth?

6. *The Distribution of the Rock Birth Motifs*

First, let us ask in what areas are our earliest known Gnostics from? Whether Simon of Samaria in *Palestine* was our earliest Gnostic or merely a magician whom church fathers later depicted as an arch-Gnostic [illegible] a matter of some dispute[102]. There [illegible] no question, however, about the Gnosticism of his fellow Samaritan, Menander. An early Gnostic of the second century was Saturninus of Antioch in *Syria*. Many scholars place the composition [illegible] The Gospel of Thomas at Edessa, 150 miles northeast of Antioch[103].

The hot-bed of Gnosticism was Alexandria [illegible] *Egypt*, where Carpocrates, Basilides, and Valentinus taught. From Ephesus in *Asia Minor* we have Cerinthus. It is probable that Marcion developed his Gnostic

[100] Campbell, "Typology", p. [illegible].

[101] C.M. Daniels, "The role of the Roman army in the spread and practice of Mithraism", *Mithraic Studies* II, pp. 252, 260.

[102] Cf. *PCG*, pp. 58-62; [illegible]. Beyschlag, *Simon Magus und die christliche Gnosis*, Tübingen, 1974.

[103] [illegible]. *PCG*, pp. 84-91.

tendencies after he arrived in Rome c. 140 rather than in his home of Pontus; Irenaeus asserts that Marcion was led astray by the Gnostic teacher Cerdo in Rome.

As Tacitus and Juvenal observed all religious movements were eventually drawn to Rome, where such influential teachers as Valentinus brought Gnosticism in the second century. One of our major patristic sources on the Gnostics is Irenaeus of Lugdunum (Lyons) in *France*, who wrote his *Adversus haereses* c. 180 A.C. Most of his extensive knowledge is based on second-hand information. In any case, no one will argue that the earliest stages of Gnosticism developed in distant *Gallia*.

When we have listed the areas of our earliest known Gnostic movements, it is immediately obvious that we can eliminate the vast majority of monuments bearing the rock-birth motif as they come from areas which had no contact with nascent Gnosticism. That is, we are looking for an area where the author of the *ApocAd*, which is alleged to be an early if not pre-Christian Gnostic work, may have learned about Mithras' rock birth. And here we do not wish to consider possible areas but only the actual evidence in hand.

We may eliminate from consideration the following: (The figures in parentheses will indicate the number of rock-birth monuments, including fragmentary and doubtful examples, as listed in the indices of the *CIMRM* I and II).

1) Britannia (4)[104];
2) Hispania (1)[105];
3) Germania (23)[106];
4) Raetia (1)[107];
5) Noricum (3)[108];

[104] *CIMRM* I, 827; 839, 847, 860. No. 827 is a reworked silver *denarius* of Augustus found at Verulamium under the walls of a building dating from the second half of the second century. No. 860 from Borcovicium is from a Mithraeum of the third century.

[105] *CIMRM* I, 782, from a second-century Mithraeum at Merida.

[106] *CIMRM* II, 1036; 1038A12; 1084; 1088, 1111, 1127A; 1128,4; 1161A1, 1170; 1171; 1206, 1240, 1247A3; 1248, 1283,10; 1285; 1292,2; 1301,5; 1340; 1343; 1345; 1346; 1359,4. The earliest dated evidence for the two Germanies and Gallia Belgica is an altar dedicated by a centurion of *legio VIII Augusta* at Böckingen, dated A.C. 148. Cf. Daniels, *Mithraic Studies* II, pp. 262-63

[107] *CIMRM* II, 1400,3.

[108] *CIMRM* II, 1410; 1416,1, 1430B3

6) Pannonia (21)[109];
7) Dalmatia (2)[110];
8) Dacia (31)[111];
9) Moesia (12), Thracia (5), Macedonia (1)[112].

Though Irenaeus, who knew about the Gnostics came from Lugdunum in Gallia, and though we have a rock-birth relief from nearby Vienne[113], we may eliminate Gallia and its six reliefs because it cannot be considered as a starting point for Gnosticism but only as one of the termini[114].

What then of the areas where early Gnosticism might have encountered Mithraic monuments with the rock birth? What of Asia Minor? The only possible monument is a dubious one from Lycaonia, which Cumont considered a forgery and which Vermaseren does not believe is Mithraic[115]. What of Egypt? Here we draw a complete blank.

[109] *CIMRM* II, 1472,3, 1475,8, 1489, 1492; 1504; 1530; 1593, 1627; 1650; 1651; 1656; 1668, 1669; 1687, 1716, 1727, 1736, 1740; 1756, 1797, 1815,3. Leroy A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, Leiden, 1968, p. 276, comments: "It may be observed that the monuments inscribed to the Petra genetrix come mainly from the Pannonias, one having come from North Italy and one from Dalmatia. The Merida Mithraeum was founded by members of the Pannonian legion, the VII Gemina. It appears therefore that the God from the rock was emphasized in South-east Europe where the AB subtype tauroctone was the most typical one, whereas the Mother Rock itself was emphasized in Middle Europe where there was a strong penetration of iconography and ideology from Asia Minor."

As Per Beskow has observed, the expression *petrae genetrici* is known from four inscriptions from Pannonia (1490, 1652, 1674, 1743), once from Germania (1224), and once from Dalmatia (1874). The expressions *natorae dei* (1493), *super nascentem deum* (1531), and *genitor lumina* (1676) are known only from Pannonia.

[110] *CIMRM* II, 1852, 1865.

[111] From Dacia: *CIMRM* II, 1920,11; 1930; 1935; 1949, 1958; 1972, 1974,8; 1975,4, 1991; 1994; 2026,2; 2034; 2036,4, 2037; 2042,1; 2046,3; 2051,4; 2052, 2057,4C, 2059; 2063; 2091; 21[illegible], 2151; 2164, 2170; 2171; 2182, 2184, 2187, 2188.

[112] From Moesia: *CIMRM* II, 2191; 2194, 2202,5; 2214, 2215; 2237; 2243; 2244,4; 2245,2; 2267; 2297, 2315. From Thracia: 2325, 2332; 2334, 2338, 2339,3. From Macedonia: 2340, a doubtful and fragmentary piece.

Epigraphic evidence is scarce and monuments must be dated on iconographic grounds. According to Campbell, "Typology", p. 43, "Mithraists probably began to use the Thracian type of relief composition as early as the period of the Antonines". The Lower Moesian type developed slightly later.

[113] *CIMRM* II, 904.

[114] *CIMRM* II, 894; 904; 907 [the index erroneously lists 908]; 966B4; 973; 985.

[115] *CIMRM* I, 20.

What about Palestine, Lebanon and Syria? The first Mithraeum from Palestine, which was discovered by Professor Bull's expedition at Caesarea in 1973, yielded a tauroctone medallion and poorly preserved frescoes, but no rock birth motif. In any case, the Mithraeum is a very late one, dated to the third or probably the fourth century A.C.[116].

In the whole area of Syria there are Mithraic monuments from only five sites: (1) from Sidon, (2) from Seeia (SI in the Djebel Druze area), (3) from the coast near Lattakieh, (4) from Arsha-wa-Qibar in northern Syria, and (5) from Dura-Europos.

The Sidon Mithraeum dates to the year 500, which is either the year A.C. 188, according to De Ridder and Campbell[117], or the year A.C. 389, according to Will[118]. The latter dates the small relief of Mithra in the Zodiac at Sidon to the second century[119]. The two bas reliefs from Si[120] can hardly be dated to the first century, as Frothingham suggested[121], but should be dated to the second century, according to Will[122]. The fragmentary head in the museum in Aleppo, found probably on the coast near Lattakieh, is dated to the first half of the second century[123]. But none of these monuments, including the detailed Mithraic relief from Arshawa-Qibar[124], contains a rock-birth motif.

The only Mithraic site in the Near East which attests the rock birth motif is Dura-Europos[125]. Using the first typewritten report by Henry Pearson, Campbell argued that the cult of Mithra may have existed at Dura as early as A.C. [illegible] or 85[126], a position also taken by Geo Widengren. The latter, however, admits: "the evidence is very uncertain. ... My statement in *Handbuch der Orientalistik* ... though hesitant in itself was too positive. I now see the difficulties quite

[116] L. M. Hopfe and G. Lease, "The Caesarea Mithraeum: A Preliminary Announcement", *The Biblical Archaeologist* XXXVIII (1975), 1-10.

[117] Campbell, "Typology", pp. 26-27, n. 1. Cf. *CIMRM* I, 74-87.

[118] E. Will, "La date du mithreum de Sidon", *Syria* XXXVII (1950), p. 261.

[119] E. Will, "Nouveaux monuments sacrés de la Syrie Romaine", *Syria* XXIX (1952), p. 71.

[120] *CIMRM* I, 88-89.

[121] A. Frothingham, "A New Mithraic Relief from Syria", *AJA* XXII, 1918, p. 61.

[122] Will, "Nouveaux monuments", p. 71.

[123] *CIMRM* I, 90.

[124] *CIMRM* I, [illegible].

[125] *CIMRM* I, 42,5.

[126] Campbell, "Typology", p. 31.

well[127]." The official report and other scholars place the date of the first Mithraeum in A.C. 168 on the basis of inscriptional evidence[128].

One may reasonably suspect a Mithraic community at Palmyra[129], but in spite of extensive excavations and numerous finds we have no direct Mithraic evidence from the site itself. As Professor Frye has pointed out, alleged Mithraic remains from Susa and Warka are without substance[130]. Professor Drijvers also demonstrates that alleged Mithraic evidence from Hatra is quite questionable[131].

The one region where the rock birth motif is well attested and where we also know of the presence of Gnostics is Italy. We have possibly sixteen representations of the rock birth[132], the only dated example is a square relief, which probably comes from the fourth century A.C.[133].

As we have noted above in our discussion of the spread of Mithraism, there is limited evidence that the Mithraic cult became known at the end of the first century A.C. However, the overwhelming mass of monumental evidence, including that for the rock-birth motif, must be dated to the second century and later. Vermaseren, for example, would accept an early second century date for the Mithraeum in Capua[134], but Francis would suggest a late second century date[135]. The noted Santa Prisca Mithraeum in Rome is dated to the late second century[136]. Tinh notes that evidence for Mithraism in Campania for the late first century is quite vague and dates the expansion of

[127] G. Widengren, "The Mithraic Mysteries in the Greco-Roman World with Special Regard to their Iranian Background", *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, Rome, 1966, p. 452.

[128] *CIMRM* I, p. 57. Cf. C. B. Welles, "The Gods of Dura-Europos", *Festschrift Franz Altheim*, Berlin, 1969, II, p. [illegible], E. D. Francis, "Mithraic graffiti from Dura-Europos", *Mithraic Studies* II, p. 424.

[129] Will, "Nouveaux monuments", p. [illegible].

[130] R. N. Frye, "Mithra in Iranian history", *Mithraic Studies* I, p. 67.

[131] See Drijvers' article, pp. 151ff.

[132] *CIMRM* I, 256; 260; 344; 390,3; 428; 439 (?); 462; 490; 556; 590; 599; 612; 650,3; 666; 675 (?). A fresco with a rock-birth relief was discovered in a shop in Marino in 1961.

[133] *CIMRM* I, 353.

[134] M.J. Vermaseren, *Mithriaca I: The Mithraeum at Sa. Maria Capua Vetere*, Leiden, 1971, pp. 1, 49.

[135] Review by E.D. Francis in *Mithras* I, 1972, p. 6.

[136] *MSG*, p. 44; M.J. Vermaseren and C.C. Van Essen, *The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome*, Leiden, 1965.

Mithraism in this area [illegible] the second century, especially from the Antonines[137].

7. *Conclusions about the Date of the Apocalypse of Adam.*

If we can assume that the saying in the *ApocAd* of the eighth kingdom (80, 21-26), "A cloud came upon the earth. [illegible] enveloped a rock. He originated from it," is a reference to Mithras' rock birth, as seems likely, then we can use this datum to ascertain the time, and perhaps the place, of the composition of the *ApocAd*.

We have innumerable representations [illegible] the rock birth of Mithras. But only a few of these come from areas which may be associated with early Gnosticism. One possible area is eastern Syria where Gnostic groups seem to have flourished at Edessa, about 200 miles north [illegible] Dura-Europos, the only site [illegible] the Near East which attests the rock-birth motif. The representation comes from the paintings of the final stages of the Mithraeum in the third century A.C. before its capture by the Persians[138]. One may conjecture that a similar painting decorated the earliest Mithraeum, founded in A.C. 168.

The other more likely site where the Gnostic author of *ApocAd* could have learned [illegible] the rock birth of Mithras is Italy, especially if we accept Goedicke's guess that we have an allusion [illegible] Pliny's description of the eruption of Vesuvius in the *ApocAd* 75, 9-10[139]. Martin Krause, the most recent translator of the *ApocAd*, concluded: "It certainly did not originate [illegible] pre-Christian times, but probably in the first or second century, and was later revised in a gnostic sense[140]." In view of the fact that none [illegible] the rock-birth monuments from Italy can be dated with any confidence [illegible] the first century, but date from the second century and later, we must conclude that the overwhelming probability is that the *ApocAd* was composed in Italy not earlier than the second century. It cannot therefore be used as evidence for an alleged pre-Christian Gnosticism[141].

[137] V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Le culte des divinités orientales en Campanie*, Leiden, 1972.

[138] Franz Cumont, "The Dura Mithraeum", *Mithraic Studies* I, p. 161.

[139] See note 50 above.

[140] In Foerster, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[141] A number of scholars have cited Böhlig's early remarks [illegible] the *ApocAd* as support for their position of a pre-Christian Gnosticism. They seem to be unaware of the fact, not made very clear [illegible] Böhlig in the first place, that this is not exactly what he meant. In a later work, A. Böhlig, "Christentum und Gnosis im

8. *Postscript*

It would be conceivable for a critic of our conclusions to seek to maintain the pre-Christian date of the *ApocAd* by refusing to be limited to the hard evidence, and by making certain speculative assumptions:

1) The rock birth has nothing [illegible] do with Mithras. It is simply a speculative statement. If this were the case, we must admit that our arguments lose their cogency.

2) The rock birth is based instead on the rock birth of Agdistis. But in a series of statements about the possible origin of the Illuminator, a reference to Mithras, who functioned as a kind [illegible] redeemer figure, would be more appropriate than to Agdistis, who had no such role.

3) The rock birth antedates the monumental representations of Mithras, and goes back to the pre-Christian age. This may be true but is by no means certain as we lack any Avestan evidence for it. As Professor Gershevitch has pointed out, because Mithras in his post-Christian manifestation was identified as a sun god and as the slayer of the bull, we cannot therefore assume that this was also true [illegible] the pre-Christian period [142].

Unless actual evidence turns up, we regard [illegible] such assumptions as quite speculative.

Ägypterevangelium", in *Christentum und Gnosis*, [illegible] W. Eltester, Berlin, 1969, p. 2, n. 5, [illegible] explained "that the designation 'pre-Christian Gnosticism' is not to be equated with a Gnosticism before the birth of Christ, but a Gnosticism out of which developed the Christian Gnosticism of the second century".

Other scholars who hold that the *ApocAd* is a non-Christian Gnostic work, which is post-Christian in date, are: R. Kasser, "Bibliothèque Gnostique V: Apocalypse d'Adam", pp. 317-18 (see note 49); and L. Schottroff, "Animae naturaliter salvandae", in Eltester, *Christentum und Gnosis*, p. 83.

[142] I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, Cambridge, 1959, p. 35; *idem*, "Die Sonne das Beste", *Mithraic Studies* I, p. 79

PLANCHES

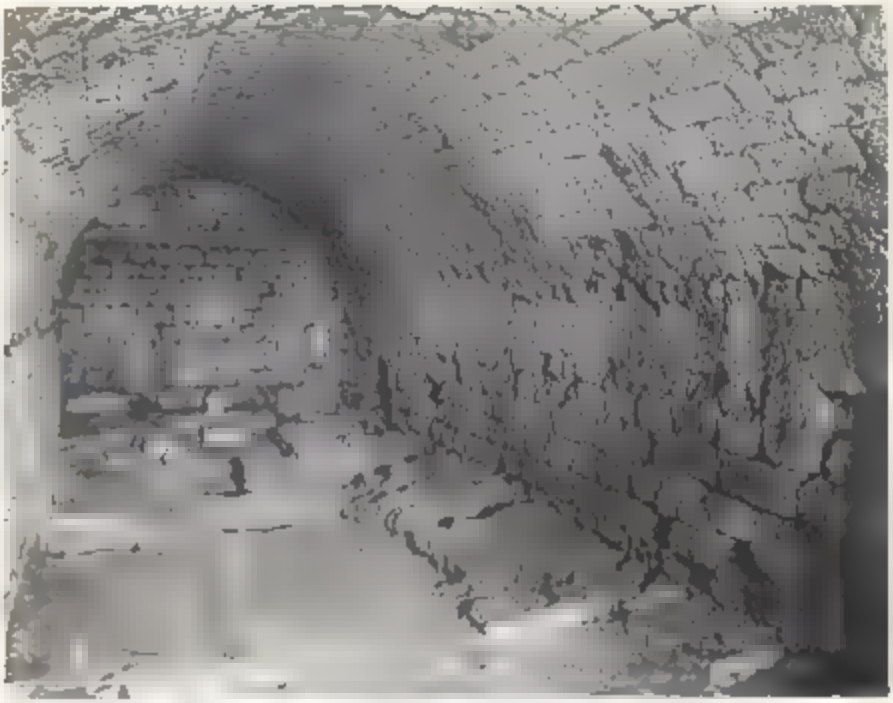


Fig. 1. — Vault I at Caesarea. Photograph taken facing east.

Fig. 2. — Eastern end of Vault I at Caesarea.

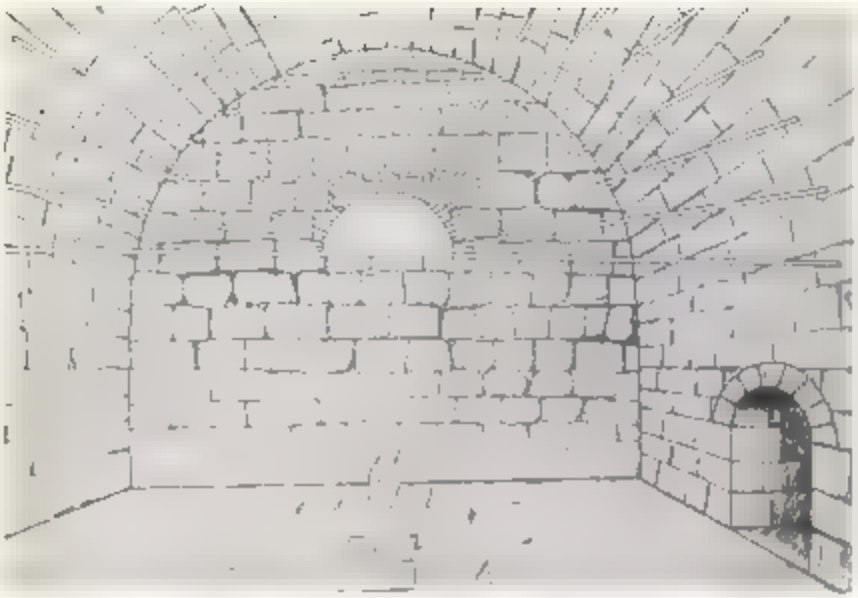


Fig. 3. — Tentative reconstruction of splay in Vault I at Caesarea.

Fig. 4. — Marble Medallion found in Vault I at Caesarea.

Abb. 1. — Das wiederhergestellte Mithrasrelief von einer Deposis auf Sockelanlage II mit einem kommagenischen König im Hierothesion von Arsameia am Nymphaios.

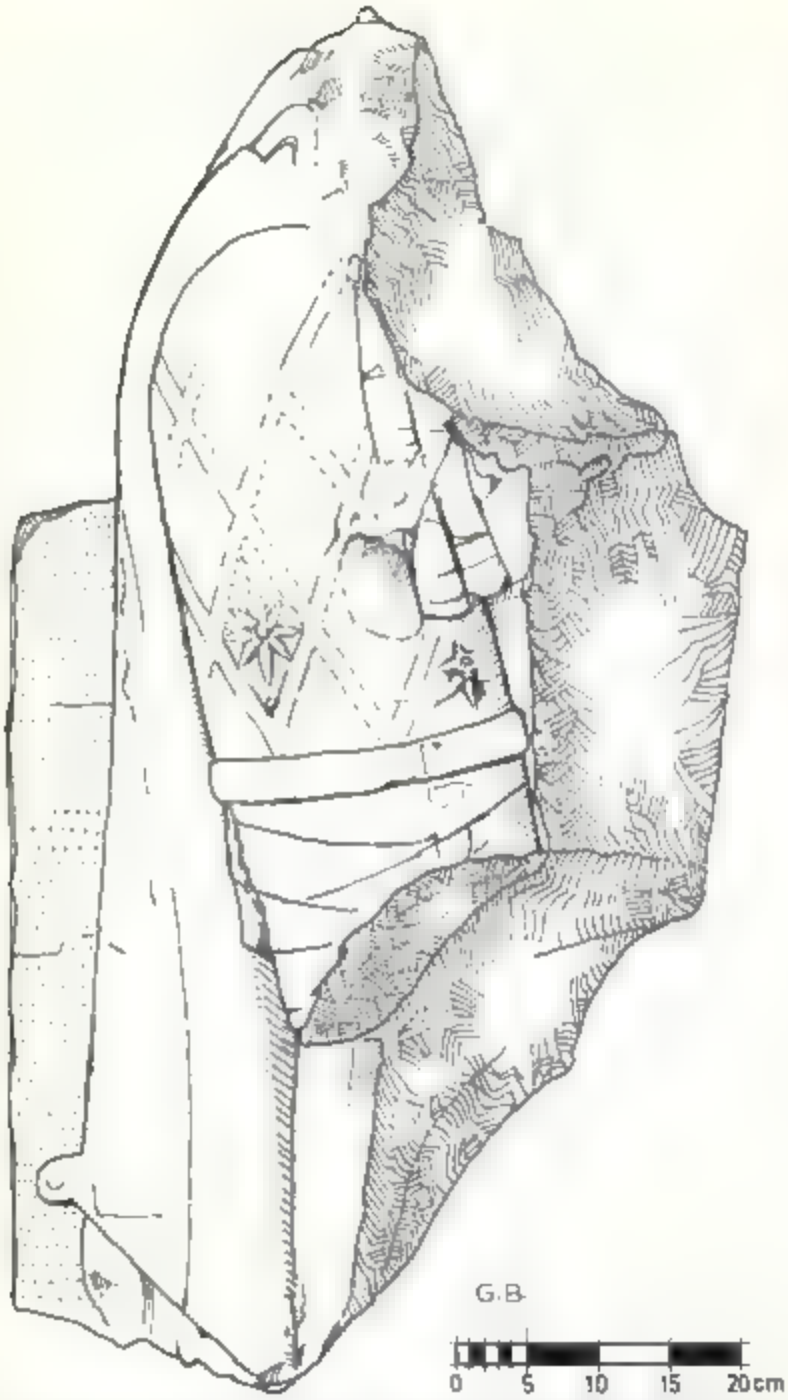


Abb. 2. — Fragment von einem rechten Oberarm mit Schulteransatz (grösste Länge 94 cm, Reliefhöhe 25 cm) von der Darstellung eines kommagenischen Königs auf Sockelanlage II im Hierothesion von Arsameia am Nymphaios.

Abb. 3. — Rekonstruktion des Dexiosis-Reliefs mit Mithras und einem kommagenischen König, wahrscheinlich Mithradates I. Kallinikos, von Sockelanlage II im Hieruthesion von Arsameia am Nymphaios.

Abb. 4. – Die Mithrasdarstellung auf einem Dexiosis-Relief im Hierothesion auf dem Nemrud Dağ mit Antiochos I. (Detail).

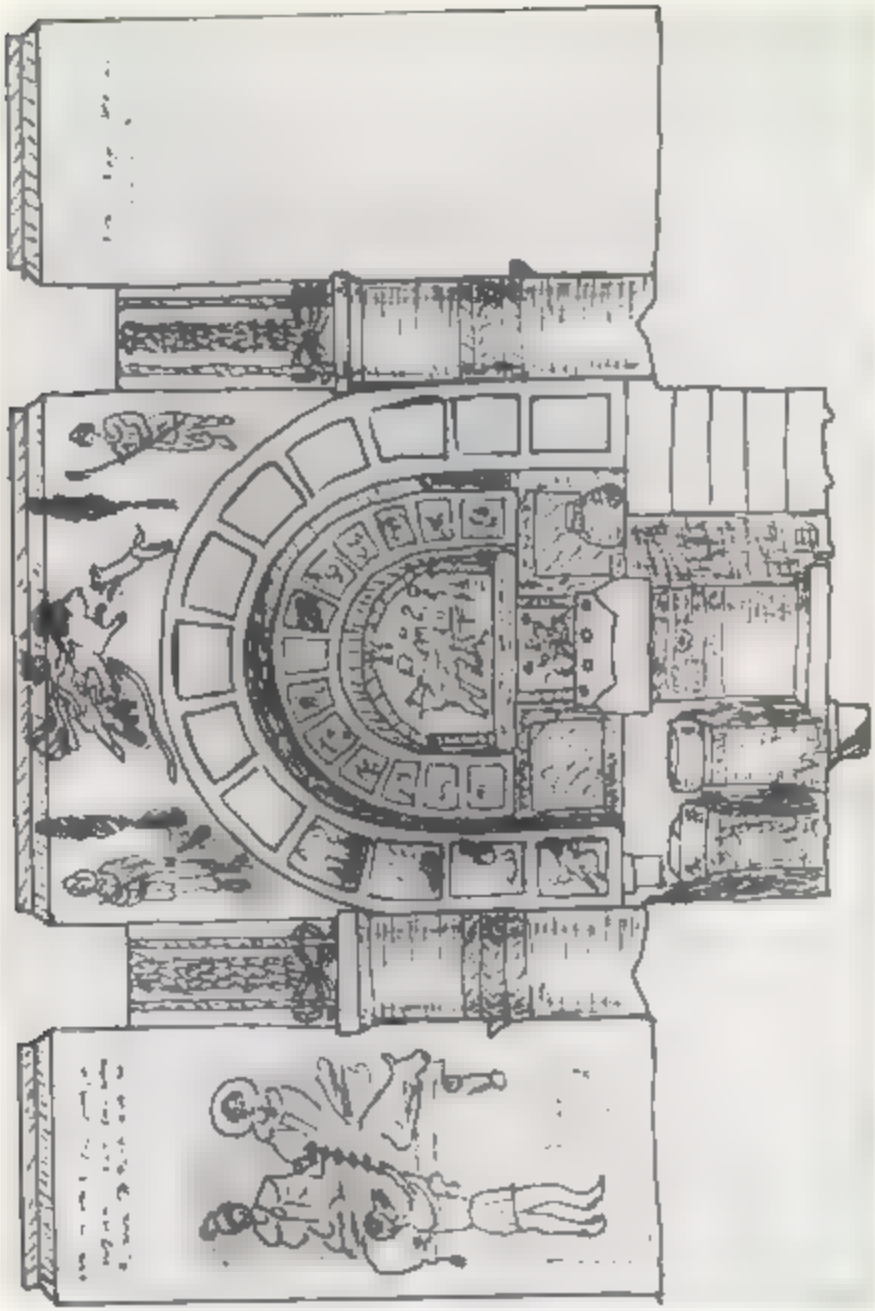


Fig. 1. — Dura-Europos. Middle Mithraeum. Front wall and shrine. (After Campbell, fig. 11).

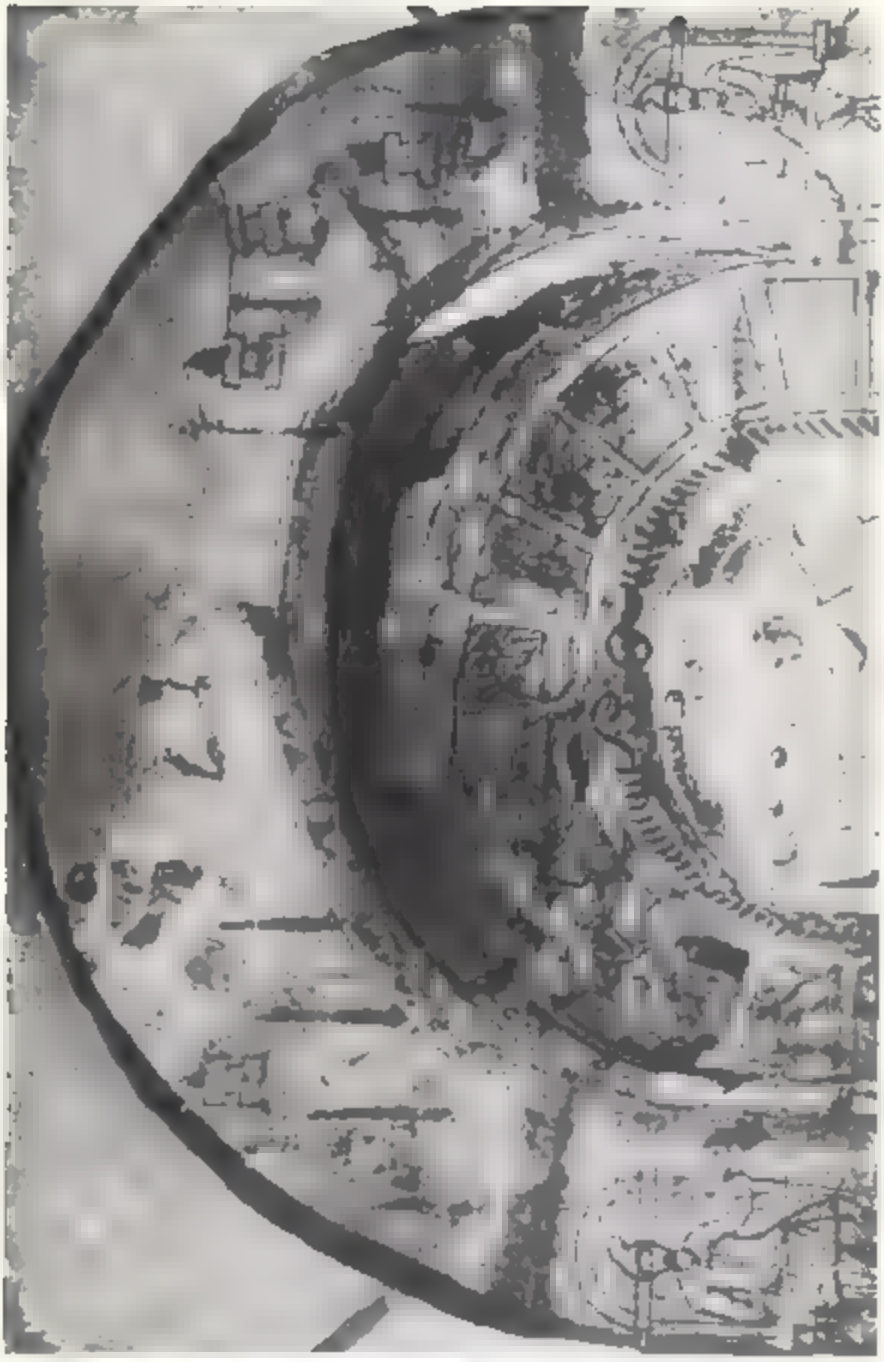


Fig. 2 Dura-Europos. Late Mithraeum. Painted tautectone. (After *Dura Report* VII VIII, Pl. XVIII.2.)

Fig. 1. — Dura-Europos, Late Mithraeum, Painted tauroctone, reconstruction.
(After Campbell, *MM*, fig. 12).

Fig. 1. The lintel of the Sams temple at Hatra.

Fig. 2. — The lintel of the Šamš temple (détail).

Fig. 3. — The Nergal relief from Hatra.

Fig. 1. — Mithra à cheval. Courtesy of Paul Getty Museum.

Fig. 2. - Mithra a cheval. Courtesy of Paul Getty Museum.

Fig. 3. — Mithra de Hama.

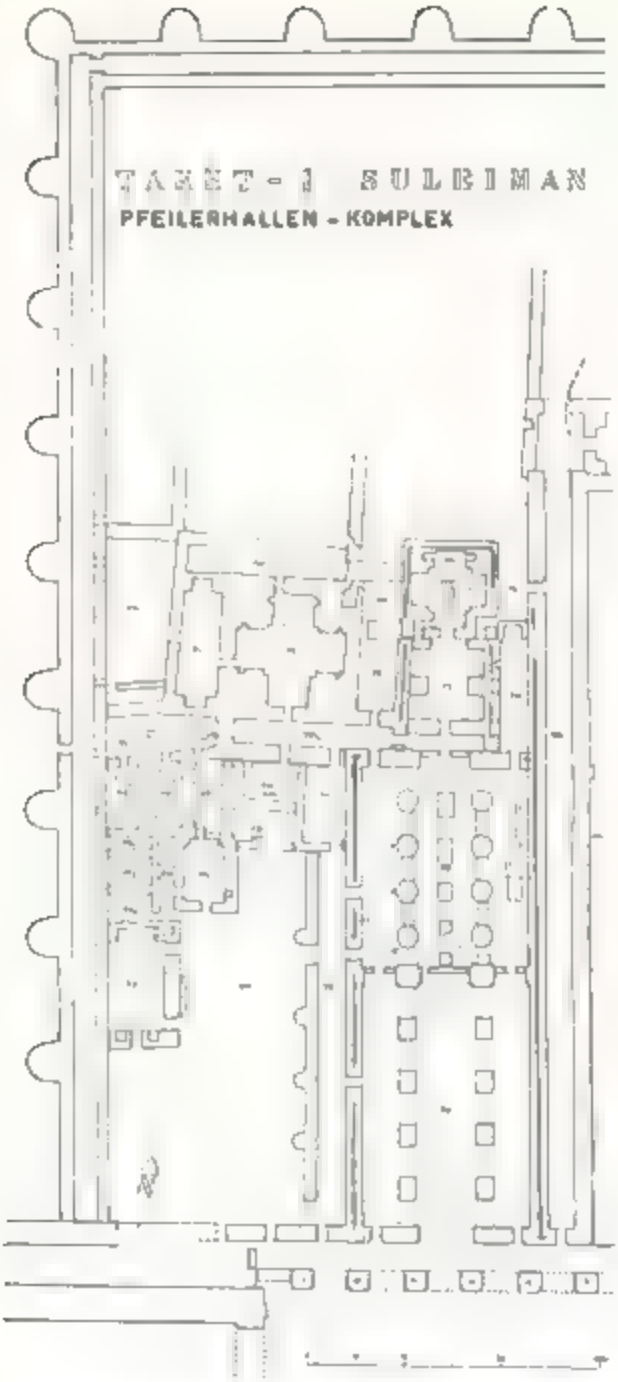
Fig. 4. — Ostia, Mitreo di Felicissimo, mosaïque.

Fig. 1. — Lekythos of the 5th century B.C. showing Hermes as the guide of souls.

Fig. 1. — Aerial view of TAKHT-E-SOLAIMAN. North is at right side of the photo.
(Flights over Ancient cities of Iran).

Fig. 2 — Remnants of the main iwan, reflected in the lake. The second building (Takht-e-Taqdis?) was situated at the left center

Fig. 3. — From "Bulletin of Bastân-Shenasi va Honar Iran". Vols. 9-10, 1972. Tehran.



From "Bulletin of Bāstān Shenāsi va Honar Iran". Vols. 9/10. Tehran. 1972.

Fig. 1. — Relief du Mithréum du Capitole. Dessin de S.V. Pighius (entre 1547 et 1565). Courtesy the Warburg Institute (London)

Fig. 2. — Le même relief, état actuel, au Musée du Louvre (Paris)
Photo Louvre

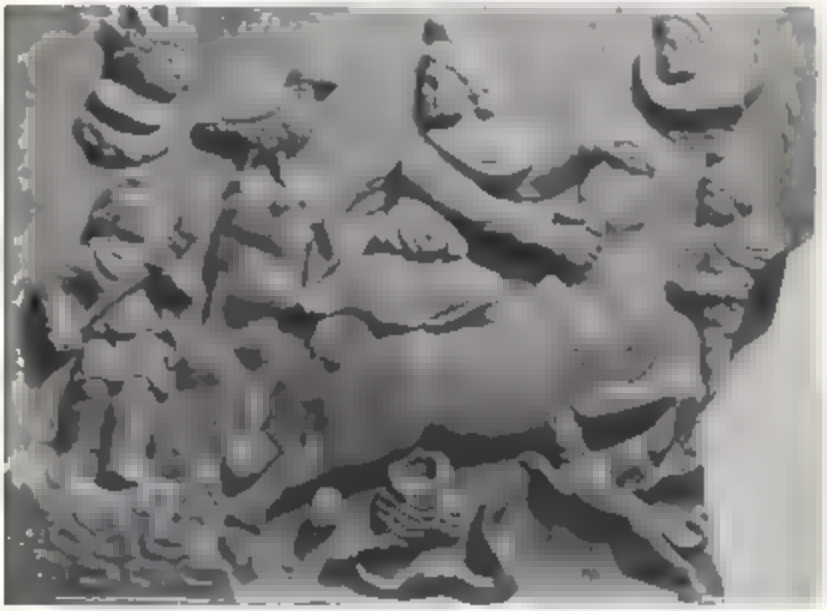


Fig. 3. — Relief de Pise (Campo Santo). La grotte est figurée sous la forme symbolique d'un amas de rochers.
Institut archéologique allemand, Rome, n° 34 550

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2

Fig. 3.

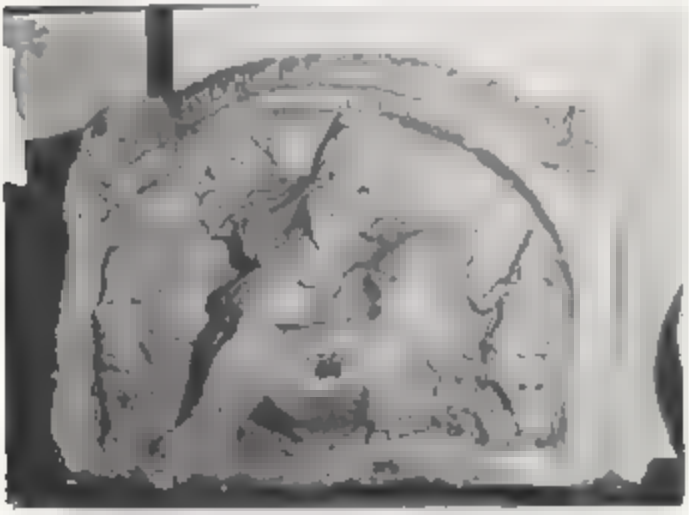


Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

Fig. 6

Fig. 8

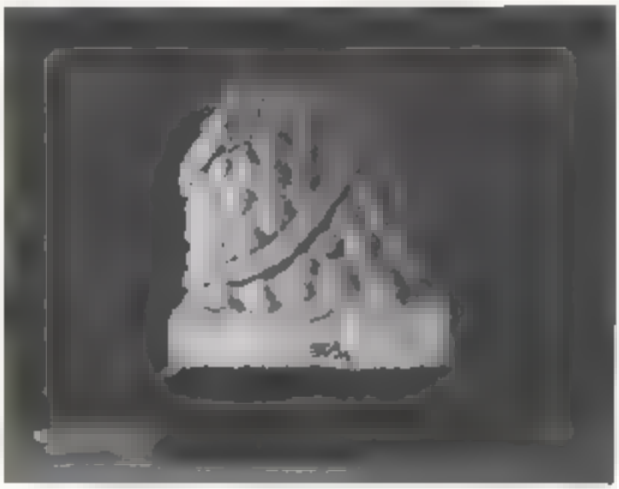


Fig. 7.

Fig. 9.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 3

Fig. 4.

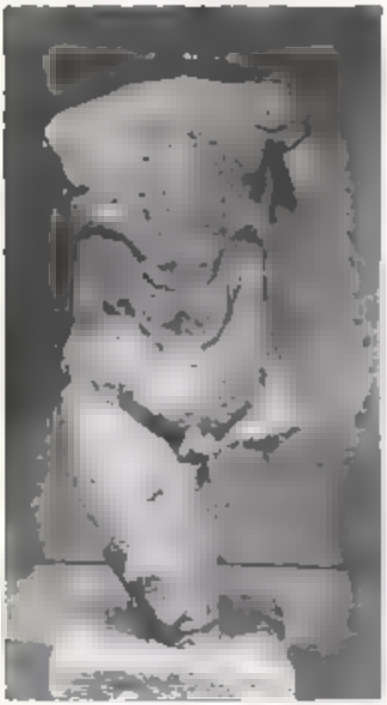


Fig. 5.

Fig. 6.

Fig. 8

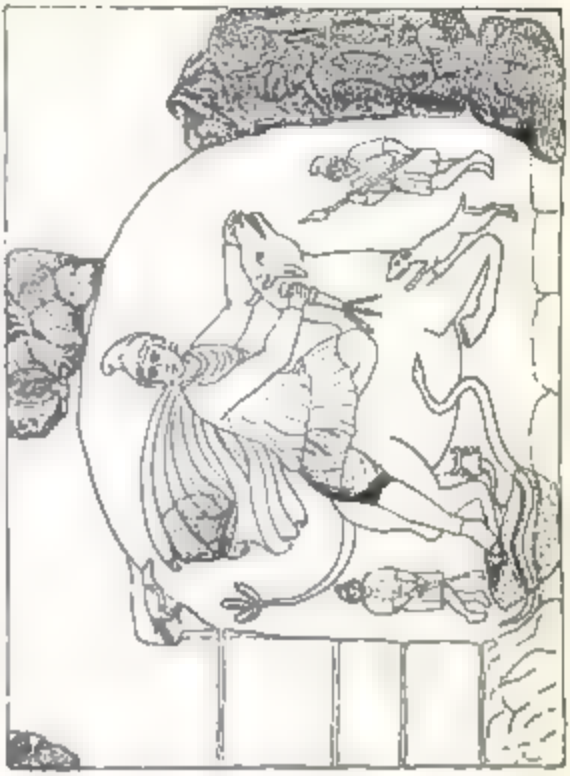


Fig. 9

Fig. 7.

Fig. 10

Fig. 11.

Fig. 12.

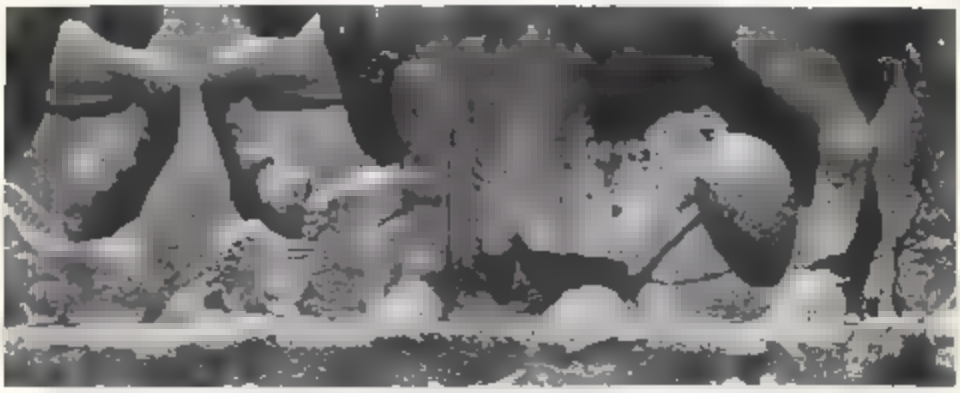


Fig. 13.